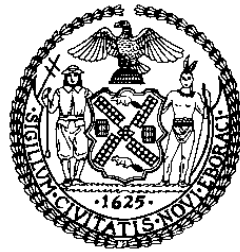


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October 14, 2020

Oversight: Adult Literacy and Digital Literacy in Immigrant Communities

I. INTRODUCTION

On October 14, 2020, the Committee on Immigration, chaired by Council Member Carlos Menchaca, and the Committee on Youth Services, chaired by Council Member Deborah Rose, will conduct a joint oversight hearing on adult literacy and digital literacy rates and programming in immigrant communities. The Committees expect to receive testimony from the Mayor’s Office of Immigrant Affairs (‘MOIA’) and the Department of Youth Services and Community Development (‘DYCD’), along with providers and advocates of literacy programs, and other interested parties.

II. BACKGROUND

Literacy

Literacy is generally defined as the ability to read and write a language;¹ however, the United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) - in recognizing that literacy involves a continuum of learning that enables individuals to achieve goals, develop knowledge and potential, and participate fully in wider society - has adopted a more expansive definition that includes “the ability to identify, understand, interpret, create, communicate and compute, using printed and written materials associated with varying contexts.”² The United States Department of Education similarly recognizes literacy as falling into three types:

- Prose literacy (the ability to search, comprehend and use continuous texts such as editorials, news stories, brochures, and instructional materials);³

¹ Black’s Law Dictionary definition of literacy (“term as generally defined requires both ability to read and ability to write a language”), citing *Castro v. State*, 2 C.3d 223, 85 Cal.Rptr. 20, 21, 466 P.2d 244.

² Page 2. UNESCO Institute for Statistics. Silvia Montoya. *Defining Literacy*. Available at: http://gaml.uis.unesco.org/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/2018/12/4.6.1_07_4.6-defining-literacy.pdf.

³ U.S. Department of Education. National Center for Educational Statistics. *National Assessment of Adult Literacy*. Available at: <https://nces.ed.gov/naal/literacytypes.asp>.

- Document literacy (the ability to search, comprehend, and use non-continuous texts in formats such as job applications, payroll forms, transportation schedules, maps, tables, and drug or food labels);⁴ and
- Quantitative literacy (the ability to identify and perform computations, alone or sequentially, using numbers embedded in printed materials such as balancing a checkbook, figuring out a tip, completing an order form or determining an amount).⁵

This more expansive view provides for functional assessments of how adults use printed and written information to adequately function at home, in the workplace and in their communities, respectively.⁶

Digital Literacy

On January 13, 2020, the New York State Board of Regents conditionally approved the first statewide learning standards for computer science and digital fluency, created by the New York State Department of Education.⁷ The draft competency defines ‘digital literacy’ as the ability to “use digital technologies to create, research, communicate, collaborate and share information and work,” involving both knowledge about technology and the ability to use it.⁸ A 2016 study conducted by the Pew Research Center further identifies ‘digital readiness’ as the combination of a set of ‘digital skills’ necessary to complete such tasks as initiating an online session, sharing content, among other things, and ‘trust,’ or a person’s self-awareness online and their ability to

⁴ *Id.*

⁵ *Id.*

⁶ *Id.*

⁷ New York State Education Department. *Board of Regents Acts to Conditionally Approve First Ever Learning Standards for Computer Science and Digital Fluency* (Jan. 2020). Available at <http://www.nysed.gov/news/2020/board-regents-acts-conditionally-approve-first-ever-learning-standards-computer-science>

⁸ *Id.*

evaluate “the trustworthiness of online information and safeguard personal information.”⁹ The study found that 52 percent of adults surveyed were relatively hesitant when it came to technology. The Migration Policy Institute finds digital literacy and adult literacy to be uniquely entwined, as digital literacy can be critical to support ‘lifelong learning’ outside of formal education institutions.¹⁰ In a September 3, 2020 report, researchers at Migration Policy Institute stated that while immigrants make-up just one-sixth of U.S. workers, they make up nearly one-in-four U.S. workers with limited digital skills, with 20 percent of Hispanic workers with children stating in 2016 that they do not use the internet at all.¹¹

Adult Literacy in the United States

Throughout much of history, literacy has been used as a method of social control and oppression, as the ability to read and write have determined where certain people stand within the social hierarchy.¹² Because education was provided to only a select few, this tradition effectively preserved a class system that kept the poor powerless and the rich powerful.¹³ For instance, following a revolt by enslaved persons in 1831, most slave-holding states in the United States passed laws that made it illegal to teach enslaved persons to read and write, ensuring that they could not read books, understand their rights, and organize or rise up against the institution of slavery.¹⁴ Notably, Frederick Douglass, a former enslaved person and abolitionist who secretly

⁹ Horrigan, John. *Digital Readiness Gaps*. Pew Research Center (Sep. 2016). Available at: <https://www.pewresearch.org/internet/2016/09/20/the-meaning-of-digital-readiness/>

¹⁰ McHugh, Margie and Catrina Doxsee. *English Plus Integration: Shifting the Instructional Paradigm for Immigrant Adult Learners to Support Integration Success*. Migration Policy Institute. (Oct. 2018). Available at <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/research/english-plus-integration-instructional-paradigm-immigrant-adult-learners>

¹¹ Cherewka, Alexis. *The Digital Divide Hits U.S. Immigrant Households Disproportionately during the COVID-19 Pandemic*. Migration Policy Institute. (Sep. 2020). <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/digital-divide-hits-us-immigrant-households-during-covid-19>

¹² Concordia University-Portland. The Room 241 Team. Education News. *Crisis Point: The State of Literacy in America*. Available at: <https://education.cu-portland.edu/blog/education-news-roundup/illiteracy-in-america/>.

¹³ *Id.*

¹⁴ *Id.*

learned the alphabet as a child, famously said that “once you learn to read, you will be forever free.”¹⁵

Literacy and general education continue to be important issues within the United States, where more than 36 million adults cannot read, write, or perform basic math above a third-grade level.¹⁶ Although millions lack adequate literacy levels, there remains a noticeable remediation gap, with less than 10 percent of adults in need of literacy education receiving services, as 68 percent of literacy programs struggle with long student waiting lists.¹⁷

Because low-level reading skills are a common aspect of poverty, incarceration, high drop-out rates in schools, and a barrier to understanding basic health, financial, and consumer issues, literacy is extremely important, especially among adults.¹⁸ But adult literacy does not just impact adults. When adults improve their literacy skills, their children tend to have better outcomes in terms of nutrition and health, high-school graduation, teenage pregnancy, and employment.¹⁹ In addition, literacy programs help adults make significant progress in reducing dependence on public benefits, with national statistics showing that 80 percent of literacy programs reported an overall reduction in dependence on public benefits among their students.²⁰ Children whose parents have low literacy levels have a 72 percent chance of performing at the lowest reading levels themselves.²¹ They are more likely to earn poor grades, display behavioral problems, experience high absentee rates, repeat school years, or drop out of school altogether.²² In addition, low adult

¹⁵ *Id.*

¹⁶ ProLiteracy. *U.S. Adult Literacy Facts*. Available at: https://proliteracy.org/Portals/0/pdf/PL_AdultLitFacts_US_flyer.pdf?ver=2016-05-06-145137-067.

¹⁷ *Id.*

¹⁸ Literacy New York. About Literacy NY. Available at: <https://www.literacynewyork.org/about-us>.

¹⁹ *Id.*

²⁰ ProLiteracy America. U.S. Programs Division of ProLiteracy Worldwide. *U.S. Adult Literacy Programs: Making a Difference-A Review of Research on Positive Outcomes Achieved by Literacy Programs and the People They Serve*. Available at: <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/4a28/5b6172ac6f04db77c14ad7a1fd1b385229af.pdf>.

²¹ *Id.*

²² *Id.*

literacy levels have drastic economic effects nationwide, costing the United States economy in excess of \$225 billion annually in workplace non-productivity, crime, and unemployment, and an additional \$232 billion in annual health care costs.²³ Low adult literacy rates also correlate to increased poverty. Forty-three percent of adults with the lowest literacy levels live in poverty and 75 percent of state prison inmates either did not complete high school or can be classified as low literate.²⁴

Adult Literacy in New York State and New York City

New York State has a considerable literacy problem. A total of 3.4 million New York State residents are either functionally illiterate (reading below the 5th grade level), lack a high school diploma, or cannot speak English; however, like those nationwide, fewer than 10 percent are receiving help for their literacy needs.²⁵ The New York Immigration Coalition (NYIC) calls the need for adult English to Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) classes a longstanding crisis, reporting that statewide, “only 3 percent of the 3.5 million New Yorkers who lack their high school diploma, English proficiency, or both are able to access state-funded adult literacy programs.”²⁶

Regarding New York City, United Neighborhood Houses (UNH) released data in 2019 indicating that 2.2 million adult New York City residents lack English proficiency.²⁷ This equates to one-third of the entire adult population in New York City.²⁸ A 2015 survey by the New York City Coalition for Adult Literacy (NYCCAL) revealed at least 15,000 New Yorkers were on waitlists for adult literacy classes where they sometimes waited for over a year.²⁹

²³ *Id.*

²⁴ *Id.*

²⁵ Literacy New York. About Literacy NY. Available at: <https://www.literacynewyork.org/about-us>.

²⁶ New York Immigration Coalition, *43% and Growing: Young Children from Immigrant Families in New York and How to Support their Success* (Dec. 2019), https://pronto-core-cdn.prantomarketing.com/537/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/2019/12/NYIC_EducationReport_Dec2019_ONLINEUpdate.pdf.

²⁷ <https://www.unhny.org/policy-advocacy/literacy>.

²⁸ <https://www.nyccaliteracy.org/>.

²⁹ *Id.*

Adult Literacy Among Immigrant Communities

Immigrants are disproportionately impacted by low literacy levels. Fifty percent of the two million immigrants that come to the United States annually lack a high school education or proficient English language skills, thereby perpetuating a cycle of poverty among immigrants and their families.³⁰ Similarly, in New York City, while MOIA reports that 23 percent of all New Yorkers identify as Limited English Proficient (LEP),³¹ approximately half of immigrants identify as LEP, with nearly 61 percent of undocumented immigrants identifying as LEP.³²

The disparities in parental educational attainment and English proficiency among immigrant parents will often have further impacts on their families, and trickle down to their children, as parental educational attainment is closely linked with education outcomes for children, as well as family earnings and economic well-being.³³ Foreign-born parents of young children make up 21 percent of parents of young children overall in the United States, and face many challenges that may impede their access to and meaningful participation in family engagement programming and activities.³⁴ Forty-five percent of these parents are low-income and 47 percent of are LEP.³⁵ In New York City, MOIA reports that children living in mixed-status families tend to be less proficient in English than their peers in other household categories.³⁶ Nearly a quarter of children in mixed-status families are LEP, compared to 13 percent of children born in families with green card holders or other statuses, and just five percent of children in U.S.-born

³⁰ *Id.*

³¹ Limited English Proficiency (LEP), means that an individual self-identifies as speaking English “less than very well.” Mayor’s Office of Immigrant Affairs, *Annual Report for 2019*. (March 2020). Available at <https://www1.nyc.gov/assets/immigrants/downloads/pdf/MOIA-Annual-Report-for-2019.pdf>.

³² *Id.*

³³ Park, Maki and Margie McHugh. *Immigrant Parents and Early Childhood Programs: Addressing Barriers of Literacy, Culture, and Systems Knowledge*. Migration Policy Institute. (June 2014). Available at: <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/research/immigrant-parents-early-childhood-programs-barriers>.

³⁴ *Id.*

³⁵ *Id.*

³⁶ *Id.*

households.³⁷ Furthermore, 33 percent of children in mixed-status families live in a linguistically isolated household, which means that all adults in the household (aged 14 and older) speak a language other than English, and no adults speak English well.³⁸ This suggests that children with English proficiency in linguistically isolated households may bear a disproportionate level of family responsibility as the only proficient English speaker in their home.³⁹

Adult Literacy Programming in New York City

In New York City, DYCD is the City agency tasked with reducing poverty and providing opportunities for New Yorkers and communities to prosper.⁴⁰ To fulfill this goal, DYCD invests in a large network of community-based organizations, non-profits, and programs.⁴¹ Among its investments, DYCD funds a range of high-quality youth and community programs, including after school, community development, family support and literacy services.⁴² DYCD operates primarily as a contracting oversight agency, with 93 percent of its overall budget supporting contracts for youth services.⁴³ This stands in contrast to City agencies that directly administer services and programs but provides for a range of providers that directly serve community needs.

DYCD administers 30 contracts⁴⁴ that support programming and services related to reading, writing, General Educational Development (GED),⁴⁵ and English language classes for

³⁷ *Id.*

³⁸ *Id.*

³⁹ *Id.*

⁴⁰ NYC DYCD. About DYCD. Available at <https://www1.nyc.gov/site/dycd/about/about-dycd/about-dycd.page>.

⁴¹ *Id.*

⁴² *Id.*

⁴³ Report of the New York City Council Finance Division on the Fiscal 2021 Executive Budget for the Department of Youth and Community Development, March 20, 2020. Available at <https://council.nyc.gov/budget/wp-content/uploads/sites/54/2020/06/260-DYCD.pdf>

⁴⁴ Report of the New York City Council Finance Division on the Fiscal 2021 Preliminary Budget for the Department of Youth and Community Development, March 20, 2020. Available at <https://council.nyc.gov/budget/wp-content/uploads/sites/54/2020/05/260-DYCD-FY21-Prelim-for-LRM.pdf>

⁴⁵ Effective January 2, 2014, New York State selected the Test Assessing Secondary Completion (TASC) to replace the General Educational Development (GED) as the primary pathway to a New York State High School Equivalency Diploma. On DYCD's website, GED is still listed, thus it is referred to within this paper. See: <http://www.acces.nysed.gov/what-hsetasc-test>.

youth and adults.⁴⁶ Included among these programs and services are the Adult Literacy, Young Adult Literacy, and Adolescent Literacy Programs.

The Adult Literacy Program is a partnership with the New York City Adult Literacy Initiative (NYCALI), which is the City's system for providing literacy and English language services for adults and out-of-school youth over the age of 16.⁴⁷ The Adult Literacy Program incorporates instructional and support services that can connect anyone over the age of 16 who is not enrolled or required to be enrolled in school or who is unable to speak, read, and/or write the English language well with a range of reading, writing, English-language and GED Tests preparation programs.⁴⁸ Programs offered include:

- Adult Basic Education programs that teach reading, writing, and math to native English or English-fluent speakers;⁴⁹
- GED programs to prepare students for the tests required to receive a high school equivalency diploma;⁵⁰ and
- English for Speakers of Other Languages classes to improve English language communication skills for those with a lack of knowledge regarding the English language.⁵¹
- The City Council's investment in Adult Literacy additionally funds counseling and case management services for students.⁵²

⁴⁶ NYC DYCD. Get Services. *Reading & Writing*. Available at: <https://www1.nyc.gov/site/dycd/services/reading-writing.page>.

⁴⁷ NYC DYCD. Get Services. Reading & Writing. *Adult Literacy Program*. Available at: <https://www1.nyc.gov/site/dycd/services/reading-writing/adult-literacy-program.page>

⁴⁸ *Id.*

⁴⁹ *Id.*

⁵⁰ *Id.*

⁵¹ *Id.*

⁵² The City Council of the City of New York Fiscal Year 2021 Adopted Expense Budget and Adjustment Summary (Schedule C). Available at <https://council.nyc.gov/budget/wp-content/uploads/sites/54/2020/06/Fiscal-2021-Schedule-C-Cover-REPORT-Final.pdf>

Ultimately, adult programs strive to ensure that New Yorkers learn the reading, writing and communications skills they need to obtain a job or continue their education.⁵³

The Young Adult Literacy Program (YALP) was developed in collaboration with the Mayor's Center for Economic Opportunity to specifically target disconnected youth between the ages of 16 and 24 who read at the 4th to 8th grade reading level and lack the reading, writing, and mathematics skills to be enrolled in a high school equivalency test preparation program.⁵⁴ YALP participants receive both skills training and supportive services, which include a paid internship for those who maintain a 70 percent average attendance rate.⁵⁵ YALP is currently offered through eight community-based programs and eight public libraries that have expertise in disconnected youth matters and is additionally guided by the Youth Development Institute, which provides technical assistance.⁵⁶

The Adolescent Literacy Program is a partnership between six community-based organizations and nine New York City public middle schools that helps struggling 6th, 7th, and 8th graders develop reading, writing, and oral communication skills in an afterschool setting.⁵⁷ Participants are identified by middle school leadership after teacher observations demonstrate a need for academic intervention.⁵⁸ Strategies for engaging participants include traditional direct instruction as well as embedding literacy instruction into contexts such as technology and drama.⁵⁹

⁵³ NYC DYCD. Get Services. Reading & Writing. *Adult Literacy Program*. Available at: <https://www1.nyc.gov/site/dycd/services/reading-writing/adult-literacy-program.page>

⁵⁴ NYC DYCD. Get Services. Reading & Writing. *Young Adult Literacy Program*. Available at: <https://www1.nyc.gov/site/dycd/services/reading-writing/young-adult-literacy-program.page>.

⁵⁵ *Id.*

⁵⁶ *Id.*

⁵⁷ NYC DYCD. Get Services. Reading & Writing. *Adolescent Literacy Program*. Available at: <https://www1.nyc.gov/site/dycd/services/reading-writing/adolescent-literacy-program.page>.

⁵⁸ *Id.*

⁵⁹ *Id.*

Under the Fiscal 2021 Adopted Budget, the City funded the Adult Literacy Services program at \$27.89 million, a \$2.11 million decrease from the Fiscal 2020 Adopted Budget.⁶⁰ Of that, approximately one-third, or \$9.8 million, funds the City Council’s Adult Literacy Initiative. This initiative includes a \$3.4 million allocation by the City Council to 46 community-based organizations (CBOs), libraries and universities,⁶¹ to support basic literacy instruction focused on increasing the number of adult literacy class seats,⁶² as well as counseling and case management for students.⁶³ The additional \$6.4 million under the City Council’s Adult Literacy Initiative is allocated by the Administration.

Other Literacy Programs and Resources in New York City

While DYCD is the primary City agency responsible for assuring that New Yorkers receive the literacy programs they require, other programs and initiatives also help to address the City’s need for literacy support. Among these is an initiative of the New York City Council called City’s First Readers (CFR).⁶⁴ CFR invests in early childhood literacy services, programs and resources for children from birth to age five through a collaboration of not-for-profits and public libraries.⁶⁵ By offering early literacy experiences to this age group through venues such as homes, schools,

⁶⁰ The City of New York Adopted Budget Fiscal Year 2021 Expense Revenue Contract. Available at <https://www1.nyc.gov/assets/omb/downloads/pdf/erc6-20.pdf>

⁶¹ The City Council of the City of New York Fiscal Year 2021 Adopted Expense Budget and Adjustment Summary (Schedule C). Available at <https://council.nyc.gov/budget/wp-content/uploads/sites/54/2020/06/Fiscal-2021-Schedule-C-Cover-REPORT-Final.pdf>

⁶² Report of the New York City Council Finance Division on the Fiscal 2021 Executive Plan for the Mayor’s Office of Immigrant Affairs, May 21, 2020. Available at <https://council.nyc.gov/budget/wp-content/uploads/sites/54/2020/05/MOIA-FY21-Executive-Budget-Report.pdf>

⁶³ The City Council of the City of New York Fiscal Year 2021 Adopted Expense Budget and Adjustment Summary (Schedule C). Available at <https://council.nyc.gov/budget/wp-content/uploads/sites/54/2020/06/Fiscal-2021-Schedule-C-Cover-REPORT-Final.pdf>

⁶⁴ City’s First Readers. Available at: <http://www.citysfirstreaders.com/>.

⁶⁵ *Id.*; For a list of partner organizations, See: <http://www.citysfirstreaders.com/partner-organizations/> (includes Brooklyn Public Library, Committee for Hispanic Children and Families, Jewish Child Care Association, Jumpstart, Literacy Inc., New York Public Library, Parent-Child Home Program, Queens, Library, Reach out and Read of Greater New York, United Way, and Video Interaction Project).

daycare centers, libraries, hospitals and other key locations in immediate neighborhoods, CFR strives to prevent the achievement gap that some students face when beginning school.⁶⁶

Through its Adult and Continuing Education Division, the City University of New York (CUNY) offers an Adult Literacy Program at 14 campuses in all five boroughs.⁶⁷ The program enrolls nearly 10,000 students annually in three areas of instruction:

- English for Speakers of Other Languages (designed for immigrants seeking to improve their English language skills);⁶⁸
- Pre-High School Equivalency (enabling students to improve reading, writing, and math skills to enter high school equivalency classes);⁶⁹ and
- High School Equivalency Preparation (focusing on reading, writing and math skills through content areas of science, social studies and literature as examined on the High School Equivalency exam).⁷⁰

The New York City Department of Education (DOE) allows anyone over the age of 21 to register for tuition-free adult classes in basic education that helps to address lower literacy levels in reading and math.⁷¹ These courses help to prepare students for High School Equivalency classes and for the Test Assessing Secondary Completion.⁷² In conjunction with its offerings, DOE provides Literacy Zone Offices that help families cope with the challenge of assimilating into a

⁶⁶ *Id.*

⁶⁷ CUNY website, CUNY Adult Literacy/HSE/ESL Program, available at: <https://www2.cuny.edu/academics/academic-programs/model-programs/cuny-college-transition-programs/adult-literacy/>.

⁶⁸ *Id.*

⁶⁹ *Id.*

⁷⁰ *Id.*

⁷¹ Department of Education Website, Adult Education (Ages 21+), available at: <https://www.schools.nyc.gov/enrollment/other-ways-to-graduate/adult-education>.

⁷² *Id.*

new culture and learning a new language.⁷³ Staff at these centers can connect interested persons to classes and resources for housing, legal, medical, employment and other needs.⁷⁴

COVID-19: Remote Programming Highlights Digital Literacy Gap

In response to the rapid spread of COVID-19 across New York, the Governor signed the New York State on PAUSE executive order, which closed all non-essential businesses, effective March 22, 2020.⁷⁵ Seemingly overnight, services that were offered in-person were forced to transition to remote offerings, if possible, further exacerbating the digital divide for immigrant New Yorkers, in four main areas: employment, adult education and English literacy instruction, children's education, and access to health-care services.⁷⁶ Regarding employment, the pandemic solidified a pre-existing trend: entry-level positions have increasingly required some type of digital skill, while four out of five middle-skilled jobs now require digital skills.⁷⁷ This is likely to impact career advancement for immigrants lacking digital access and skills.⁷⁸ A July 2020 survey of adult education providers, cited by the Migration Policy Institute (MPI), found that lack of technology access and limited digital literacy were among the top challenges faced by LEP and immigrant individuals enrolled in adult literacy programs that rapidly transitioned to remote learning in March 2020.⁷⁹ For immigrant families with school-age children, the immediate need was access to technology: 15 percent of U.S. households with school-age children do not have high-speed

⁷³ *Id.*

⁷⁴ *Id.*

⁷⁵ New York State Governor Andrew Cuomo. *Governor Cuomo Issues Guidance on Essential Services under the New York State on PAUSE Executive Order*. (March 20, 2020). Available at <https://www.governor.ny.gov/news/governor-cuomo-issues-guidance-essential-services-under-new-york-state-pause-executive-order>

⁷⁶ Cherewka, Alexis. *The Digital Divide Hits U.S. Immigrant Households Disproportionately during the COVID-19 Pandemic*. Migration Policy Institute. (Sep. 2020). <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/digital-divide-hits-us-immigrant-households-during-covid-19>

⁷⁷ *Id.*

⁷⁸ *Id.*

⁷⁹ *Id.*

internet access,⁸⁰ and early reporting shows that 26 percent of Latino families surveyed needed better access to internet or technology, and 65 percent reported that their child’s learning was made more difficult because of challenges communicating with teachers.⁸¹ Finally, gaps in digital literacy translate to failures to access health-care services, as the primary means of reaching a healthcare professional during the spring surge of COVID-19 cases in New York, was via telehealth.⁸² MPI finds that the use of telehealth services is linked to reliable internet access and experience utilizing it, and while immigrants faced increased COVID-19 exposure due to overrepresentation in frontline occupations, among other factors, the digital literacy gap serves as a further barrier to remote health care access.⁸³

III. CONCLUSION

The Committees seek an overview of the ways in which existing adult literacy programming is tailored to ensure that immigrant New Yorkers are able to achieve English literacy. The Committees are additionally hoping to hear how current remote-based programs and services have been able to retain immigrant participants. Digital literacy can be a hurdle to accessing remote programming, and the Committees expect to hear the ways in which existing programs have been flexible and responsive to meet the critical literacy need among the City’s foreign-born population.

⁸⁰ *Pew Research Center, cited in Cherewka, Alexis. The Digital Divide Hits U.S. Immigrant Households Disproportionately during the COVID-19 Pandemic.* Migration Policy Institute. (Sep. 2020). <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/digital-divide-hits-us-immigrant-households-during-covid-19>

⁸¹ *Id.*

⁸² NYC Health + Hospitals. *NYC Health + Hospitals Announces Success of Telehealth Expansion to Address COVID-19 Pandemic Managing Nearly 57,000 Televisits During Peak* (June 2020). Available at <https://www.nychealthandhospitals.org/pressrelease/system-announces-success-of-telehealth-expansion-during-covid-19-pandemic/>

⁸³ Cherewka, Alexis. *The Digital Divide Hits U.S. Immigrant Households Disproportionately during the COVID-19 Pandemic.* Migration Policy Institute. (Sep. 2020). <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/digital-divide-hits-us-immigrant-households-during-covid-19>