Should Undocumented Students be Allowed to Pay In-State College Tuition?

by Paul Dosal and Jayesh D’Souza

Fabiola Guevara graduated from South Dade Senior High School in June 2006 boasting a nearly perfect 4.0 grade point average. Eleven years earlier, she had entered the United States illegally from Mexico with her family. From the poverty of Mexico she had climbed to the brink of realizing her dream of enrolling in a state nursing program. Like thousands of other students in the state, however, she learned that undocumented students could not qualify for in-state tuition rates, state financial aid, or federal grants and loans. She was qualified for admission, but she would have to pay tuition rates three times higher than that charged to legal Florida residents. Her mother, who struggled on housekeeper wages, simply could not afford to pay for her daughters’ higher education. As a result, Fabiola didn’t even bother to apply for admission. She mused about her limited prospects: “When I started high school, it never hit me that when I graduated, I had no place to go… I studied here all my life. What am I supposed to do with the rest of my life? Work as a housekeeper? Pick beans in the fields?”

There are thousands of students like Fabiola across the state. Despite critical shortages of nurses and bilingual teachers in Florida, qualified but undocumented high school graduates are ineligible for in-state college tuition. In late June 2007, the United States Senate refused to consider a comprehensive immigration reform that included the Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors (DREAM) Act, which would have allowed states to offer in-state tuition rates to students like Fabiola. The Dream Act, sponsored by Senators Orrin Hatch, R-Utah and Richard Durbin, D-III., has been introduced to Congress every year since 2001. Similar bills at the state level have failed five times to pass the Florida legislature. To Senator Frederica Wilson, D-Miami, the struggle to pass legislation permitting in-state tuition rates for undocumented students is part of a larger struggle for civil rights. Wilson explained: “I think we owe them. They have a right. They want to be somebody. It’s reminiscent of many civil rights battles that I as an African American had to fight.”

The idea that illegal residents should be eligible for in-state tuition rates outraged other policy makers. In August 2002, The Denver Post ran a story about Jesus Apodaca, a high school honors graduate who could not afford to attend a state university at out-of-state tuition rates. Jesus admitted that his parents and four siblings had been living in the country illegally for five years. The day after the story appeared U.S. Representative Tom Tancredo, R-Littleton, contacted the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service in Denver and asked that Apodaca and his family be deported. Tancredo, today a candidate for the Republican Party presidential nomination, explained then that: “The message this sends is that you can be so brazen as to not have the slightest concern about going on the front page of The Denver Post and telling everybody that you are here illegally. It’s turning the law on its head. It’s making a mockery of justice.”


As evident in Congress during the summer of 2007, the national dialogue about immigration reform is unfortunately heated, divisive, and controversial. The debate over undocumented students and illegal immigration in general, however, demands deliberate and civil discussion. The ENLACE FLORIDA network encourages objective, non-partisan consideration of issues that impact college readiness, access, and success for Latino students and other underrepresented groups. The objective of this policy research brief is to contribute to the state and national debate by examining the data and assessing the policy implications of granting in-state tuition rates to undocumented students.

THE SETTING
In the context of this brief, ‘undocumented’ means living in the United States without citizenship, a green card, visa or other legal documentation. Undocumented students are those who have been living in the United States for a substantial period of their lives but do not have the permission of the U.S. government. According to estimates made by the Pew Hispanic Center, there were 10.3 million unauthorized migrants living in the United States in 2004. As shown in Figure 1, 850,000 (9%) of these illegal residents lived in Florida; only California and Texas had more unauthorized migrants. According to the American Immigration Law Foundation, there are approximately 1.1 million undocumented students in the United States, which constitutes 2 percent of the student population. A study conducted in 2003 estimated that over 65,000 undocumented students graduate from high schools across the U.S. and have lived here for at least five years. Of these, no more than 13,000 were enrolled in a U.S. college or university.

Federal law currently requires all states to provide undocumented students with a K-12 public education. In Plyler v. Doe, 457 U.S. 202 (1982), the Supreme Court struck down a Texas statute which withheld state funds for the education of children who were not "legally admitted" into the United States and authorized local school districts to deny enrollment to such children on the grounds that it violated the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. The court found that the Texas statute imposed "a lifetime hardship on a discrete class of children not accountable for their disabling status. These children can neither affect their parents' conduct nor their own undocumented status." The court decision, moreover, affirmed the value of providing a public education to all residents of the state: "Public education has a pivotal role in maintaining the fabric of our society and in sustaining our political and cultural heritage; the deprivation of education takes an inestimable toll on the social, economic, intellectual, and psychological well-being of the individual, and poses an obstacle to individual achievement."

Although Plyler v. Doe did not apply to post-secondary education, it did require states to provide equal educational opportunities to all K-12 students regardless of legal status.

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Their obligation to undocumented students currently stops at high school graduation. Undocumented students may be admitted into state higher education institutions, but federal law does not currently require states to provide them with this education at in-state tuition rates. Beginning with Texas in 2001, a number of states have passed legislation to offer in-state tuition rates to undocumented students. In the first three years after Texas enacted the law, approximately 6,500 undocumented students enrolled in a Texas college or university, fewer than anticipated. Analyst Karin Fischer concluded that undocumented students still faced considerable barriers other than tuition rates: “In some cases, immigrant students lack the academic preparation needed for college. In others, even the in-state tuition rate is too high for such students, and financial-aid programs are still largely closed off to them. What’s more, many illegal immigrants are simply unaware of the programs.”

FEDERAL LEGISLATION
In 1996 a Republican-controlled Congress passed and a Democratic President signed a bill that attempted to clarify the rights and privileges of undocumented immigrant students in public higher education. Title V, Section 505 of the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRIRA) provided that “an alien who is not lawfully present in the United States shall not be eligible on the basis of residence within a State . . . for any postsecondary education benefit unless a citizen or national of the United States is eligible for such a benefit (in no less an amount, duration, and scope) without regard to whether the citizen or national is such a resident.” Some observers interpret this provision to prohibit any state from granting in-state tuition to any illegal resident. Nevertheless, ten states have authorized in-state tuition for undocumented students since 1996. These states argue that providing in-state tuition to undocumented immigrants does not violate IIRIRA because “undocumented students must have gone to state high school and meet more stringent residency requirements than a U.S. citizen.” Further, an often over-looked provision of IIRIRA states that “A State may provide that an alien who is not lawfully present in the United States is eligible for any State or local public benefit for which such alien would otherwise be ineligible...through the enactment of a State law after August 22, 1996, which affirmatively provides for such eligibility.”

The DREAM Act, first introduced in Congress in 2001, would clarify federal law and permit states and individual institutions to decide whether undocumented students are eligible for in-state tuition. The bill, reintroduced by Senator Orrin Hatch, R-Utah, would provide a means for long-term resident immigrant students to gain legal immigration status and legal work authorization. Senator Hatch, a social conservative, explained the rationale for providing undocumented students with incentives to gain legal status and pursue post-secondary education. He argued: “Each year, approximately 50-60,000 undocumented children, including honors students and valedictorians, graduate from our nation’s high schools or receive an equivalent degree. Many of these students were brought to the U.S. by their parents at an age when they were too young to appreciate the legal consequences of their actions. Despite long-term residency in the U.S. and a demonstrated commitment to obtaining an education, these students have no avenue for adjusting their immigration status and it is very difficult for them to attend college or work....These roadblocks to higher education hurt our society because we are deprived of future leaders, and the increased tax revenues and economic growth they would produce.”

The failure of the United States to enact a comprehensive immigration reform bill effectively killed any hope to pass the DREAM Act in 2007. The conflicting interpretations of the IIRIRA Law of 1996 allows Florida and other states to move into contested terrain and pass legislation granting in-state tuition to undocumented students. If the Florida legislature considers legislation in 2008, a presidential election year, one can only hope that the divisive and super-heated arguments that accompanied immigration reform in Washington would not characterize deliberations in Tallahassee.

STATE ACTION
Under the aforementioned Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act, states cannot offer undocumented students in-state tuition rates unless U.S. citizens are offered the same rate. This ambiguous and much-debated provision, never clarified or enforced by the Federal government, led some to believe erroneously that a legal loophole existed, allowing ten states to pass legislation authorizing in-state tuition for undocumented students. However, the law is specific and does not preclude states from providing in-state tuition to its undocumented residents, provided that legal residents of the United States are also eligible for such benefits. Another thirty states, including Florida, have debated offering in-state tuition to undocumented students, and only two have prohibited in-state tuition to illegal residents.

Significantly, no state has offered unconditional higher education benefits to undocumented students. State legislation—either enacted or proposed—has generally included residency requirements, academic standards, and legalization requirements in order for the student to qualify for in-state tuition rates. In short, the legislation provides a path to higher education provided that the students have become de facto residents of the state, graduated from high school, qualified for admission to a public college or university, and pledged to...
apply for legal immigration status through a signed affidavit. 10

Many immigrant students cannot afford public higher education, even at in-state tuition rates. Only Texas, Oklahoma, and Utah currently provide state financial aid to undocumented students: Utah provides aid via only one state program. 11 The main provisions for qualification by each of the legislations in all 10 states require students to have:

1. attended a school in the state for a certain number of years;
2. graduated from high school in the state; and
3. signed an affidavit stating that they have either applied to legalize their status or will do so as soon as eligible.

The general requirements for in-state tuition and whether financial assistance is provided is summarized in the table below:

**Table 1: Legislative and Financial Aid Summary**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State Name</th>
<th>Type of legislative / policy act</th>
<th>Financial Assistance Provided (yes or no)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Texas</td>
<td>HB 1403</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>California</td>
<td>AB 540</td>
<td>No, currently being debated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utah</td>
<td>HB 331</td>
<td>Only one state program</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington</td>
<td>HB 1079</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York</td>
<td>SB 7784</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oklahoma</td>
<td>SB 596</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illinois</td>
<td>HB 60</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kansas</td>
<td>HB 2145</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Mexico</td>
<td>SB 582</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nebraska</td>
<td>LB 239</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Hispanic Association of Colleges and Universities, Member Advisory—Updated April 17, 2006

In California, the passage of AB 540 has enabled hundreds of California residents, especially underrepresented students, to pursue higher education. At the University of California, 719 students received AB 540 tuition exemptions in 2002-03. Chicano and Latino students accounted for 20% of these while those of Chinese, Korean, or European/Middle Eastern ancestry accounted for 21%. Korean students accounted for 17%. 48% of the 2002-2003 recipients reported parental incomes of less than $40,000, suggesting that these students would have been unable to afford a college education if AB 540 had not been enacted. The financial value of the 2002-03 exemptions was $8.7 million. 12

A study conducted by the Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board revealed that the number of undocumented students enrolled in state post-secondary institutes increased almost ten-fold from 2001 to 2004. In Utah, the number of in-state tuition awards meted out to undocumented students increased from 87 in 2003-04 to 116 in 2004-05 to 182 in 2005-06. In Illinois, related legislation could benefit between 3,000 and 4,000 undocumented high school graduates, according to the Illinois State Board of Higher Education. 13 The rising number of in-state tuition awards leads one to conclude that the legislation seems to be encouraging undocumented students to pursue a higher education.

**FLORIDA'S EXPERIENCE**

When Juan Zapata, a native of Colombia, was elected to the Florida House of Representatives in 2002, he vowed to pass a bill that would allow children of illegal immigrants to attend a state university at in-state tuition rates. True to his word, the Miami Republican submitted House Bill 119 in 2003. The bill would have extended Florida resident status to undocumented immigrant students who had 1) resided in Florida for at least three consecutive years preceding the receipt of a high school diploma or its equivalent; and 2) provided an affidavit to a community college or state university declaring that the student intends to file an application to become a permanent resident of the United States. Despite the co-sponsorship of future Lieutenant Governor Jeff Kottkamp, future Speaker of the House Marco Rubio, and a pledge of support from then-Governor Jeb Bush, the bill never made it out of the House. 14

In each of the next three legislative sessions, Representative Zapata and his co-sponsors introduced similar legislation in the House and the Senate. Each year, the bills enjoyed strong bipartisan support, but the legislation failed each time. Although Zapata declined to re-introduce the bill in the 2007...
session, he remains a firm supporter of in-state tuition for undocumented students on the conditions specified in his 2003 bill. According to Zapata, “it’s a fairness issue, something that takes Florida demographic realities into account. We have a large undocumented immigrant population. For us to hold back kids that have done nothing wrong, and have gone through the system and performed, and then put this roadblock in their path doesn’t make sense. And it doesn’t seem like good public policy to me.”

Indeed, to the extent that the state promotes postsecondary education, it stands to gain from a better educated workforce that earns more income, pays more taxes, and contributes to the state economy. A study of the immigrant contributions to the state completed by the Research Institute on Social and Economic Policy of Florida International University confirmed that income increases among immigrants and non-immigrants with higher levels of educational attainment. In 2005, the median salary of an immigrant with a B.A. or B.S. was $30,560, compared to a $14,261 median salary for an immigrant without a high school diploma. We can infer that the more people with bachelor’s degrees, the more a state will earn in tax revenue. Although Florida does not levy a state income tax, an increase in purchasing power among Florida residents would stimulate the state economy, increasing sales tax and property tax revenues.

The difference between in-state and out-of-state tuition at each of Florida’s universities is substantial. As illustrated in Figures 3 and 4, a non-resident pays three to four-times more than a Florida resident pays per credit hour at a Florida university or community college.

POLICY IMPLICATIONS
There is general consensus among ENLACE FLORIDA representatives from universities, community colleges, school districts, community organizations, schools, and parents that current policy does not serve the long-term interests of the state. Up to 5,000 undocumented students graduate from Florida’s school system each year. Many of them are qualified for college admission by their grade point averages and test scores. They have lived in the state for years and many of them would like to become legal residents or United States citizens. They are undocumented due to a decision of their parents to settle in the United States.

ENLACE FLORIDA promotes equal higher educational opportunities for all students, regardless of race, ethnicity, gender, or income. By denying students like Fabiola Guevara the opportunity to attend a state university at in-state tuition rates, the state is closing the doors of higher education to thousands of qualified students every year. Lost in the acrimonious public debate on the issue is perspective on the size,

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significance, and costs involved in making higher education available to undocumented students at in-state tuition rates. There are no reliable figures on the number of Florida students who might be affected by the passage of either the DREAM Act or similar state legislation. Public schools are prohibited by Federal law from inquiring about the immigration status of foreign-born students. For the purpose of assessing the implications of proposed reforms, let’s accept the estimate of 5,000 undocumented high school graduates in Florida every year. In the 2005-2006 school year, Florida public high schools graduated 137,613 students. Hence the proposed legislation has the potential to impact about 3.6% of Florida’s high school graduates.

Let’s assume further that 2,500 undocumented high school graduates, representing 50% of the graduating class (a high estimate) would qualify for and pursue postsecondary education at a state institution if they could pay in-state tuition rates. In 2006, there were 228,226 undergraduate students enrolled in Florida’s eleven public colleges and universities. In 2005-2006, there were 793,517 students enrolled in Florida’s 28 Community Colleges. Hence, 1,021,743 students are currently enrolled in Florida’s public institutions of higher education. The 2,500 undocumented high school graduates who might enroll at in-state tuition rates represent only 0.24% of the undergraduate students currently enrolled in the state.

If in-state tuition is granted to undocumented students, Florida’s 11 colleges and universities and 28 community colleges may perceive a slight increase in applications for admission and financial aid. A slight increase in enrollment may generate more income in tuition and fees from students who would not otherwise pursue higher education. The state and institutions of higher education may experience a slight increase in the cost of providing instruction to these students, but it is impossible to predict with certainty the fiscal impact of granting in-state tuition to undocumented students.

Based on the experiences of other states and the estimates for Florida’s undocumented students, the authorization of in-state tuition rates to undocumented students will have a relatively minor impact on Florida’s higher education system. Despite the fact that California, Texas, New York, and New Mexico now offer in-state tuition to undocumented students, fewer students than expected take advantage of the opportunity. There are a number of reasons for the low enrollment. Many students fear deportation and are hesitant to reveal their residency status. These policy changes in the four states noted have been enacted only recently, so public awareness of these new opportunities has been slow to trickle down to guidance counselors, parents, and students. Moreover, undocumented students would still require financial aid, and only a few states (Oklahoma, Texas, and Utah) offer such aid to undocumented students. Even if they overcome all these barriers and earn a college degree, it may still take many more years before these students can obtain a work visa or legal status. Evidence from the ten states that have authorized in-state tuition for undocumented students shows no great cause for alarm. The National Association for College Admissions concluded: “Ten states have passed legislation similar to the DREAM Act, and have not seen an influx of immigration, the displacement of other students in higher education, or a drain on the education system, as many critics have feared.”

As noted above, in Plyler v. Doe the U.S. Supreme Court invalidated a Texas statute that allowed local school districts to deny enrollment to children who were not legally admitted into the country. The court held that the state of Texas could not justify a discriminatory policy that imposed a “lifetime hardship” on particular students unless it could demonstrate that it furthered some substantial goal of the state.” Thus, Florida legislators and policy makers must ask themselves, what substantial goal of the state is advanced by denying higher education to a discrete class of students who are not accountable for the decision that brought them into the state as an illegal resident?

In the end, we must return to the issues of access and affordability. Providing 2,500 spaces in our community colleges and universities would not ordinarily represent a significant burden on our higher education system. Yet Florida State University has already frozen undergraduate enrollment at current levels in response to a tuition freeze combined with cutbacks in enrollment funding. Other universities are likely to follow suit if additional revenues are not generated quickly. Thus, the issue of expanding access to undocumented students must form part of a larger state debate on how to maintain access at least at current levels while still keeping college education affordable. Far too many limited-income, underrepresented students, some of them undocumented, cannot afford to pursue a higher education, even at in-state rates. Even if Florida were to grant in-state tuition to undocumented students, these students would not currently qualify for the state’s First Generation Matching Grant program.

Policy decisions impacting undocumented students must therefore be joined to larger discussions about need-based financial aid, tuition rates, differential tuition, and enrollment funding. Moreover, with the State University System of Florida near or at enrollment capacity, the debate should be joined to a discussion of whether Florida needs to establish a new state university, or significantly expand existing ones to accommodate a growing demand for higher education.

18 Enrollment figures derived from the Florida Department of Education tables, go to: http://www.fldoe.org/eias/eiaspubs/pdf/graduates.pdf.
20 National Conference of State Legislatures.
For further information on Undocumented Students in Higher Education, contact:

Florida Immigrant Coalition
The Students Working for Equal Rights
A Program of Florida Immigrant Advocacy Center
3000 Biscayne Blvd., #400
Miami, Florida 33137
305-573-1106 x1104
http://www.fiacfla.org/index.php

National Council of La Raza
Raul Yzaguirre Building
1126 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, DC 20036
202-785-1670
http://www.nclr.org/

National Immigration Law Center
3425 Wilshire Blvd., Suite 2850
Los Angeles, CA 90010
213-639-3900
www.nilc.org

Mexican American Legal Defense & Education Fund (MALDEF)
634 S. Spring St., 11th Floor
Los Angeles, CA 90014
212-629-2512
www.maldef.org

United We Dream, Center for Community Change
1536 U Street NW
Washington, DC 20009
202-339-9300
http://www.communitychange.org/issues/immigration/unitedwedream/

To learn more about readiness, access, and success:

College Board AP Central,
http://apcentral.collegeboard.com/apc/Controller.jsp

The Education Trust, http://www2.edtrust.org/edtrust

Excelencia in Education,
http://www.edexcelencia.org/default.asp

Florida Department of Education, Office of Equity and Access, http://www.firn.edu/doe/eeop/

W.K. Kellogg Foundation, ENLACE (Engaging Latino Communities for Education), http://www.wkkf.org/


National Center for Education Accountability,
http://www.just4kids.org/en/

National Council for Community and Education Partnerships,
http://www.edpartnerships.org/

Southern Regional Education Board,
http://www.sreb.org/

The Tomás Rivera Policy Institute,
http://www.trpi.org/
ENLACE (Engaging Latino Communities for Education), derived from the Spanish enlazar, builds partnerships among universities, community colleges, K-12 schools, community-based organizations, students, and parents.

ENLACE FLORIDA was formed in 2006 by USF, FAU, FIU, and UCF, funded by a $1.4 million grant from the W.K. Kellogg Foundation and managed by the National Council for Community and Education Partnerships (NCCEP):

- USF, UCF, FAU, and FIU account for over 75% of Latino enrollment in the State University System;
- 5 community colleges in south and central Florida account for 80% of Latino community college enrollment;
- School districts in south & central Florida account for 90% of Latino membership in the K-12 system.

ENLACE FLORIDA is composed of four clusters led by a member university, in partnership with community colleges, school districts, community organizations, students, and parents.

ENLACE FLORIDA is closely aligned with the Governor’s Access and Diversity Initiative which is intended “to improve higher education access and success for students from previously under-served populations.”

RATIONALE:

- Florida’s Hispanic population is projected to increase from 2.6 million in 2000 to 6.3 million in 2030;
- Florida’s African American population is projected to increase from 2.3 million in 2000 to 4.2 million in 2030;
- By 2030, Latinos and African-Americans will constitute 42% of Florida’s population;
- In the 25 year period from 1977 to 2003, Hispanic public K-12 enrollment increased over 462% and African-American enrollment increased 77%;
- By 2014, blacks and Hispanics will account for 50% of Florida’s high school graduates.

EXPANSION OF THE ENLACE FLORIDA NETWORK

In 2007, the Florida legislature approved $500,000 in non-recurring funds to support the Florida Access and Success Initiative (FASI), a Board of Governors project that will allow ENLACE FLORIDA and FASI to:

- Expand the ENLACE network to three new universities and broaden the scope of its research and policy advocacy to include all underrepresented groups
- Identify and disseminate best practices in readiness, access, and success
- Analyze patterns and trends regarding access and diversity as measured by student enrollment, progression, and graduation data
- Promote academic achievement of all students through the Access and Success Initiative of the National Association of System Heads
- Develop highly focused recommendations for systemic action

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