

Echando Raices Taking Root

IMMIGRANT AND REFUGEE COMMUNITIES IN CALIFORNIA, TEXAS, AND IOWA



Discussion Guide

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American Friends Service Committee

By Immigrants, For Immigrants

Project Voice

Defending Our Rights and Dignity

What is Project Voice?

Project Voice is a new initiative sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC). Its purpose is to strengthen the voices of immigrant-led organizations in setting the national agenda for immigration policy and immigrants' rights. **Project Voice** combines local and national organizing, education, and outreach campaigns to achieve a strategic impact on key immigration and refugee issues, including legalization, abuse of authority, community relations, workers' rights, and more.

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American Friends Service Committee

For more information about Project Voice please call 215.241.7134.

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This discussion guide is intended as a companion to AFSC's educational video documentary, *Echando Raices/Taking Root: Immigrant and Refugee Communities in California, Texas, and Iowa*. The guide has been developed in partnership with the New England Literacy Resource Center of Boston, MA.

Both the video and the guide are collaborative efforts sponsored by AFSC's Immigration Concentration Network. Development of these resources has been coordinated by AFSC's National Community Relations Unit, with the participation of regional AFSC immigrants' rights programs and several of their grassroots partner organizations.

To order *Echando Raices/Taking Root* or find out more about it, please visit our website at www.takingroot.org. For additional information, please contact cruweb@afsc.org or 215/241-7126.

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Cover photo: Guatemalan refugee Concepción Tomás is a farm worker and community organizer in Stockton, California. From *Echando Raices/Taking Root*.

Contents

Foreword	v
Introduction	1
I. Building Awareness	
Notes for Facilitators	5
Viewing Activities	7
II. Moving Toward Action	
Notes for Facilitators	13
Deepening Our Understanding	13
Planning for Action	16
Video Excerpts by Theme	17
III. Activities for Adult Education Settings	
Viewing <i>Echando Raices/Taking Root</i>	21
Further Explorations	22
ABE/ESOL Quote-Based Discussions	24
IV. Background on Immigration Issues	
Immigrants in the United States: A Profile	27
The Roots of Migration	32
Immigration Law and Policy	35
Building Alliances, Building Movements	40
Immigrants and Racial/Ethnic Tensions	45
Understanding Anti-Immigrant Movements	49
V. Appendices	
A. Segment Summaries	52
B. Background and Updates	54
C. Participant Viewing Worksheet	56
D. Facilitator’s “Cheat Sheet”	58
E. Resources and Links	60

Foreword

This discussion guide is designed to accompany the video documentary *Echando Raices/Taking Root: Immigrant and Refugee Communities in California, Texas, and Iowa*, which has been created as a resource for education and organizing by the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC).

Echando Raices/Taking Root shares stories from some of the immigrant community organizations that work in partnership with AFSC. Viewers should be aware that this video does not depict a representative sample of immigrants in the United States. It also does not cover every issue that is important to immigrants.

The approach we took in creating this video was to work with the people and organizations that we have the strongest relationships with and to share the most powerful stories and reflections that we were able to capture on tape. The video professionals we worked with, our staff, our community partners, and the Advisory Board for this project all played a role in making those choices.

Each aspect of this project has depended on collaborative relationships. All of AFSC's immigrants' rights programs, whether community-based or national in scope, participate in an organizational Immigration Network, which sponsored this project. A staff working group researched potential locations and stories and selected the communities included in the video. An Advisory Board of activists and researchers has offered ongoing support and feedback throughout this project.

To create the video, we entered into a collaborative relationship with independent filmmaker JT Takagi, who directed and edited this tape and guided us through each step of the production process. Through her long association with Third World

Newsreel, a New York–based media arts center dedicated to film and video by, for, and about people of color, we also benefited from extensive production support for this project.

The particular stories that are presented in this tape reflect another level of collaboration — with four of AFSC's immigrants' rights programs and many of the individuals and grassroots community groups they work with. Each of them contributed countless hours of effort to this project.

For the development of this discussion guide, finally, we have been very fortunate to establish yet another collaboration, with Andrea Nash of the New England Literacy Resource Center, who has served as the lead writer for this guide.

Each of these collaborations — each contribution of knowledge, skill, trust, and commitment — is an expression of a shared belief that the rights and dignity of immigrants are an integral part of the dignity of all humankind. These values, which sustain AFSC's work for immigrants' rights, are grounded for us in the Quaker belief in the equal and infinite worth of every person and all peoples.

This underlying spiritual vision has led the Service Committee into many different efforts in support of immigrants' rights throughout its eighty-five-year history. AFSC has taken a stand of noncompliance with the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) of 1986. Since the passage of IRCA, we have documented the growing human rights abuses associated with border control measures. We have also been unwavering in its support of the rights of undocumented people, and in 2000 we issued a formal statement of support for a new legalization (amnesty) program.

At the community level, we sponsor legal services programs, support for citizenship education and civic participation, and know-your-rights programs for groups ranging from border communities to INS detainees.

In all of these initiatives, we have sought to lift up the voices of immigrants and to promote leadership by the affected communities in organizing against violence, exploitation, and exclusion.

Echando Raices/Taking Root grows out of and reflects these efforts. We hope it will also serve as a resource for deepening and strengthening them, with friends and allies old and new, immigrants and non-immigrants alike.

— *Rachael Kamel, AFSC*

Introduction

Echando raices means “putting down roots” or “taking root.” It is a phrase often used by Spanish-speaking immigrants to the United States as they reflect on the complex and contradictory process of building new lives and new communities in an unfamiliar and often hostile environment. It is a phrase that also evokes the yearning common to all people, immigrant and U.S.-born alike, for security, stability, and dignity in their daily lives.

These two simple words remind us that whatever the reasons or the process by which people are uprooted, they face an ongoing struggle to establish a new home — a struggle whose elements include maintaining family ties, preserving (and adapting) one’s language and culture, establishing social and community networks, building institutions and social movements, confronting new (and old) problems, and devising new and creative solutions. Achievement of these universal human goals is constantly frustrated, however, by the unjust and unworkable immigration policies of the U.S. government, as well as by widespread racism and discrimination. As a result, political organizing has become an essential component of immigrants’ search for dignity.

The video documentary *Echando Raices/Taking Root* is named to reflect the desire of immigrants to settle and flourish in new terrain. Although it is produced in English and Spanish versions, it includes voices from other immigrant communities as well, and it addresses issues of racism and exploitation that face most immigrants of color. It introduces us to three parts of the country in which immigrant communities are dealing with the contrast between what they believed life in the United States would be like and the reality they found. In each context, the hurdles are different. Across the board, however, we see immigrant lives and energy

sapped by the constant struggle to meet the dual challenge of exploitative working conditions and the ambivalent and sometimes hostile response of established residents.

Purpose of This Guide

This discussion guide is intended to help discussion leaders and educators facilitate an exploration of these issues with both immigrant and non-immigrant audiences. Specifically, it is intended to promote:

- Increased understanding of the factors that bring immigrants to the United States.
- Reflection on our beliefs and assumptions about immigration and why we hold them.
- Analysis of how the systemic exploitation of immigrants is maintained, who benefits from it, and how it can be challenged.
- Dialogue that can help us see the issues in all their complexity and formulate a just response.
- Development of a vision that can guide our personal and collective work for social justice.
- Alliances among immigrant, labor, faith-based, and other community groups that can recognize and address the interconnectedness of all these issues

Each audience will also bring its own needs and purposes to the discussion. Some will be interested in simply learning more about immigration issues; others will be interested in organizing for action. Background knowledge, experience, and relationship to the issues will be diverse. Whether viewers are learning about the reality of undocumented immigrants for the first time or steeped in the struggle, each will be drawn to examine their own roles and identities in a painfully problematic dynamic.

Overview of Contents

The guide provides a range of tools to carry out its multifaceted aims:

- A core set of adaptable activities that address the key purposes listed above, recommended as the starting point for any audience.
- Facilitation notes to support the facilitation of discussions in which participants are challenged, engaged, and heard.
- Additional activities that can be used during longer sessions or for follow-up.
- Supplementary activities for use in adult education settings where adult students are working to develop their English-language or literacy skills.

- Reproducible issue papers that elaborate on the key themes addressed in the video.
- Resources and links, including other educational materials, immigrants rights organizations, and key sources for additional information.

The first section of the guide, “Building Awareness,” offers step-by-step guidance in facilitating a one- or two-session viewing of the film. It provides a suggested sequence of activities that will introduce audiences to the issues and invite them to consider them in their own local contexts.

In order to dig more deeply into particular issues or consider steps for action, however, we encourage groups to reconvene for further discussion and planning. This is the purpose of the follow-up ac-

After September 11

The stories shown in *Echando Raíces/Taking Root* were mainly filmed during the summer and fall of the year 2000, with a few follow-up interviews in the spring of 2001.

By the end of August 2001, we were ready to begin the final editing of this tape. Then came September 11 — a moment that changed so much for so many people, and yet still has no name, beyond a few variations on its date.

From the earliest moments, September 11 unleashed a wave of prejudice and hate violence directed toward immigrants, particularly people of Middle Eastern or South Asian origin. Reports began to surface that immigrants were being arrested and held in detention in undisclosed locations, without charges and without access to their lawyers or family members. Immigrant activists reported entire communities living in fear, with many people afraid to leave their homes, go to work, or attend community meetings.

By late October, when the number of detainees had reached more than 1100, the Justice Department

announced it would no longer release its running total of how many people were being detained. At the end of the month, new “counter-terrorism” measures were enacted that effectively stripped immigrants of a broad array of due-process protections, as well as undermining constitutional rights for all people in the United States. War fever has rendered dissent and critical discussion suspect, while the new USA-PATRIOT act may well have made it illegal.

At this writing, a wide variety of initiatives are underway, led by civil libertarians, immigrants’ rights advocates, Muslim and Arab community organizations, antiwar coalitions, and a broad range of other community organizations. Legal challenges have been brought against the secrecy surrounding the detainees. Other challenges have focused on FBI plans to monitor attorney-client communications or the Internet. In some areas community-based networks have formed to defend immigrants, particularly Muslims, from intimidation and hate violence. Even some police departments have declined to assist the FBI to immigrants who are not suspected of violating any laws, simply because of their eth-

tivities in Section II, “Moving Toward Action.” This section assumes an audience that has viewed the film and chosen to meet again, to grapple with the issues in greater depth and consider next steps.

Section III is comprised of activities for classes in adult basic education (ABE) or English for speakers of other languages (ESOL). Adult students who are returning to school to build their basic skills may not have thought about the issues raised in the film as explicitly as faith-based, labor, or other activist audiences. The activities provided in the ABE/ESOL section are thus designed to help adults engage in longer-term examination of issues as they also work on reading, writing, and English conversation skills. Any group interested in more sustained dialogue about immigrants’ rights can also borrow ideas and activities from this section.

Section IV includes background papers on key issues, including basic information about immigrants in the United States, an exploration of why people migrate, an overview of immigration law and policy, a discussion of alliance building in the context of organizing for immigrants’ rights, a look at immigrants and racial/ethnic tensions, and information on anti-immigrant movements.

Our hope is that facilitators and teachers can use this assortment of tools to model a process of critical reflection and dialogue that participants can bring to any community issue, in order to build a shared vision of community problems and strategies for social change.

nic origins. Meanwhile, antiwar groups are protesting U.S. plans to widen the “war on terrorism” in the Middle East, Somalia, Colombia, the Philippines, and elsewhere.

A detailed discussion of these developments and their implications is beyond the scope of this guide — and would in any event be outdated by the time it was printed. It seems important to acknowledge, however, that the communities and social movements featured in this video have faced profoundly difficult challenges since their stories were documented.

Some of these changes were already unfolding before Sept. 11. Many signs of an economic recession, for example, such as mounting numbers of layoffs, were already apparent before the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. While the attacks undoubtedly deepened the recession, they did not cause it. Open expressions of prejudice and hostility toward immigrant workers are always more pronounced during hard economic times; now, they have been intensified by the overall anti-immigrant climate.

Despite these and other changes in the national (and international) political climate, we believe the stories chronicled in *Echando Raices/Taking Root* remain deeply relevant to discussions of immigrant realities and immigrants’ rights. Washington politics are notoriously fickle; anyone who has worked for policy change knows that sudden reversals of fortune come with the territory. Social movements, however, are enduring — to the extent that they flow from a strategic understanding of community needs and aspirations, and to the extent that they empower communities to set their own agenda and lift up their own voice.

The stories documented in this video, we believe, profile an irreversible process of community empowerment. Campaigns and issues may change from place to place or year to year — but the underlying process depicted here will be sustained. It has been our privilege to hear these stories and assist in bringing them to a wider audience.



Town meeting following incidents of anti-immigrant violence in Ackley, Iowa.

I. Building Awareness

A Guide for Viewing *Echando Raices/Taking Root*

Notes for Facilitators

A guided discussion of a film is useful for helping viewers recall what they've seen and heard, check the film's messages against their own experience, and articulate questions or reactions. It provides an opportunity to process information and to figure out how to act on it. Without this opportunity, viewers of films that raise many issues may feel overwhelmed by the dilemmas or perplexed about their role in making change. The process outlined in this section guides viewers in discussing *Echando Raices/Taking Root*, segment by segment, so that all of the issues are surfaced. It then helps them integrate the information with their own local knowledge so that they can begin to envision ways to take action. The guide might be used with faith-based groups concerned about the justice of our immigration policies, labor groups learning about the plight of immigrant workers, immigrants' rights groups seeking to building alliances with other communities, adult education classes using social issues as the basis for literacy and language practice, or any other group that wants to use the video to prompt dialogue and reflection.

Since each viewing situation will be unique (length of time, number and composition of audi-

ence, etc.), facilitators will need to tailor the program to the context. General suggestions for planning the session follow in the "Notes for Facilitators"; ideas for adapting specific activities are noted in the activity descriptions. In addition to these logistical considerations, however, it's also important to design a program that fits with your own style and pace — one that you will feel comfortable facilitating! As you read through the guide and imagine each activity unfolding, make the changes you need to create a plan that works for you.

Below, you will find some reminders to help you facilitate an effective event. One of the most important guidelines is to think about the purpose of your event. What is your objective for organizing this session, and what is the audience's purpose in coming? What do they want to get out of it? This attention to purpose can guide many of the specific decisions (about timing, how to group people, how to focus discussion, and so on) you will make during the session.

Note that *Echando Raices/Taking Root* has been produced in both English and Spanish versions. The English version uses subtitles to translate comments in other languages, while the Spanish version uses

voiceover (dubbing). Both versions are on the same videocassette; the label indicates which one is first.

Preparation

- Watch the video and read the entire guide. This includes the activities in Section I–III as well as the background papers, segment summaries, and story updates in later sections.
- Learn whatever you can about your audience: who will be there, how many people, their level of awareness and activism on immigration issues.
- Visit the space you'll be in to ensure that you can arrange seating in a circle. Make sure that seating is near the VCR and that there's a place to put up newsprint. Find out if your organization has access to a video projector through a university or media arts center; these can be expensive to rent commercially but are much better for group work than a VCR and television monitor. Make sure you can darken the room during the screening, especially if you will be using the English version of the tape, which includes subtitles.
- Depending on how much time you have available, you may wish to watch the entire video (60 minutes) or only one segment (approximately 20 minutes each). The activities described below can be adapted accordingly.
- Think about how you will adjust your plan if you're way off schedule. Where will you trim? How can you involve the group in deciding quickly what to do?
- Prepare to help the group build on their initial discussion by finding out what resources are available to support possible follow-up activities (availability of a facilitator/organizer to organize future meetings, organizations working on immigrant rights, and the like).

Fostering Participation

- Post an agenda on newsprint and describe the format for the session so that participants know what's going to happen; include the timeframe for each activity.

- Let people know that the issues up for discussion may bring up challenging emotions, and assure them that they can "pass" if they don't want to participate in any activity.
- Immigrants and non-immigrants may each need some time to react to this tape separately in order to feel comfortable participating in a joint discussion. Think about who is in your group and how well they know each other to assess this before your screening.
- If there is time, allow participants to talk in pairs or small groups before whole-group discussions. This gives people a chance to refine their ideas before offering them more publicly.
- Build on the knowledge base of your audience, using cultural or historic references that they will know.
- Do not assume that everyone can read and write easily; encourage discussion and writing in people's native languages or use versions of activities that do not rely on text.
- The activities in Section I are highly structured so that a group can get through the entire video and consider the key issues within one or two sessions. Some groups will appreciate being moved along, others may prefer breaking with the schedule in order to have more time in discussion. If you sense any frustration with the pace, note your observation to the group and ask them whether they'd like to stay with the schedule in order to get through the entire program, cut something out, or go at a slower pace but come back to finish the program at another meeting.

Facilitating the Discussion

- The role of the facilitator is to draw others into the conversation and to create opportunities for everyone to have a voice. Beware of turning the discussion into a dialogue between you and each speaker.
- Appreciate that silences might be necessary thinking time; avoid jumping in to fill them.

- A good facilitator doesn't need to have all the answers. Don't be reluctant to say, "I don't know. How can we find out?"
- As the discussion unfolds, help the group identify areas of agreement, disagreement, and confusion. Encourage research/investigation into those areas.
- Many of the activities give people something to react to (an image, a quote, an idea) because this is often a more effective discussion-starter than asking a direct question.

Working with Video

- Test your setup before the session begins to see that it is in good working order and connected properly. Make sure that you are comfortable with the equipment you are using. If you will be showing only one segment of the tape, it should be cued up so you can start your screening without rewinding or fast-forwarding the tape. Learn to use the counter on the VCR in case you want to return to a particular point on the tape.
- Prepare the audience for viewing by drawing out their own experiences relevant to the theme or having them articulate questions they hope the film will answer.

Viewing Activities

Almost all activities in this guide are equally applicable to both immigrant and non-immigrant audiences, asking each of them to reflect on their own lives, experiences, and beliefs. In some instances, though, it makes sense to draw out or address the uniqueness of the experience that immigrant viewers will bring to the discussion. We have noted where this might be helpful.

Materials: Newsprint, masking tape, markers, post-it notes

Handouts: Background papers from Section IV
Appendix C: Viewer Note Sheet
Appendix E: Resources and Links

Welcome

- Thank people for coming and invite them to introduce themselves by saying their name and where their grandparents are from (to the entire group if the group is small; to the people around them if the group is large).
- Give an overview of the event by walking through the posted agenda. Explain that there may not be time to go into as much depth about each issue as you'd like, but that follow-up discussions are possible.
- Acknowledge that there's a range of experience and knowledge in the room, and that we hope to learn from each other as well as from the film.

Activity A: Naming the Issues

The purpose of this activity is to:

- Raise awareness of immigrant experiences.
- Identify areas of tension among marginalized groups.
- Analyze the systems that perpetuate and benefit from those tensions.

1. Draw out knowledge and questions

Time: 10 minutes

Explain that the video explores the experiences of immigrants in three parts of the United States: California's Central Valley; Houston, Texas; and central Iowa. Without further description, invite participants to share what they know or predict about these communities:

- Which immigrant groups do you think are there?
- Why are they there?
- What issues do you think they face?

With an immigrant audience, you might also invite participants to compare the jobs they had at home to the jobs they have here. This opens the theme of skilled immigrant labor forced into low-wage jobs.

2. Clarify definitions

Time: 10 minutes

The video will be referring to documented and undocumented immigrants and to refugees. If these terms are unfamiliar to your group, you may refer to the information below to field any questions. Additional background is given on page 37.

- What’s the difference between an immigrant and a refugee?

Immigrant — A person who settles in another country to work and live. It is often difficult to obtain a visa or work permit. Without these, a person is considered to be undocumented.

Refugee — A person who flees their homeland owing to war or persecution. People who are recognized as refugees by the U.S. government are eligible for public assistance, services, and residency.

- Does the United States recognize as refugees everyone who is persecuted?

The granting of refugee status has often been based on whether or not people are fleeing from a government that is categorized as an “enemy” of the United States. Note the differential treatment of Salvadorans and Haitians versus Cubans or people from the former Soviet Union.

- Why are some immigrants legally documented while others are not?

Immigrants can apply for work permits and documents that grant legal permanent resident status (green cards) only if they are immediate relatives of a legal resident, if they have special work authorization based on a specialized skill, or if they win the visa lottery (quotas are set country by country). Temporary documents are also available for tourists and students. In addition, people who have been uprooted by natural disasters or military conflict can sometimes obtain Temporary Protected Status (TPS).

3. Explain the viewing task and its purpose

Time: 5 minutes

- Explain that you’re going to watch the video one segment at a time, pausing between each section to debrief. You will give a short introduction before each one. You’re also going to give participants a note-taking sheet that they might like to use to jot down notes during the film. The notes are simply a memory aid to help viewers remember all the themes presented in the film, so that they can later construct a common understanding of the issues — this is not a quiz! If, however, participants are not comfortable writing, or if they come from oral traditions that do not rely on print as a memory aid (in which case taking notes might be a distraction), the group chart can be constructed from memory after each segment. The facilitator should also invite participants to add their own experiences to the chart (being careful that they not feel pressured to talk about their experiences if they don’t wish to).
- Hand out the activity sheet (Appendix C), and read through the four column titles. As we watch the first segment of the video, we’ll only be using columns 1, 2, and 4.
- Explain that when this (and each) segment is over, there will be a minute of quiet reflection before the discussion begins. Viewers can use this time to write their notes or to silently review their thoughts and feelings about the segment they’ve seen.

4. Watch and debrief the “Wars and Work” segment

Time: 40 minutes

- Introduce and then watch the first segment about the Central Valley (see Appendix A, Segment Summaries). After viewing, allow for a minute or two of quiet reflection or writing. Post a large sheet of newsprint on a wall where everyone can see it, and mark the four columns that are on the worksheet.
- Ask if anyone has any thoughts or feelings they’d like to share before you discuss the chart. Ask that others listen without responding; there will be time for dialogue later.

- c. Begin discussion of the worksheet topics. As participants contribute ideas from their notes, write them down in the appropriate columns. If the group has trouble getting started, draw from the “Facilitator’s Cheat Sheet” (Appendix D) to contribute some ideas. You may also draw from this sheet if any key themes are missed. (In a group that has difficulty reading and writing, note down their ideas and then read them back to the group.)
- d. When the group is done sharing, discuss:
- Who benefits from the Central Valley situation as it exists?

5. Watch and debrief the “Borders and Barriers” segment

Time: 30 minutes

Introduce and then view the Houston segment. For this segment, invite participants to use the same note-taking process, except that they will be now be taking notes in columns 2, 3, and 4. Otherwise, go through the same process described in step 4. After ideas have been shared and written down, discuss:

- Who benefits from the situation in Houston as it exists?

6. Watch and debrief the “Midwest Migrations” segment

Time: 30 minutes

Introduce and then view the Iowa segment. Repeat the process exactly as for Houston. Then discuss:

- Who benefits from the situation in Iowa as it exists?

7. Dig deeper

Time: 10 minutes

Review the three anti-immigrant incidents that took place in Iowa: the hate letter and arson in Perry and the tire slashing in Ackley. The immigrant community in both towns concludes that they are not welcome. The local residents conclude that these incidents reflect the attitudes of just a few individuals, not a community problem.

- What’s your view of what happened?
- In an age when it’s not socially acceptable to voice bigotry, how can you tell a community’s level of intolerance and prejudice?

8. Consider the video as a whole

Time: 10 minutes

Discuss:

- What was most striking to you about this video? What stands out as something you’ll remember?
- What themes did you notice across the segments?

Activity B: Making Local Connections

The purpose of this activity is to:

- Anchor the issues in participants’ own experiences.
- Paint participants into a picture of social change.

1. Sharing our sense of the local issues

Time: 30 minutes

Form groups of three or four people who come from the same geographic community. Ask them to discuss the following questions. They should record their answers to the final question on the left half of a piece of newsprint:

- What are the largest immigrant groups in your community?
- What interactions with these groups do you have in your daily life? (For immigrant viewers, this may include their own ethnic community.)
- Which of the issues we’ve discussed do you believe affect your community?
- Which are the most important to you and why?

Have groups post and share their newsprints. Where there is duplication across groups, cross the item off one of the papers so that, in the end, each priority issue is only listed once.

2. Sharing our experiences of activism

Time: 20 minutes

- a. In pairs, talk about any work you are already engaged in that addresses the issues that have been listed.
- b. Write these activities down on post-it notes (one activity per note) while you're talking. For example, you might be active in a welfare rights coalition that represents diverse communities.
- c. Think about who else is working on these issues and write their activities on post-its as well.
- d. Stick the notes on the newsprint next to the issues they address. (If writing is difficult for people, the facilitator can write down participants' ideas for steps a–c above.)
- e. As a whole group, look at this chart that summarizes your concerns and your collective activism. What does it tell you?

Activity C: Considering Next Steps

The purpose of this activity is to:

- Envision starting points for action.
- Recognize the amount of work that was done during the session.
- Present options for follow-up.

1. Brainstorming next steps

Time: 15 minutes

The purpose of this activity is to help participants start imagining ways they might take action. This is not a moment for making concrete plans, but rather a way to capture people's concerns and build excitement around the notion of making change.

- a. Have each pair join with another pair to form groups of four. Given the priority concerns named by the group and the work already identified, ask each group to discuss some possible next steps. They can look over column 4 of the Viewer Note Sheet ("Efforts to address problems") to see if it suggests any additional ideas.

- b. Have each group look for agreement on the one or two "next steps" they think are most important and report these out to the full group. Document this list on newsprint.
- c. Keep this newsprint list as the starting point for follow-up activities at a future meeting.

2. Ways to follow up

Time: 10 minutes

Note that there are many possible ways to follow up on the interest, experience, and vision that have been expressed. People might want to come together again to continue building an action strategy, or perhaps they would like to do some deeper examination of the issues. Poll the group about whether they would like to meet again for either of these purposes (noting that one can lead to the other). Follow-up activities focused on digging deeper into the issues might include:

- Reading about and analyzing specific issues of interest.
- Further examination of diverse voices and perspectives, both those of the film characters and our own.
- Dialogue between immigrant and non-immigrant groups that have seen the video.
- Hearing a guest speaker from an immigrants' rights organization.
- A workshop on immigration policies and immigrants' rights.
- For immigrant groups, a meeting with an immigrant advocacy organization, or any organization the group wants to build dialogue with.

Follow-up activities focused on planning for action would include:

- Building consensus on next steps.
- Identifying community resources.
- Creating an action plan.

If participants want to consider action, suggest that they read the "Building Alliances, Building Move-

ments” background paper in preparation for moving forward on that work.

Any of the above options will require planning and organizing. The facilitator should be aware of (or willing to find out about) the resources available to support each option presented. For example, if participants were to voice interest in hearing from a guest speaker, how might that be organized?

3. Closing

Time: 10 minutes

- As a way to close the session, ask participants to reflect quietly for a moment and then share how they might use what they learned today. What are they going to do with their deepened understanding?
- Thank participants for their willingness to engage in this important discussion.
- Make clear how you will announce any follow-up activities and remind them about the background readings they can take with them.



Immigrant women's interchange in Fresno, California.

II. Moving Toward Action

Follow-Up Activities and Ideas for Exploration

The activities in this section are designed for groups that have seen *Echando Raices/Taking Root* and have chosen to return for further discussion and/or planning for action. Unlike Section I, which guides viewers through an intentional sequence of activities, Section II offers a menu of choices so that the facilitator can build a program that responds to the needs of the group. There is no prescribed sequence. Some groups will want to begin with further reflection and exploration of the issues; others will be interested in planning for action. Though both pieces are necessary for social change, either can be an effective starting point.

Notes for Facilitators

In Section I, the most challenging part of the facilitator's role is in keeping things moving without cutting off valuable dialogue. In Section II, which includes more in-depth discussion as well as group planning, the primary challenge lies in helping participants listen to one another and make decisions together. As a supplement to the facilitation notes included in Section I, group leaders may wish to refer to some of the resources on facilitation skills that are listed in Appendix E.

Materials: Clean newsprint, masking tape, markers, post-it notes, colored dots, and newsprint charts created in the Session I activity, "Brainstorming next steps"

Handouts:

Background papers from Section IV
Video excerpts by theme (pp. 17–20)
Appendix E: Resources and Links

Deepening Our Understanding

Activity A. Analyzing Specific Issues

The background papers in Section IV provide information and analysis on key immigration issues. Groups interested in examining topics such as "The Root Causes of Migration," "Immigrants and Racial Tensions," or "Immigration Law and Policy" can use these papers as a resource and discuss them together.

1. Prepare participants for reading by asking them to:
 - Share what they already know about the issue.
 - Identify their questions about the topic.

- Discuss what they think the mainstream public's understanding of this issue is.
- 2. Encourage readers to pause during their reading to see if their questions have been answered along the way, or to notice new questions they may have.
- 3. Use the text as a discussion-starter by asking, "What was the most striking thing to you about this reading? What stood out for you?"
- 4. When participants are satisfied with their grasp of the topic and have discussed their views, ask them to address the question, "What do you want others to know about this issue?"
- 5. If participants are interested in discussing the "Immigration Law and Policy" issue paper, have them prepare for reading by creating their own chart of the pros and cons of granting legalization (amnesty) to undocumented immigrants.

Activity B. Examining Diverse Perspectives

This activity uses the voices of the characters in the video as a jumping-off point for discussion of various issues. Although not all of these quotes appear in the film, all are drawn from the interviews that are included. The excerpts, which appear at the end of this section on page 17, have been clustered by theme:

"Why We Came" — These quotes challenge the myth of casual immigration.

"Barriers to Unity" — These quotes illustrate some of the ways communities are set apart.

"Resistance to Change" — These quotes illustrate the ambivalence and intolerance established residents sometimes feel toward immigrants.

"Positive Change" — These quotes offer models for action and sources of hope and inspiration.

"Crossing Borders" — These quotes highlight the positive and negative effects of borders.

1. Have participants choose one of the themes. Then hand out the related cluster of excerpts and ask participants to read them silently. Alternatively, you may ask individuals to each read one excerpt aloud.

Encourage participants to jot down their reactions to the various quotes as they read or hear them.

2. Give them a few quiet minutes to reflect on the quotes. Then ask individuals to pick the one that most captured their interest and tell the group why. There's no need to look for consensus here. The point of the activity is to hear a range of responses and consider multiple interpretations.
3. After all voices have been heard, ask participants to address these questions:
 - Within our discussion, were any perspectives noticeably missing?
 - How would you summarize the issues discussed here?
 - What do you want others to understand about this issue?

Activity C. Cross-Group Dialogue

Dialogue between U.S.-born and immigrant groups, or among immigrant groups that live in different communities, offers a powerful opportunity to identify common values and correct misperceptions: to hear and be heard. Open and constructive dialogue, however, requires a level of trust and respect that may need to be built between the two participating groups. This activity develops mutual trust by:

- Asking participants to affirm their intention to listen and be open to each other;
- Placing the focus on understanding varied perspectives rather than arriving at a common perspective;
- Inviting participants to take what they've heard back to their "home groups" in order to collectively sort through and make use of what they've learned.

It's important, in the planning of a cross-group dialogue, that the purpose of the meeting is clear to everyone. Why are the groups interested in talking? What do they each hope to get out of it? These purposes should be named up front, before the groups arrange to meet.

Thought should be put into how to make people feel comfortable when they arrive. It's a good idea to have someone greet each person as they arrive, make introductions, offer name tags, help people get settled, and so on.

Start by having each person introduce her/himself (either very simply or with an added bit of information, such as how long they've lived in the community). Invite volunteers to say why they've come. These statements will set a positive tone of good will.

If the participants are from organized groups (faith-based groups, activist groups, unions, etc.), ask a spokesperson for each to describe their group's work and concerns.

Especially where the groups may have experienced the video differently, it's valuable to set some ground rules together as your first activity. These might include:

- Try not to interrupt others.
- Work to understand others' perspectives.
- Avoid generalizations; speak from personal experience.
- Don't view individuals as spokespeople for entire groups.

Opening the dialogue

1. Break into small groups of four, with representation from both participating groups in each. Ask them to:
 - Share the impact the film had on them.
 - Share the questions that were raised for them by the film.
2. Reconvene as a large group. Ask for at least one volunteer from each small group to report out key discoveries they made as they listened in their group. (They are speaking for themselves here, not for the entire group.) Allow everybody to speak who would like to.
3. If these groups have been through Session I and have done the activity "Brainstorming next steps,"

post those newsprints and share the issue priorities and "next step" ideas that each group had identified before meeting together. Has the discussion today sparked any new thoughts about next steps?

4. Meet back in the two original groups. Whether or not they have just done step 3 above, ask them to discuss their views about how the work of the two groups could be complementary. Where might further dialogue be needed? Then report out.

Activity D. Analyzing Our Power

This activity helps participants examine the ways they perceive and exercise their own power — whether social, economic, or political. The purpose is not to merely label who has power, but to consider the ways that we all do and do not have power, to examine the common reluctance to acknowledge our own power and privilege, and to better understand the way power might affect our perspectives and roles with regard to the struggle for immigrants' rights.

1. Divide into small groups of three to five people. Give each group a piece of newsprint with a horizontal line drawn across the middle of the paper. This line should be labeled, "Power in the Community."
2. Identify groups of people that have access to power and list these above the line (for example, white people, men, bosses, English speakers, and so on). Then for each group that has greater access to power, name the counterpart that has less. Note that there may not be consensus on the status of each group. For example, some participants might place the category "elders" above the power line, while others would place it below.
3. Considering the groups that you are part of, talk about the ways you feel you have power (or don't have power) in your community. Talk about how others perceive your power versus how you perceive yourself.
4. Report out what you discovered in your discussions. How did it feel to consider your power? Your lack of power? What are some ways you can use your power constructively to promote justice?

Planning for Action

Activity A. Identifying Priorities

This activity picks up from where Session I left off — with a lot of energy and ideas that now need to be focused.

1. Post the newsprint created during the “Brainstorming next steps” activity. Ask participants to take a minute to recall that discussion and the list of ideas that were generated. Invite them to ask clarifying questions about pieces they can’t remember. If the list is long, discuss whether any of the ideas can be combined.
2. Explain that you’re going to be prioritizing these ideas together through a voting activity. First, though, each person will have a chance to speak for one minute about the next step that they think makes most sense for the group. This will help the group make an informed choice.
3. Hand out three dots to each participant and ask them to use their dots to vote for the next step idea or ideas that they would like to see the group pursue. They can spread their votes across three different items or use them all on one that they feel very strongly about.
4. If the vote is very close between a couple of items, repeat the dot voting process to decide between the two. When one idea has earned a comfortable majority, ask if everyone in the group can live with that selection. If there are significant reservations, talk these through so that everyone feels confident about the direction you’ve chosen.

Activity B. Building on Current Efforts

The questions in this activity ensure that action planning is grounded in an understanding of the context in your community, consultation with allies, and consideration of other ongoing initiatives.

1. What do you know about:
 - The groups that live in your community? Your region?
 - Community organizations that are addressing issues of immigrants’ rights and community dialogue?
- Past efforts related to immigrants’ rights and social justice?
2. Who do you need to talk to in order to gather additional perspectives on community issues, lessons from past efforts, and current work?
3. What questions do you want to ask them? What would you do with the answers?
4. Who might you include at a meeting to discuss next steps? Which immigrant communities would be represented at the table?
5. What other questions do we need to ask ourselves?
6. If the group read the issue paper on “Building Alliances, Building Movements” before this session, ask them what additional planning ideas they got from the reading.
7. Develop a plan for getting your questions answered. If helpful, record what each person will be doing on a chart, like the one below:

What	Who	By When

Video Excerpts by Theme

Why We Came

When I came here, I could see discrimination, prejudice, and hatred and some kind of resentful feeling from them when they see us. You ask, why did America bring a lot of refugees from Southeast Asia? Why were they involved in the Vietnam War and bombed Cambodia? Nobody knows about that. If the United States government was not involved in bombing our country, I don't think that we would be here.

— Sovanna Koeurt, APSARA: Asian Pacific Self-Development and Residential Association

I come from Guatemala. I left there in 1982 because of the war. We Mayans are very poor people. We had never seen any soldiers. We were very frightened when the soldiers came to our village. The next day, at about 2:00 in the morning, they came and took away my husband and my brother-in-law. Their bodies were found out in the fields ... they had both been tortured. We didn't even know what torture was until then. We saw how they hated us when they accused us of being guerillas because we were indigenous people. That's why we left.

— Concepción Tomás, Guatemalan Farmers Association of California

If we come here, it's because we're escaping from our problems and catastrophes at home. To be in your country, to live through a war, then to flee; then to live here, hiding from immigration, exploited on the job, without speaking English — it's not easy ... It makes me wonder — could it be that a country, a people, has to live through a war in order to learn?

—David Ochoa, Latino Voice Project

The unemployment office sent me a letter, offering me work in the state of Iowa. The interviewer told me they would give me English classes. If you come, he said, we can give you an opportunity. ... It really wasn't like he said. It wasn't true. The work was very, very heavy. It was really hot. ... There were no English classes. There was no place that people could go to get any advice about their problems.

— David Ochoa, Latino Voice Project

I escaped from Cambodia because of the war ... Coming to the United States, I was so happy because I thought, oh, the United States, it's maybe like a heaven.

— Bunna Hang, APSARA: Asian Pacific Self-Development and Residential Association

Barriers to Unity

We had a discussion about driving while Black and we had a number of Hispanics saying, hey, wait a minute, the same thing happened to me. ... And a lot of Asians say the same thing, driving while Asian. As long as we keep our problems in isolation ... we're not getting to the crux of the matter — driving while Black, prison issues, health issues ... we're blaming each other, we're not looking at the system that does not provide adequate health care for the urban communities.

— Ada Edwards, Public Affairs Director,
KMJQ/KBXX Radio

What I saw the company do was blatant discrimination — pit one community, one workforce against the other. It's the old divide and conquer.

— Linda Morales, union organizer

Resistance to Change

When we first started getting active, when we first started getting involved with the immigrant worker, I got a lot of phone calls about I didn't need to be doing that. I got a lot of rank-and-file members in these meetings saying that they shouldn't be here. Well, the fact is, they are here.

— Dale Wertham, Harris County AFL-CIO

It was a nice, little, quiet community, but hey, things change.

— Mary Potthoff, Perry resident

There's nothing that I know of that I feel city government should be doing, because the city cannot legislate that people love their neighbor.

— Larry Meacham, Perry city councilman

The Central Valley of California is probably the richest agriculture-producing area in the history of the world. ... Agriculture has a vested interest in having a labor force that doesn't know the system. They can't speak, and they're hidden, they're very invisible; people don't see them.

— Isao Fujimoto,
California Institute for Rural Studies

IBP, when it came to town in the nineties, they more or less kind of just took over. And if you wanted to work for IBP, you started for less wages. I'd say, starting-out pay for IBP when they first started was \$6.50 an hour, no matter what. Eventually, they started bringing Hispanics ... in to run the plant. I'd say the attitude at first was, like, the Latino workers were taking our jobs.

— Clinton Mantz, former IBP worker

There's not a ton of crossover, there's not a lot of interaction. The feeling that I get is not a negative feeling. It's just more of a "they're there, we're here" type of island atmosphere.

— Martha Stetzel, Perry resident

I live in the African American community, and there are a lot of Hispanics here as well, but there is a consensus that the majority of them are just basically selfish, because when they speak their language, to some it is offensive. And they say ... they talk their language because they have their culture. Well, they have to realize that here in America, we have a culture too.

— Radio caller

Positive Change

I am Hmong. For almost two years, I've been working with the Hmong immigrant women. ... Most of the Hmong women are so isolated — always home, taking care of kids. We give them the opportunity to meet, to express themselves. In the Hmong culture, women don't attend any kind of gathering. When we first started, the men asked me a lot of questions. ... "Where are you taking our women? What do you do with them?" And I had to tell them everything, because they wonder what we talk about. It's been going pretty good, so there's more openness, more trust. We also combine with the Latina women and ... talk about some of the similarities between the two groups.

— May Lee, Hmong community organizer

I don't look at problems as being immigration problems or environmental problems or women's problems. They are problems that we have in building community and so, even though I am not an official immigrant, I think that the problems of the immigrant community affect me and impact me because we are here together.

— Ada Edwards, Public Affairs Director,
KMJQ/KBXX Radio

Well, I think the first icebreakers are occurring with the youth ... we can start on a small basis with our youth doing cultural exchanges and joint activities ... we have a youth council that's multi-ethnic and multi-lingual. Youth say, you know, I thought this guy, because he was talking different, a different language, thought that he was better than me. But I found out he can be my friend.

— Ernest McMillan, Fifth Ward Enrichment Program

At the very grassroots level, immigrants from all kinds of diverse work backgrounds came together, and they started a mobilization effort, a political mobilization, that expanded to other cities in the country, and eventually reached all the way to Washington. I think the ARCA [Association for Residency and Citizenship in America] case represents something very amazing, and that is that you have sort of a marginalized population of undocumented people, people who have no legal identity in this country, who organized a national movement that ... convinces lawmakers, including two presidential candidates, Bush and Gore, to support their cause for amnesty.

— Nestor Rodriguez, Center for Immigration
Research, University of Houston

The changes are starting. We have a diversity committee with white people, Hispanics, to talk over the problems that occur. Maybe we can't solve them right away, but we keep at it.

— David Ochoa, Latino Voice Project

Ten years ago, a lot of us were ashamed to say we were indigenous, because there was so much discrimination. People said we were ignorant and uncivilized. Now, that has changed — a lot of us are proud of being indigenous people. That's our identity, our language, our culture.

— Rufino Dominguez,
Indigenous Binational Front of Oaxaca

Crossing Borders

The new immigration we're seeing also represents a change in the concept of what a border is. We have this idea of borders as a line that divides countries; on one side people speak one language and on the other they speak a different language. But that has changed dramatically. Culturally, borders are disappearing, and they have certainly lost their economic function. The labor market of Houston extends into Mexico and Central America; people there are heavily recruited by U.S. employers. But when they try to get to the jobs, they're often arrested by the INS because they've crossed the political border. Politically, we want to keep people out at the Rio Grande, but economically we want to include them.

— Nestor Rodriguez, Center for Immigration Research, University of Houston

Every country has a right to say who can come in and who can't. I think the United States is the best country in the whole world. If I wasn't here, I would probably want to be here.

— Estela Biesemeyer, INS enforcement agent

God made the earth for all of us. We're the ones who have put borders. But the earth doesn't belong to anyone — it's God's, and we have put borders on it.

— Socorro Gonzalez, Latino Voice Project



Hmong gardener, Merced, California

III. Activities for Adult Education Settings

Adult basic education (ABE) programs offer adults the opportunity to build literacy and learn basic skills in mathematics, technology, and other areas that will help them achieve their individual and shared goals. Programs in English for speakers of other languages (ESOL) help immigrants learn to communicate in English, understand U.S. cultural norms, and navigate U.S. systems.

Echando Raices/Taking Root offers a unique opportunity for adult students, who often are part of marginalized communities, to think about the impact of immigration and immigration policy on their lives. If they are immigrants, the film validates the struggles they've endured, the good will that they bring to this country, and the difficulty of holding onto one's dignity in a culture that does not respect it. If they are non-immigrants, the video invites them to think about their own beliefs, where these beliefs come from, and whose interests they serve. All viewers are prompted to consider our own place in this dynamic: Whose fears do we identify with? Whose strengths? What role do we play in promoting or resisting change? Where do we see ourselves in models of dialogue and community action?

Viewing *Echando Raices/Taking Root*

The activities in this section are designed to provide additional preparation and ongoing support for adults who may not have discussed these issues before. They provide a structure for focused discussion at key points along the way, and build language and literacy skills as adults engage in reading, writing, and discussion about the ideas and experiences they find meaningful. Although immigration is sometimes thought of as a topic only of interest to ESOL students, strong feelings and opinions about immigration and immigrants' rights can be found in all communities. This guide is intended to engage all adults in examining important questions about why people come here and how we are all affected by immigration policy.

The activities in this section are presented as a menu of options from which teachers and classes can select the most relevant ones. Whatever their focus, however, they all build on the knowledge and experience that students bring, encourage analysis and interpretation of issues, and allow students to construct an understanding that comes from reflection and consideration of multiple perspectives. Ad-

ditional viewing and discussion activities are included in Section I.

A Note to Adult Educators

The issues that are raised in the film touch on themes that resonate with most poor and working people — unsafe workplaces, torn families, discrimination and bigotry, unresponsive police, and, in general, divide-and-conquer strategies that pit groups against one another in struggles over inadequate resources. These are concerns that adult students have something to say about, and they can serve as compelling prompts for writing, reading, reflection, and analysis.

Each of the three 20-minute segments of *Echando Raices/Taking Root* raises several such issues. To give students ample time to discuss their own experiences and reactions, it's preferable to screen one segment at a time. It's not advisable to try to screen the entire video in one class sitting. You may also want to take advantage of the medium — encouraging students to rewind and replay the tape as many times as necessary to grasp the language, find information, or interpret the message.

Preparation for Viewing

- **History:** Draw out student knowledge about relevant history — the Indochina War (1965–1975), the civil wars in Central America in the 1980s and 1990s, and so on. Immigrant viewers may want to comment on the political relationship between their home countries and the United States.
- **Geography:** Locate Southeast Asia and Central America on a world map. Identify the three story locations on a U.S. map (one is included on page 29 of this guide). Predict what kinds of immigrants have settled in each U.S. location and why. Allow students to share their own experiences if they wish.
- From the title, predict what the video will be about. Alternatively, wait until the end of the video to ask students what title they would give it, and why.

- Describe the three-segment format of the video and the plan for viewing.
- Before each segment, ask students to list questions that they hope the video addresses.

Active Viewing

- After each segment, retell/reconstruct what happened: What was it about? What problems did it show? What different opinions did you hear?
- After each segment, consider whether your questions were answered. What did you learn? What surprised you? Did you think of any new questions as you watched?

Questions for Discussion

- **Reactions:** What will you remember about this video? What was important to you?
- Think back to your predictions about what the video would be about. Were you correct or not? Why do you think so?
- Discuss quotes illustrating the themes of the video (quotes for ABE/ESOL viewers are included at the end of this section on page 24).
- Which of your own experiences were illustrated in the film?

Further Explorations

Activity A. Examining Our Beliefs

This activity is designed to allow everyone to express their views without engaging in debate. By not having to “defend” a position, participants become better able to listen to one another and are often more open to revising their own opinions. The statements below are deliberate generalizations, intended to draw out all the “it depends” and “on the other hands” that people have in their minds. In this way, the group can grapple with the complexities of each issue.

To begin, post signs reading “agree,” “not sure,” and “disagree” along one wall. Explain that after hearing a statement read, participants should stand

near the sign that best describes their views. Then invite volunteers representing each position to speak about why they chose to stand there. Explain that in order to encourage listening rather than debate, participants are not allowed to respond to each other (clarifying questions are okay!). As views are shared, encourage participants to move if they've been persuaded by someone else's opinion.

1. Everyone should have to speak English in the United States.
2. It's fair to pay less to undocumented immigrants because they're not here legally.
3. It's dangerous to silence prejudice, because then you don't know what people are really thinking.
4. If we don't have strict immigration policies, then everyone will want to live here.

Activity B. Examining History

This activity explores what we learn from history and what we want our children to learn.

1. Pick three people, places, or things from history that have personal significance for you. Write them on post-its and place them on a timeline. (ESOL students may want to list items about their countries of origin.)
2. Share your items with the group. Explain why they are important to you. How did they change your understanding of yourself, your community, or your government?
3. What history do you want your children to know about?

Activity C. Building History

This activity involves people in documenting their own community history.

1. After viewing the video, think about your own geographic community. What do you know about the groups that live there? About why they came? What would you like to know?
2. Generate a list of questions and discuss how you might find answers. Who could you talk to: Neighbors? Family members? Coworkers?
3. Choose the most important questions from your list to create a short questionnaire and discuss as a class how you might carry out a set of community interviews (Alone or in pairs? How many interviews?). Practice using the questionnaire on each other and on teachers in your program.
4. Carry out the interviews and then report back to your class. Talk or write about what you learned, and think about ways you could share this history with the community (a booklet? a presentation in other classes?).

Activity D. Immigrant Experiences

These activities invite students to tell their own stories about the immigrant experience.

1. For ESOL students with limited experience writing in English, use charts to gather and compare their experiences. Topics might include:
 - What I like about life here / What I don't like about life here
 - My work in my country / My work in the United States
 - In my country, children . . . / Here, children . . .
2. Invite students to discuss or write about their reactions to the video. What struck them the most?
3. Many immigrants were interviewed for this video. If you were interviewed, what would you want to tell the audience about?

ABE/ESOL Quote-Based Discussions

Teaching Notes

- Eliciting discussion: Asking people to respond to something is a more effective way to draw out their thoughts and ideas than asking them a direct question. The questions that accompany most of these quotes should be raised only *after* students have had a chance to generate their own reactions. The teacher can facilitate this by allowing them some time to jot down notes, and then sharing their ideas with a partner before participating in a broader class discussion.
- Text difficulty: “Difficulty” is generally a function of three things: complexity of language, length of text, and motivation/interest of the reader. If students are interested in these issues, they can be supported through these texts through group glossing of new vocabulary and strong pre-reading preparation — prediction, calling up background knowledge, and the like. Alternatively, the teacher can read the quotes aloud.

Part 1: Wars and Work

1. What are the pros and cons of being “invisible?”
What other invisible work do immigrants do?

Agriculture has an . . . interest in having a labor force that doesn't know the system. They can't speak, and they're hidden, they're very invisible; people don't see them. When you're in a situation like this, it really can lead to exploitation.

— Isao Fujimoto, *California Institute for Rural Studies*

2. Have you seen this kind of reaction to immigrants or refugees? In what ways?

When I came here, I can see discrimination, prejudice, and hatred and some kind of resentful feeling from them when they see us.

— Sovanna Koeurt, *APSARA: Asian Pacific Self-Development and Residential Association*

3. Who are the indigenous people in your country?
How are they treated?

We Mixtecos are one of 16 indigenous peoples in the state of Oaxaca. . . . Ten years ago, a lot of us were ashamed to say we were indigenous, because there was so much discrimination. People said we were ignorant and uncivilized. Now, that has changed — a lot of us are proud of being indigenous people. That's our identity, our language, our culture.

— Rufino Dominguez, *Indigenous Binational Front of Oaxaca*

4. Do you think Bunna Hang still thinks this about the United States?

Coming to the United States, I was so happy . . . because I thought, oh, the United States, it's maybe like a heaven.

— Bunna Hang, *APSARA: Asian Pacific Self-Development and Residential Association*

Part 2: Borders and Barriers

1. How has the ethnic make-up of your community changed over the last several years? What have been the causes of change? How do you feel about it?

In 1960, the foreign-born population of Houston was less than 3 percent. In the year 2000, it's about 25 percent. That's due to two factors: the breakout of civil war in the Central American countries — Nicaragua, El Salvador, Honduras. Then in the 1980s, the price of oil comes down rapidly and that causes a lot of unemployment in Houston. Huge numbers of white workers leave the city, and it's precisely at this moment that great numbers of Central Americans and other Latinos, and Asians, are arriving in Houston.

— Nestor Rodriguez, Center for Immigration Research, University of Houston.

2. What do you think about people speaking their native languages in the United States? (Alternative question:) Do you agree that there is a single American culture?

There are a lot of Hispanics here as well, but there is a consensus that the majority of them are just basically selfish, because when they speak their language, to some it is offensive. They say they talk their language because they have their culture. Well, they have to realize that here in America, we have a culture too."

— Radio caller

3. What happened at Quietflex? What does she mean by this statement?

Quietflex ... used blatant discrimination to pit one community, one workforce against the other. It's the old divide and conquer.

— Linda Morales, union organizer

Part 3: Midwest Migrations

1. Why do you think the white workers in Perry were not willing to work for \$6.50 an hour, but the Hispanic workers were?

IBP, when it came to town in the nineties, they more or less kind of just took over. And if you wanted to work for IBP, you started for less wages. ... Starting-out pay for IBP when they first started was \$6.50 an hour, no matter what. Eventually, they started bringing Hispanics ... in to run the plant. I'd say the attitude at first was ... like, the Latino workers were taking our jobs.

— Clinton Mantz, former IBP worker

2. What do you think are the positive and negative effects of borders?

God made the earth for all of us. We're the ones who have put borders. But the earth doesn't belong to anyone — it's God's, and we have put borders on it.

Socorro Gonzalez, Latino Voice Project



Relaxing at a soccer game in Perry, Iowa.

IV. Background on Immigration Issues

Immigrants in the United States: A Profile

Numbers of Immigrants

Estimates of the numbers of immigrants in the United States range from 28.4 to 31.1 million, based on varying interpretations of census data.¹ (The total U.S. population in 2000 was 281 million.) Immigration has been growing rapidly in recent decades; an analysis by the Urban Institute estimates that immigrants have almost doubled their share of the U.S. population since 1970.

In the year 2000, again according to the Urban Institute, 36 percent of immigrants (11 million people) were legally documented, 32 percent (9.9 million) were naturalized citizens, 28 percent (8.5 million) were undocumented, and 4 percent (1.3 million) were “legal nonimmigrants” (such as students or temporary workers).

Immigration in Global Perspective

As of 2001, estimates of the worldwide number of migrants ranged from 150 to 250 million. The world-

¹ Most of the statistics cited here are based on Census Bureau projections. Detailed analyses of Census 2000 figures were published beginning in summer 2002.

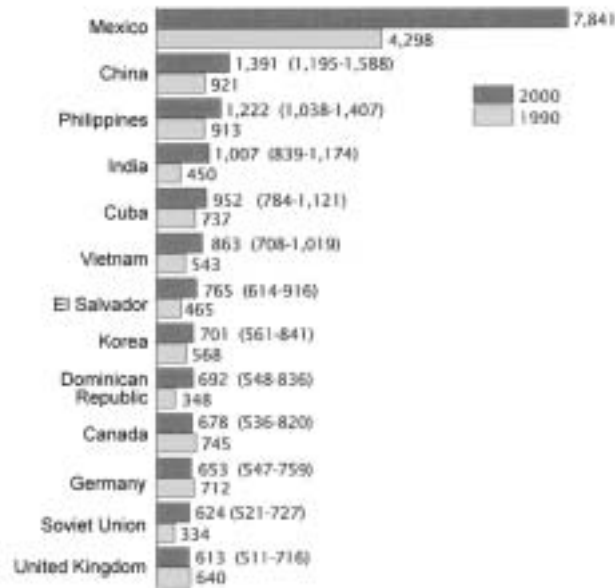
wide number of refugees was estimated at 35 million in the year 2000 by the U.S. Committee for Refugees (USCR), including more than 14.5 million international refugees and 21 million internally displaced people.² The United States admitted a cumulative total of some 460,000 refugees between 1987 and 2000, or about 70,000–80,000 people a year — a very small portion of the total.

Countries of Origin

As of 2000, more than half of the foreign-born³ population in the United States came from Latin America and the Caribbean, including nearly 30 percent from Mexico, 9.9 percent from the Caribbean, and 6.6 percent from South America. In 1960, by contrast, only 9 percent of the foreign-born population was from Latin America.

² By contrast, the UN High Commission on Refugees estimated the total number of refugees worldwide at more than 22 million international refugees in 2001 (not including an additional 3.8 million Palestinian refugees), plus 20–25 million internally displaced persons.

³ The Census Bureau's category of “foreign-born” includes all people born outside the United States or Puerto Rico, regardless of their immigration status.



Countries of birth of foreign-born population with 500,000 or more, in 1990 and 2000. From “Profile of the Foreign-Born Population,” U.S. Census Bureau, Dec. 2001.

More than a quarter of the foreign-born population, or 25.5 percent, was from Asia, with the largest numbers coming from China, the Philippines, India, Vietnam, and Korea. Immigrants from Europe constituted 15.3 percent of the total, and all other regions accounted for 8.1 percent. Immigration from Africa, while still small in absolute numbers, is growing rapidly, with the foreign-born population from Africa increasing from 400,000 in 1990 to 700,000 in 2000.

Legal Status of Immigrants

As of 2000, the largest percentage of undocumented immigrants was from Mexico (54 percent). Other sources of undocumented immigration include El Salvador (7 percent), Guatemala (3 percent), Canada (2 percent), Haiti (2 percent), and the Philippines (2 percent). The remaining 30 percent came from other countries.

For the decade from 1990 to 2000, the highest percentage of legally documented immigrants, 40 percent, was from Asia. Twelve percent of legally documented immigrants were from Mexico and an additional 24 percent were from other Latin Ameri-

can or Caribbean nations. Twenty percent were from Europe or Canada.⁴

According to the National Immigration Forum, four out of ten undocumented immigrants enter the country legally on temporary visas as students, visitors, tourists, or temporary workers, and stay after their visas expire. Policy changes enacted in 1996 (see page 35) have made it far more difficult for undocumented immigrants to “adjust” their status — that is, to apply for residency based on family ties or other factors. Partly as a result, the total number of undocumented people is rising quickly.

Where Immigrants Settle

The map on page 29 shows the states with the greatest concentrations of immigrants in the year 2000: California, New York, Florida, Texas, New Jersey, and Illinois. Most immigrants settle in large urban areas, such as Los Angeles, New York, Chicago, or Houston. These are considered the traditional “receiving areas” for U.S. immigrants.

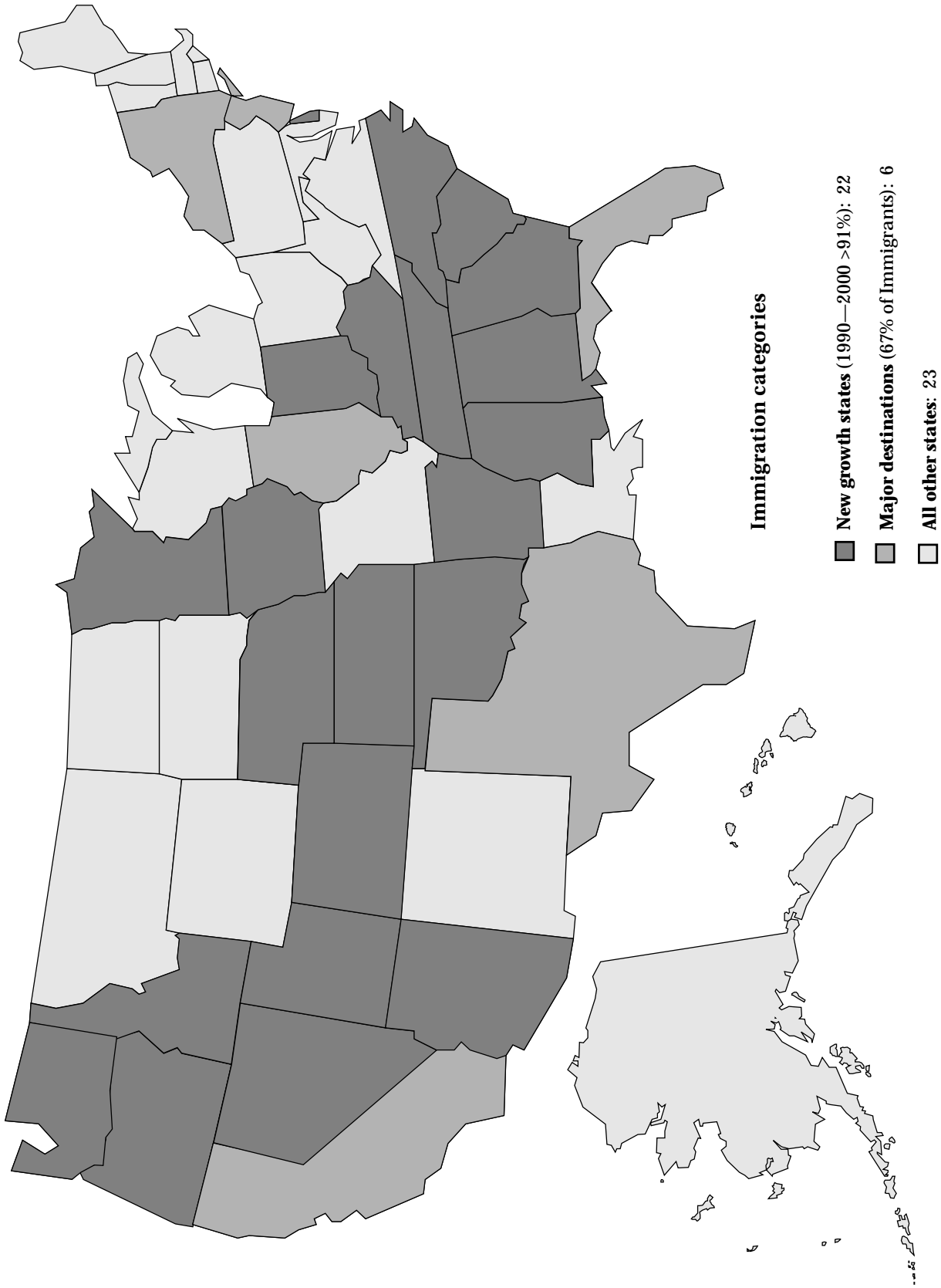
A more recent phenomenon is the influx of immigrants to smaller cities and towns in the Southeast and Midwest. The “restructuring” of the meat-packing industry is typical of the economic changes bringing immigrants to these new destinations — and of the very particular challenges they face on their arrival.

Other Changes in Immigration Patterns

The graph on page 30 shows overall changes in immigration over the past 150 years. Absolute numbers of immigrants are higher than ever before. Their percentage of the U.S. population, however, has grown much more slowly. Estimates of the foreign-born population in 2000 range between 10.5 and 11 percent — higher than it has been since 1930, but still well below the peak of nearly 15 percent between 1870 and 1910.

Marked increases in Mexican immigration during the 1990s were a key factor in the overall increase

⁴ Immigrants legalized under IRCA are not included in these totals.



New Immigration Growth Centers

Adapted from "The Dispersal of Immigrants in the 1990s" by Michael E. Fix and Randolph Capps, Urban Institute, Washington, Urban Institute, Nov. 2002. Reprinted by permission.

in both legally documented and undocumented immigration. The Mexican-born population of the United States has nearly doubled over the past decade, largely as a result of some of the economic changes discussed in “The Roots of Migration” (see page 32).

Immigrant Households

Overall statistics do not indicate the large number of children who live in immigrant families. Relatively few children under 18 (3.8 percent of all children in the United States) are immigrants themselves. A much larger number (15.5 percent), however, are U.S.-born children of immigrants. When these numbers are added together, they show that nearly one in five children in the United States are children of immigrants. In California, 49 percent of all children are children of immigrants.

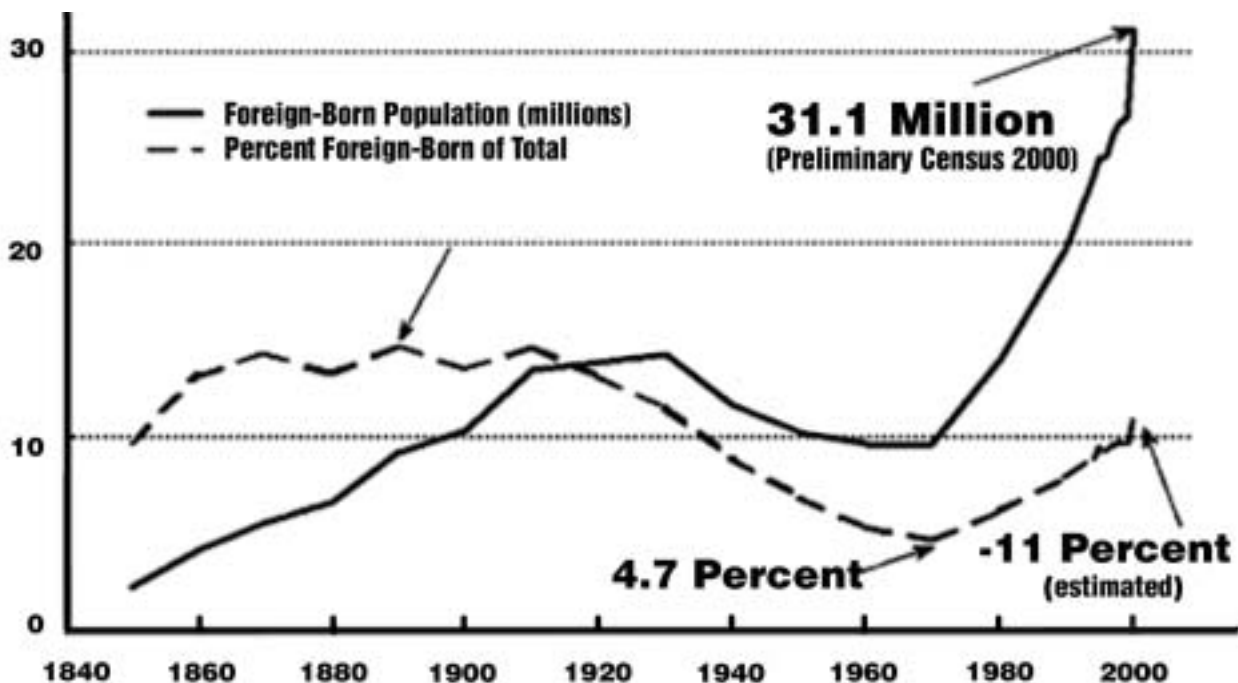
Many immigrant households are “mixed status” households — that is, they include members with different immigration status. For example, one spouse may be a permanent resident while the other is undocumented. U.S.-born children cannot help their parents adjust their status until they are over

21. Even if they would otherwise be eligible, many low-income immigrants cannot meet the stiff income requirements established by federal law for sponsoring their family members to become legal residents. As a result, the many uncertainties and vulnerabilities experienced by undocumented immigrants — economic, social, and legal — also affect countless citizens and legal residents, because they live in mixed-status households.

Immigrants and Labor Markets

Immigrants are integrated into the U.S. economy in many different ways. In line with the overall “racial segmentation” of the U.S. labor force, immigrants of different ethnic groups and different national origins may have very different occupations and income levels. Immigration status also plays a key role in determining immigrants’ degree of economic security. In addition, the economic situation of immigrants may vary considerably depending on how long they have been here.

Some immigrants are entrepreneurs, high-tech workers, computer programmers, or health professionals. Other immigrants are skilled industrial



From “Immigrant Numbers and Flows,” Jeffrey Passell, Urban Institute, Dec. 2001. Reprinted by permission.

workers — machinists, pipe fitters, tool and die makers, and the like. Still others are domestic workers, factory workers, restaurant or hotel workers, farm workers, or laborers.

Most individuals move through several of these categories over a period of time. José Alejandro Salazar, one of the members of the Association for Citizenship and Residency in America who appear in *Echando Raices/Taking Root*, recounted how he began his life in Houston as a waiter. “My first paycheck for a week’s work was for \$110,” he said, “for working more than 100 hours.” When he obtained his first work permit (because of a class action suit filed by “late amnesty” applicants; see page 37 for explanation of “late amnesty”), he was able to obtain a 40-hour-a-week job with health coverage. Over time, he learned a skilled trade as a pipe fitter in the oil industry; at the time of this interview, he was a master craftsman. His dream today is to open his own restaurant.

As this example illustrates, statistics cannot convey the complexity of immigrant life. What they do show, however, is that immigrants are more vulnerable to poverty than the population as a whole. Low-wage work is a major factor: in 1999, according to census data, fulltime, year-round workers earning less than \$20,000 a year represented 36.3 percent of immigrant workers, compared to 21.3 percent of U.S.-born workers. Immigrants who fell in this category included 57.1 percent of workers from Mexico and Central America, 22.4 percent of those from Asia, and 16.2 percent of those from Europe. At the other end of the spectrum, professional and managerial workers included nearly 39 percent of Asian immigrants, 31 percent of U.S.-born workers, and only 7 percent of immigrants from Mexico and Central America.



Day laborers wait at community-operated site in Houston, Texas.

The Roots of Migration

The decision to leave one's home for another country is never a simple one. As with any major life choice, it is usually shaped by many different factors.

In general, there are three major reasons why people leave their home countries:

- To flee violence, war, or political persecution.
- To seek economic security or survival.
- To join with family members.

Very often, a combination of two or all three of these factors is present.

Violence

A relatively small number of people are officially admitted to the United States as refugees or asylees (see page 37). A much larger number of people, however, have come here fleeing persecution, violence, or warfare. Others have fled the severe economic dislocation that always accompanies war. As violent conflicts and outright war increase around the world, millions more people will be forced out of their homes.

Refugees most often flee to nearby countries or to countries with strong ties with their home country. Only a small percentage comes to the United States. According to the United Nations, at the end

of 2000, the worldwide population of refugees and other displaced people was dispersed among Asia (38.8 percent), Africa (27.9 percent), Europe (25.6 percent), North America (4.8 percent), and Latin America and the Caribbean (2.6 percent).

Economics

Economic motives are the strongest force promoting immigration. Often, however, the economic roots of immigration are poorly understood. Politicians and media commentators paint a picture of immigrants coming from poor countries to rich countries like the United States in order to take advantage of public benefits or higher wage levels. The reality is considerably more complicated.

- **Many immigrants are essentially economic refugees.** In the era of globalization, governments around the world have faced a great deal of pressure to reduce public investment in infrastructure, services, credit, and job creation. Public subsidies for food and agriculture have also been slashed or eliminated, and small-scale farmers have been forced to compete with huge international agribusiness firms.

While these policies have a negative effect on all countries, their impact on developing countries has often been devastating. Without access to credit or

markets, small farmers cannot survive on the land. Rural communities are depopulated as their inhabitants migrate to cities or across national borders.

Small and medium-sized business and industry are affected in similar ways, and their workers also join the migrant stream. As government around the world is “downsized” and public support for health and education is eroded, even the middle classes are affected by economic displacement. “There were no jobs, we had to leave” is a story told by millions upon millions of immigrants.

- **Globalization is also connected with immigration in other, more complicated ways.** Some researchers have argued that international investment flows create a sort of economic bridge between developing countries and advanced industrial countries. Foreign investment, especially in the developing world, is often defended as a strategy for job creation. In reality, however, people who leave developing countries usually migrate to the rich countries that account for the most foreign investment in their economies. This is one reason why most people leaving Africa migrate to France or the United Kingdom, while people from Mexico are more likely to migrate to the United States. In recent years, as investment flows have become more diverse, so have migrant destinations.

These economic bridges reflect even older economic and political relationships, forged in the era of colonialism. Under the colonial system, European nations and, later, the United States ruled over most of the developing world, carving it up among themselves into “spheres of influence.” Today, all but a small handful of developing countries have their own governments. The old relationships, however, persist in a new form, creating bridges — economic, political, and cultural — that structure international migration flows.

International economic policies favored by global elites have also structured a steadily increasing flow of the world’s wealth — away from the developing world and toward the advanced industrial countries. In the 1960s, according to the *Toronto Star*, “three dollars flowed North for every dollar flowing

South; by the late 1990s, after 30 years of unprecedented growth and increasing globalization, the ratio had grown to seven to one” (William Rees, “Squeezing the Poor,” 4/22/02). For this reason, some developing country activists argue that globalization is a form of “recolonization.”

- **Other researchers talk about globalization in terms of the creation of a “transnational labor force.”** A central aspect of globalization is economic integration — that is, the progressive merging of separate national economies into broader regional economies. Policies that promote “free trade” aim to create unified markets extending across national boundaries. For example, NAFTA (the North American Free Trade Agreement) creates a regional market system covering the United States, Canada, and Mexico. Depending on the specific situation, free trade agreements may establish multi-country markets in goods, services, currency flows, and investment capital.

The growth of international labor markets is an inevitable consequence of the expansion of international markets in investment, industry, and services. Usually, however, government policies treat labor very differently from these other sectors of the economy. The U.S. government, for example, actively promotes “free trade” with many different countries around the world. At the same time, however, it is just as active in seeking to restrict labor migration — often from the very same countries.

In practical terms, restrictive immigration policies cannot really achieve their stated objectives. The international economic policies promoted by the United States lead inevitably to increased immigration flows. At the same time, U.S. immigration policies impose criminal penalties on the human beings who make up these flows. For this reason, many people have argued that the true function of restrictionist policies is to depress wage levels, by creating a “gray market” in undocumented (“illegal”) workers who cannot risk demanding higher wages — or protesting abusive or illegal working conditions.

Undocumented immigration is not only a result of individual decisions; it has also become a permanent, structural feature of the U.S. economy. The situation is similar in many other parts of the world, especially in the advanced industrial countries. Many of these countries are grappling with controversies over immigration policy and undocumented immigration that are very similar to debates in the United States.

The global justice movement (also known as the anti-globalization movement) has challenged many different aspects of globalization. So far, however, it has paid relatively little attention to immigration and to movements for immigrants' rights.

Family and Community

A third major reason that people leave their home countries is to reunite with family members. As with war refugees or international labor migrants, this category includes both legally documented and undocumented immigration.

Numerically, "family reunification" accounts for a large proportion of all legally documented migration. For example, in one recent year (fiscal year 1999), the INS Statistical Yearbook reports that nearly 650,000 people were granted legal residency. More than 475,000 of them were admitted under various categories of family sponsorship.

Those who do not meet official requirements must make a painful choice between entering the country without documents or involuntary separation from their families. As noted in the previous section, even permanent residents must meet income criteria to sponsor their family members. Even for those who meet the government's criteria, the wait may extend to many years. People whose family relationships are not legally recognized — such as common-law relationships or same-gender relationships — are excluded from family unification programs. No statistics are available to chart the number of undocumented immigrants whose primary motive was to rejoin their families.

In this brief overview of why people migrate, we have stressed the importance of international labor migration as the single most important "root cause" of immigration to the United States.

It is equally important, however, to remember that "labor markets" are made up of human beings. The social struggle for immigrants' rights reflects the determination of immigrants to express their full humanity. For different people at different moments, this may mean reuniting with one's family — or leaving an abusive or violent relationship. It may mean moving back and forth across borders to maintain ties with one's family or country of origin — or it may mean building new communities that meet one's needs for cultural, social, and material support. It may mean preserving cultural traditions — or developing new identities and new forms of expression. It may mean all of these things, and others as well.

The richness and complexity of human life and human community are also a root cause: the root cause of the universal thirst for dignity and justice. The lives of immigrants, like those of all people, are shaped by global economic forces. At the same time, immigrants, like all people, are also active, creative agents in the unfolding story of our world. These are the two faces of life, for immigrants — and for all of humanity.



Legalization rally in Washington, DC, September 2000.

Immigration Law and Policy

For immigrant communities, immigration policy sets the terms for almost every aspect of individual, family, and community life — from obtaining a driver’s license, to attending school, to determining whether families can live together, or even whether or not someone can travel home to see a dying parent. The federal Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) is a massive bureaucracy, with the power to pass judgment on every detail of immigrants’ lives. It employs more enforcement agents than all other federal law-enforcement agencies combined.

Immigration policy is also an important terrain of social struggle. Over the years, immigrant communities and their allies have fought for change in the courts and, increasingly, through legislative advocacy. Employers, labor unions, immigrant service providers, anti-immigrant ideologues, and the Pentagon’s military planners have all entered into the debate, and U.S. immigration policy has evolved to reflect the outcomes of these contests.

This background paper offers a brief summary of the most important developments in immigration policy in recent years. Those who are interested in a more in-depth understanding may wish to consult some of the resources listed in Appendix E (page 60). We note as well that many issues of importance to immigrant communities — including bilingual

education, “English-only” campaigns, labor organizing, affordable housing, community services, or community economic development — are not addressed here.

Starting Points

Since its origins in the 19th century, U.S. immigration policy was based in a racially exclusionary framework that heavily favored immigrants from northern and western European countries. At different times, non-European immigrants were denied the right to own property, to naturalize, or to join their families in the United States.

In 1965, amendments to U.S. immigration law introduced a fundamental change in this policy framework. In large part, these changes took place in response to the Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s and 1960s and its sweeping challenge to all forms of discrimination. A new system was created that offered more equal access to immigrants from all parts of the world. Family reunification was established as a key priority for U.S. immigration policy. Partly as a result of these changes, people from Latin America and Asia have become a majority of the U.S. immigrant population (see “Immigrants in the United States: A Profile,” page 27).

The 1980s: Shifting Toward Exclusion

Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, the orientation of U.S. immigration policy became increasingly exclusionary.⁵ The Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) of 1986 mandated “employer sanctions,” under which employers face legal penalties for hiring undocumented workers. Under this law, every job applicant is required to fill out a form stating their immigration status.

Employer sanctions have only rarely been enforced. Nonetheless, they have made it far more difficult for undocumented workers to participate in union drives, protest abusive treatment, or report violations of wage and hour laws — because by so doing they risk criminal penalties or deportation for presenting false documents.

Other provisions of IRCA launched a dramatic increase in the amount of resources — including personnel, weaponry, and other technology — earmarked for “control” of the Mexico-U.S. border. One result is that the vast majority of INS “apprehensions” occur at the southern border — totaling, for example, 1.5 million out of 1.7 million cases in 1999 alone.

This trend, which has been justified at different moments in the name of drug interdiction, immigration control, and, now, “counter-terrorism,” has continued without interruption for more than fifteen years. Blockade-style border control policies introduced in the 1990s have caused hundreds of deaths each year to border crossers. They have not, however, decreased undocumented immigration or the flow of narcotics into the United States — and they are equally unlikely to protect the U.S. public from future attacks.

IRCA also offered “amnesty,” or the opportunity to apply for residency, to undocumented immigrants who could prove they had lived in the United States continuously since 1982, as well as to certain

farm workers. More than three million immigrants were able to obtain residency under this law. IRCA’s cutoff date of 1982, however, excluded large numbers of refugees fleeing the brutal civil wars in El Salvador and Guatemala (see box page 37).

The 1990s: Deepening Exclusion, Growing Resistance

In 1996, following several years of anti-immigrant campaigns, a trio of laws deepened this exclusionary policy framework. The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (usually known as “welfare reform”) excluded even legally documented immigrants from most public benefits. The Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act (AEDPA) authorized the use of secret evidence against noncitizens in certain types of legal proceedings. It also subjected immigrants — even legal permanent residents — to deportation for relatively minor offenses, even if they were committed long in the past.

The third of these laws, the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRAIRA), dramatically expanded the number of deportable offenses, established harsh federal criminal penalties for immigration violations, allowed INS officials to bar entry to asylum-seekers without a hearing, and stripped the courts of authority to review INS decisions. It also mandated a new round of increases in funding and personnel for the Border Patrol.

AEDPA and IIRAIRA produced an explosive increase in the number of people incarcerated in detention facilities, prompting the INS to lease space in county jails and private detention centers around the country. According to the INS, the average daily number of detainees rose from 5,532 in fiscal year (FY) 1994 to 19,533 in FY 2001. In just one recent year, FY 2000, more than 188,000 immigrants were placed in detention.

INS statistics reveal parallel increases in the number of immigrants who are deported, usually without any kind of hearing. The total number of “formal removals” was slightly more than 100,000 during the 1960s, rising to 230,000 during the 1980s and

⁵ Although a full discussion is beyond the scope of this guide, it is important to note that similar shifts occurred during this period in other areas of public policy, including law enforcement and criminal justice policy as well as social services and public assistance.

then to 750,000 during the 1990s. A much larger number of immigrants signed “voluntary departure” cards: 1.3 million during the 1960s, nearly 10 million during the 1980s, and nearly 12 million during the 1990s.

Each of these measures was met with sustained opposition from immigrant community organizations, human rights supporters, and immigrant advocates and service providers. Much of the advocacy community joined together in a broad-based campaign to “Fix ’96,” which was able to reverse some of the more extreme measures, such as exclusion of legal permanent residents from Supplemental Security Income (SSI, a program for disabled and elderly people who are not covered by Social Security).

Border communities organized against abuses by the Border Patrol and other immigration authorities. Women’s groups fought successfully to protect battered immigrant women from deportation. Court cases challenged the legality of indefinite detention, the use of secret evidence, and other measures. A Detention Watch Network was formed to monitor conditions in INS detention facilities and advocate for detainees.

During this period, legalization (amnesty) became a focus for growing numbers of immigrant-led organizations. The “late amnesty” movement, which is profiled in Echando Raices/Taking Root, sought legal redress for some 400,000 people who

“Immigrant” or “Refugee?”

Under U.S. law, refugees and asylees⁶ with a “well-founded fear of persecution” should be able to find a safe haven in our country. The law offers protection from political persecution based on “race, religion, membership in a social group, political opinion, or national origin.” Refugees and asylees are eligible for a range of benefits, including resettlement, work permits, and various forms of public assistance. They are also exempted from certain exclusions faced by other legally documented immigrants.

In practice, however, access to these protections is constrained by the U.S. foreign policy agenda. For example, following the fall in 1975 of U.S.-backed regimes in Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos, 1.25 million Southeast Asian refugees were resettled in the United States. A decade later, however, when refugees fleeing U.S.-backed military dictatorships in El Salvador and Guatemala began pouring across the southern border, U.S. officials refused to recognize their status. Nearly 98 percent of their political asylum claims were rejected.

Refugees may seek legal entry only if they are from certain countries designated by the U.S. State Department; the number who may be admitted is set each year by Congress. In FY 2001, U.S. law provided for admission of 80,000 refugees — including 17,000 from the former Soviet Union and 20,000 from Eastern Europe. Much smaller quotas were established for other parts of the world where the problems of political violence and persecution, not to mention outright warfare, were far greater: 20,000 for all of Africa and 10,000 for the Middle East and South Asia combined. Latin America and the Caribbean were restricted to 3,000 refugees. Refugee advocates note that actual admissions fall well short of these totals. Under IIRAIRA, meanwhile, people seeking political asylum are automatically incarcerated in detention facilities, sometimes for years.

All refugee communities face significant problems of adaptation, including language and cultural barriers and integration into the workforce. Each of these problems is far more severe, however, for refugees who are not recognized as such, and who are forced to live and work in the margins of society, trying to overcome the traumas they have suffered without social support.

⁶ Officially, a “refugee” is someone who applies for admission from outside the country; an “asylee” applies for protection when they are already here.

qualified for the 1986 amnesty, but were improperly excluded through INS mistakes. Late amnesty applicants began their movement after several longstanding class action suits were voided by IIRAIRA. Other groups sought restoration of a family reunification measure known as 245(i), which had likewise been eliminated by IIRAIRA. Also vacated were legal protections won by Central American refugees — an estimated two million people who have been living in legal limbo for up to twenty years.

2000 and Beyond: An Uncertain Future

By the year 2000, immigrants from many different countries who had organized around these issues had joined together in a single legislative campaign.

At the end of that year, the late amnesty applicants were successful in winning legal relief. Those pressing for restoration of 245(i), however, won only a partial and temporary victory, and the Central Americans were once again unsuccessful in their lengthy quest to attain residency.

The legalization movement came together to press for a permanent solution — access to residency for all immigrants who have established new lives in the United States, rather than long and difficult campaigns every few years by each new immigrant population. Key voices, including the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops and the AFL-CIO, went on record supporting legalization.

We Wanted a Guest Worker, But They Brought Us a Human Being

Under an agreement between the Mexican and U.S. governments, the *bracero* program brought as many as five million Mexicans to the United States as agricultural contract workers between 1942 and 1964. (*Bracero* comes from *brazo*, the Spanish word for “arm.”) In addition to their multimillion-dollar suit for lost wages (see page 54), former *braceros* tell stories of the many abuses they suffered — backbreaking labor, inhuman living conditions, and long separation from their families. Because their temporary visas were tied to working for a particular employer, they lacked freedom to look for a better job.

Braceros mainly labored in the western United States. Another guest worker program, known as H2A, dates back to 1943 and continues to the present day. The H2A program brings as many as 40,000 temporary contract workers a year to eastern agricultural states, with the largest number working the tobacco farms of North Carolina. The H2A program has repeatedly been cited for many of the same abuses as the *bracero* program, and over the years advocates have won a range of legal protections for H2A workers, many of whom are from the Caribbean. Employers’ groups, meanwhile, have continued to advocate for expanding the program — and weakening its protections.

Just before September 11, the Mexican and U.S. governments were expected to announce agreement on a new guest worker program. Most immigrants’ rights organizations opposed the idea of new guest worker legislation, arguing that legalization for the large population of undocumented people already living in the United States should take precedence. Farm worker advocates, for their part, argued that employers were seeking to create an artificial oversupply of labor in order to keep wages down and reduce the negotiating power of farm worker organizations. At this writing, this initiative is considered likely to return to the policy agenda.

Whether they are undocumented, legally documented, or temporary contract workers, farm workers face a host of problems. Most farm workers are excluded from minimum wage laws, unemployment insurance, and protections for union organizing. Substandard housing, lack of sanitary facilities or even clean drinking water in the fields, and pesticide exposure are among the many issues they confront. Existing immigration law prevents many farm workers from living with their families and forming settled communities. Each of these problems has been the focus of a long tradition of organizing, dating back more than fifty years.

Throughout much of 2001, legalization as well as other immigrants' rights initiatives continued to gain in visibility and support. A key court decision barred the government from indefinite detention of immigrants who could not be deported (for example, because they were stateless). Another struck down a government attempt to deport two Palestinian immigrants for activities protected under the First Amendment, after a legal battle lasting some fifteen years. Growing pressure for legalization was expected to lead to proposals for a new guest worker program by the U.S. and Mexican governments (see box page 38).

After September 11, the drive toward legalization was slowed — but not halted. As early as November 2001, several dozen activists from around the country met in El Paso, Texas to discuss the prospects for the legalization movement in the wake of September 11. Their conclusion, briefly put, was that the movement's tactics needed to adapt to the new situation — but that the overall strategic goal of legalization must not change, because immigration status sets the framework for every other issue of concern to immigrant communities, from access to education and public services, to labor rights, to family unification, to community building and economic development, to civic participation and coalition building.

By October 2002, the legalization movement had retaken the initiative, with a national campaign to deliver a million postcards to Congress in support of legalization, jointly sponsored by immigrants'

rights coalitions and labor. Nonetheless, as noted on page 2, many of the “counter-terrorism” measures enacted in the wake of September 11 single out immigrants for particularly harsh treatment. Detention and deportation have ravaged many immigrant communities. Border enforcement has been stepped up dramatically, with military units once again involved in ground patrols of border communities (a practice suspended after the fatal shooting of a Texas teenager in 1997 during a clandestine “training” exercise). The INS is slated to be split in two agencies and moved into the new Homeland Security Department. All of these developments have changed the terrain for immigrants' rights organizing and imposed an ever-more uncertain future on immigrant communities.

Although the events of September 11 have shifted the balance of forces in the policy arena, they do not represent a fundamental change in the direction of immigration policy. The policy developments we have described here represent examples of overarching trends toward the criminalization of immigrants, particularly undocumented immigrants, and the militarization of immigration law enforcement. Once concentrated in the Mexico-U.S. border region, such phenomena are now spread throughout the country.

Community resistance to such trends has been reflected in a variety of social movements supporting human rights and human dignity — movements that will continue to unfold over the coming years.

ECHANDO RAICES/TAKING ROOT



Legalization rally in Washington, DC, September 2000.

Building Alliances, Building Movements

Immigrant communities around the country are involved in many different types of organizing. Sometimes the issues they address result directly from immigration status, such as campaigns for access to driver's licenses or bilingual education, as well as the broader legalization movement. Other issues — such as police brutality, hate violence, or inter-ethnic conflict — grow out of complex interactions of race/ethnicity, class, and immigration status.

Still others, including campaigns for workers' rights, affordable housing, or welfare rights, affect many different communities, both immigrant and nonimmigrant, in similar ways. Others, finally, are rooted in deepening worldwide problems of violence, militarization, and warfare, in ways that cross many lines between “domestic” and “foreign” policy issues and their constituencies.

This guide touches briefly on some key examples of alliance building, within and beyond immigrant communities. Some of these alliances focus on broadening support for immigrants' rights; others support immigrants and nonimmigrants in joining together around issues of common concern. All of them reflect a basic conviction that no community and no constituency can “go it alone” in the quest for social justice, economic security, and a peaceful future.

Alliances for Immigrants' Rights

People from many different backgrounds are active in movements for immigrants' rights. Immigrant communities themselves have mobilized extensively around specific legislative campaigns and, increasingly, to build the broader legalization movement. National coalitions working on legalization include the National Coalition for Dignity and Amnesty and the National Campaign for Legalization; in recent years these coalitions have successfully brought together immigrants from many different countries of origin. Labor unions with a large immigrant membership, such as the Service Employees (SEIU), Hotel and Restaurant Employees (HERE), and UNITE, which represents garment and textile workers, have worked closely with immigrants' rights groups on legalization. As noted in the previous section, the AFL-CIO as a whole, as well as key faith groups such as the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops, have also gone on record supporting legalization.

Faith communities, educators, service providers, and legal aid workers are also major supporters of immigrants' rights. A broad variety of community service agencies work locally and nationally to advocate for the needs of immigrant communities, as well as providing direct services. Such agencies may be sponsored by religious groups, other community-based nonprofits, or public health care, edu-

cation, and other types of agencies. Their staff work on the “front lines” in trying to meet community needs, and often play a key role in bringing communities together.

As occurs with every movement, tensions have emerged at times over who sets the agenda for the immigrants’ rights movement: immigrants themselves or their advocates? As immigrant communities have grown in their level of organization, their ability to set their own agenda and choose their own strategies has become correspondingly greater.

Alliances for Social/Economic Justice

The labor movement is probably the single most important example of a social movement in the contemporary United States that brings together immigrants and nonimmigrants to work around issues of common concern. As immigrant workers have come to play a major role in the low-wage workforce, unions seeking to organize low-wage workers have become increasingly pro-active in reaching out to immigrant communities and building strategic alliances with them.

Experiences around this type of alliance building, however, may be very different in different geographic areas and different industries or economic sectors. Some non-immigrant workers may view immigrants as a threat, or they may worry about being “left out” when organizing immigrants is prioritized. Some unions place less emphasis on organizing new members, or are less responsive to their members’ needs and concerns beyond strictly workplace issues.

This type of tension is nothing new, but rather has always existed within the U.S. labor movement — over issues of racial justice, gender justice, U.S. military intervention, and other concerns. In overall terms, however, the tendency in recent years has been one of increasing efforts to build alliances between labor and immigrants.

Other types of alliances have been forged primarily at the local level. The Bus Riders Union/Sindicato de Pasajeros (BRU/SDP) of Los Angeles,

for example, has become a national model for multi-racial organizing. Initiated in 1992 by the Labor/Community Strategy Center, the group has grown into a major political force, with 50,000 self-identified members among the 500,000 public transit users in Los Angeles. After winning a landmark consent decree in 1996, BRU/SDP has won a series of court victories in efforts to force the local transit authority to invest in more buses to serve low-income communities.

According to BRU/SDP, 81 percent of those using public transit in Los Angeles are people of color — Latino, African American, Asian/Pacific Islander, and Native American. Sixty percent of this ridership have family incomes under \$15,000, and 57 percent are women. Nonetheless, investment decisions by the transit authority have privileged the needs of affluent white suburbanites. Notes a BRU/SDP statement, “BRU membership and leadership consist of a large majority of people of color and are over 50 percent women ... We are trying to write a new chapter in the civil rights and environmental justice movement ... to build a clean-fuel, world-class mass transportation system in the most air-polluted and auto-dominated city in the U.S., with the worst mass transit and bus system of any major U.S. city.”

Alliances for Human Rights

Following the passage of IRCA (see page 36), AFSC and other groups at the Mexico-U.S. border began to organize to defend the human and constitutional rights of border communities. They argued that the border region was essentially a “deconstitutionalized” area of the country, in which protections against illegal search and seizure and similar abuses of government authority had little legal force. Because enforcement operations rely on racial profiling rather than guidelines for ensuring “due process” or “probable cause,” such abuses have affected non-immigrants in border communities as well as border crossers and other immigrants.

Since 1987, AFSC’s Immigration Law Enforcement Monitoring Project (ILEMP) and its community partners have worked to build border-wide al-

liances for the defense of human rights and to advocate for demilitarized border control policies. The issues they raise are far from abstract; as border control measures have grown increasingly militarized, they have resulted in death or serious injury to thousands of border crossers and border residents, as well as persistent problems of harassment, abuse, and sexual violence by immigration agents.

Throughout the 1990s, a growing movement for police accountability was raising very similar critiques of racial profiling and the impact of police brutality on urban communities of color, especially youth. Particularly in areas with a large immigrant population, the types of abuses committed by local and state police agencies and by federal agencies such as the INS have been very similar, with a similar impact on poor communities of color, both immigrant and U.S.-born. As a result, many activists have begun to look for ways to build alliances against all forms of profiling and law-enforcement abuse, rather than organizing separately in each ethnic community or around each type of law-enforcement

agency. So far, most such coordination has taken place at the local level.

After September 11, human rights for communities of color have become even more beleaguered. Clear violations of the Bill of Rights have been written into federal law. Immigrants, especially those from South Asia and the Middle East, are openly stigmatized as “terrorists,” while racial profiling is touted as a security requirement. Checkpoints, midnight raids, detention without charges, military guards in airports, and similar measures are increasingly routine. By substituting prejudice and stereotypes for careful investigation, however, such measures can only encourage sloppy law-enforcement operations and undermine public safety.

Some activists are arguing for the necessity of building new community-based networks to defend human rights, building on the model used in border communities over the past fifteen years. At this writing, the community response to these types of abuses is still in its infancy. As events unfold over

Forming a Successful Coalition

Forming a broad-based coalition of people who share a common goal is not an easy task. Here are a few ideas to guide the process.

Getting Started

- Define your common goals clearly, making them as concrete and specific as possible.
- Make a public commitment to being a diverse coalition. Make the diversity of the group an integral part of the coalition’s mission statement — a strategy for achieving its goals.
- Recruit people or organizations that are representative of the communities affected by the issues being addressed.

- Acknowledge the real difficulties or obstacles in bringing the coalition together.

Communicating as a Group

- Ask members to:
 - Speak clearly, using simple language.
 - Avoid jargon.
 - Use active listening skills.
 - Be concise and share floor time.
- Provide interpreters if needed.
- Don’t assume that all members, including native English speakers, are proficient readers of English. Don’t rely exclusively on written communication to convey vital information. Make notes of the meeting easy to read, using large type, bulleted points, and simple language.

the coming months and years, however, alliances for human rights may become increasingly important.

Alliances for a Peaceful Future

In the era of globalization, there are more and more intersections between “immigration” issues and “foreign policy” issues. The first major manifestation of this new reality came in Central America during the 1980s, when U.S.-financed “counterinsurgency” warfare created a massive crisis of displacement throughout the region, particularly in Guatemala and El Salvador.

Most Central American refugees entered the country by crossing the Mexico-U.S. border as undocumented immigrants. Among the U.S. public, widespread opposition to U.S. intervention gave rise to the sanctuary movement in support of unrecognized Central American refugees as well as a broad-based anti-intervention movement. Faith communities as well as secular antiwar groups were actively involved in these movements. Some of these groups also sought to support the burgeoning numbers of

refugees, many of whom were initially incarcerated in detention camps in the border region.

Today, Central American communities are an important presence in the immigrants’ rights movement — and a vital economic and cultural link between the United States and their countries of origin. For example, foreign remittances by Salvadorans living in the United States are the single most important source of hard currency in El Salvador.

As U.S. immigrant communities grow in organization and self-confidence, they are becoming increasingly important actors in movements for peace and human rights. Mexican immigrant communities have been key supporters within the United States of the Zapatista rebellion among the indigenous peoples of Chiapas, Mexico’s southernmost state. Colombian immigrants are advocating for peaceful approaches to that country’s decades-old civil war, in place of the rapidly escalating militarization currently being funded by the U.S. government.

Investing in the Group Process

- Establish a predictable process for discussions and decision-making, so that each member knows what to expect and how he/she can best participate.
- Provide opportunities for each member to participate in discussion, decisions, and actions taken, valuing the contributions of each member.
- Run efficient, effective meetings.
- Share leadership.
- Stay attuned to the subtle ways that privilege can be exercised. Agree upon and clearly state the expectations of how the group will function. These assumptions most often go unspoken and can alienate or suppress the voices of those outside of mainstream culture.

Working Together Across Cultural Differences

- Acknowledge and discuss the cultural differences within the coalition. Welcome and build on the contributions of each culture.
- Establish a “safe” environment in which it’s okay for members to make mistakes and learn from them. Expect each member to welcome feedback and be willing to make changes.
- Refuse to tolerate stereotyping, prejudice, or discrimination. Ask each coalition member to commit to addressing issues of prejudice, stereotyping, or power differentials within the group.
- Don’t expect a member of a minority cultural group to represent that group. Assume that there will be many different opinions and beliefs among members of any particular community.
- Provide opportunities for coalition members to interact and learn directly from one another about their cultures and values.

So far, the links that have been established between these immigrant populations and U.S. peace movements tend to be relatively weak. Immigrants and refugees may be preoccupied by their own struggle for survival. Politically, they may be more focused on their home countries than on the U.S. political arena. U.S.-based antimilitarist and anti-war movements, for their part, may have little connection with refugee and exile communities.

In the future, however, this type of alliance building will be crucial in promoting effective alternatives

to militarism. As long as deepening global warfare is promoted by U.S. policy elites and military profiteers, more and more refugee populations will be created with a personal stake in peaceful solutions — whether in Colombia, Mexico, the Sudan, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Kashmir, Afghanistan, Palestine, or the Philippines. Crossing the divides of race, language, culture, class, and citizenship here in the United States will be an important strategy for building a peaceful future for all countries.



Fifth Ward Enrichment Program in Houston, Texas.

Immigrants and Racial/Ethnic Tensions

This section focuses mainly on tensions that arise at the community level between immigrants and U.S.-born communities of color. The following section, “Understanding Anti-Immigrant Movements,” explores how anti-immigrant racism is manifested in organized anti-immigrant movements based primarily in the white community.

Immigrants and U.S.-born people of color face many common obstacles, including very similar forms of oppression and discrimination. Often, however, it is difficult to build and sustain multi-racial coalitions that can challenge the dynamics of oppression. Tensions may arise between African Americans and immigrants of color or between recent immigrants and established residents in Latino or Asian American communities. There are also many different types of conflicts and tensions within and among the various racial and ethnic groups. In many communities, efforts to build relationships by communicating about cultural, social, and economic issues are having an impact.

Changing Populations

With the 2000 census, [Houston’s Fifth Ward is] ... no longer a Black community in that sense, more like a 65-35 split, with African Americans and Latinos being the major populations living here. We do have a very small Asian population, hardly any Anglos...

Now we have new immigrants coming from Central America and Mexico... I think the wars in Central America ... have produced people who fled their country, so we find ... a newer community of immigrants. That’s really new for our community.

— Ernest McMillan, Fifth Ward Enrichment Program ⁷

The results of the 2000 census paint a picture of a rapidly changing country. Eighty-five percent of today’s immigrants are people of color, from every part of the globe. The Latino population of the United States (which includes non-immigrants as well as immigrants) has grown by nearly 60 percent since 1990. Over the next decade Latinos will probably become the nation’s largest minority group, surpassing African Americans. Immigration from Asian countries such as China, Vietnam, or India has increased substantially since 1990.

In many parts of the country, the changing composition of local communities has brought new and sometimes uneasy cultural politics. As new immigrants typically settle in low-income urban areas, they

⁷ Quotes in this section are drawn from interviews conducted during the filming of *Echando Raices/Taking Root*.

often live side by side with immigrants from other countries and U.S.-born people of color, changing the nature of the community as they move in. In many cities, traditionally African American neighborhoods, like Houston's Fifth Ward, have transformed into multi-ethnic or primarily Latino areas.

In major cities around the country, including Dallas, Miami, Chicago, New York, and Los Angeles, there have been high-profile political conflicts between U.S.-born communities of color and immigrant groups, which at times have turned violent. This rising tension, widely reported in the media, was explored in a 1999 report from the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, which reviewed conflicts over such issues as jobs, schools, housing, and representation in leadership positions.

Sources of Tension

In some communities there is a ... shortage in low-income housing. So, when you have low-income groups and they're all [competing] for the same house, they start working against each other instead of looking at the problem of availability of low-income housing.

— Ada Edwards, Public Affairs Director, KMJQ/KBXX Radio

You find people in the Latino community feeling a little underrepresented as far as leadership of the school system ... they demand, and I think righteously so, more representation of their kind in those positions.

— Ernest McMillan, Fifth Ward Enrichment Program

What are some of the reasons for this tension?

- ***The mainstream media floods the airwaves with negative stereotypes and damaging images of immigrants as well as U.S.-born people of color;*** negatively influencing how whites see people of color and how different communities of color see one another. Racial and ethnic stereotypes, coupled with a lack of dialogue or opportunities for meaningful interaction, strengthen fears and prejudices.

- ***Whether in news or entertainment programming the media rarely acknowledge white racism as a factor in community tensions.*** Conflicts involving tensions between communities of color are often sensationalized, while accounts of conflicts involving the white community are less frequent and more restrained. White people are often shown as neutral mediators in community conflicts. When white racism is depicted, most often it is attributed to working class or poor whites. Such images obscure the complex social, cultural, and economic realities of institutional racism and white privilege in the United States.
- ***Racial and ethnic hostilities in U.S. culture reflect racialized power relationships as much as stereotypes and negative attitudes.*** For this reason, approaches that affirm cultural diversity without exploring economic and political power relations are more limited in their ability to defuse racial and ethnic tensions and dismantle the structures of racism. (Although the focus of this section is on communities of color, it's important to emphasize that racial and ethnic tensions are not just a "people-of-color problem"; white people must also take responsibility for becoming allies in exposing the realities and the social costs of institutionalized racism and working to build multi-racial trust and cooperation at the community level.)
- ***Low-income people must struggle to survive in a world that is hostile to their needs.*** As individuals and communities compete for scarce and inadequate resources, they are encouraged to see themselves as working against one another, rather than seeing injustice as the common root of their suffering. Mainstream "common sense" about how to succeed furthers this mentality of competition. Conventional images of "pulling yourself up by your own bootstraps" and other notions of individual success promote the idea that anyone can succeed in the United States if only they try hard enough. While individuals who succeed "against the odds" are held up as models, the communities they come from remain poor — and the structures that maintain a grossly unjust distribution of wealth and resources do not change.

- ***A commonly cited source of tension is the perception that immigrants are taking jobs away from U.S.-born residents.*** Researchers and policy analysts have advanced arguments on both sides of this issue, citing examples of economic displacement in particular industries or localities on the one hand, and cases where immigrant entrepreneurship has fueled job creation and economic development on the other. Most discussions of the issue, especially in the media, ignore the dynamic complexity of economic life, presenting simplistic stereotypes that mainly serve to bolster political agendas.
- ***Political factors underlying the lack of investment or access to credit, especially in African American communities, are seldom discussed.*** For example, contemporary joblessness is most severe in “rust-belt” cities with a strong tradition of unionization. In recent decades, public policies have favored the growth of unstable, low-wage employment rather than job creation and community development. Here again, ethnic hostility and competition help to obscure the invisible and unquestioned structures of economic inequality and institutionalized racism.
- ***Class differences within and between communities are also a source of tension.*** Landlords and tenants, employers and employees, merchants and customers — such relationships are frequently a site of conflict, regardless of the race of those involved. When these relationships are intercultural or interracial, some aspects of conflict may also be culturally based. Some of the most explosive conflicts have occurred in low-income communities of color between African American residents and Asian immigrant merchants who own convenience stores or other small businesses. In many communities, Pakistani, Vietnamese, or Korean merchants have become the new “middle minority,” moving into the economic niche once occupied by earlier immigrant groups. In such conflicts, cultural and language differences may come to “stand for” the unacknowledged social forces that lead to joblessness, capital flight, social disintegration, and racialized barriers to economic opportunity.
- ***Asian and Middle Eastern immigrants from many ethnic and national backgrounds face a widespread and growing problem of hate violence***— a problem that also extends to U.S.-born generations in many Asian American and Arab American communities. Racial and ethnic stereotypes often function as an incitement to violence, especially for frustrated and alienated young men. Meanwhile, government “counter-terrorism” efforts openly target Arab and Muslim communities, fostering even more prejudice and violence, while doing little to protect public safety.
- ***Some immigrants also bring class and cultural differences that originate in their home countries.*** For example, while “Asians” are often described as a single ethnic group, there are in fact many ethnic groups and ethnic divisions within each country and between countries. In many parts of Latin America and the Caribbean, people of African descent face discrimination at the hands of people of European descent. Indigenous people in much of Latin America also experience extensive social and economic discrimination. Sometimes such relationships shift as new immigrant communities are formed, and sometimes they are perpetuated in a new environment. The idea that the world’s countries each have a single “native” population is largely a myth; most of the world is and historically has been multi-lingual, multi-racial, multi-ethnic, and multi-cultural.

Finding Common Ground

When you look at the rise of the KKK in this country, a lot of people think that was poor white folk who didn't like Black people. The Klan was started by the business community, which was upset at the strides that African Americans were making, and further upset about the coalition of the poor whites and Blacks in the south. There was an allegiance being formed that they had no power over. They used the KKK to divide that along race lines. "The reason you are poor and white is all these Blacks over here are taking all your stuff."

— Ada Edwards, Public Affairs Director,
KMJQ/KBXX Radio

There have been some instances where communities have come together ... We have some examples — the campaign against the death penalty, police brutality ... The leadership has come together because they see we're oppressed and have common battles to fight.

— Ernest McMillan, Fifth Ward Enrichment Program

In Houston, Texas, African-American community organizer Ernest McMillan looks to the youth as the solution. “The youth get along better than the older persons,” he says. McMillan works to bring African American and Latino youth together, giving them opportunities to join together on projects such as a citywide conference on violence prevention. They also have time to socialize together. “The music, the food, gives a concrete way of understanding and a way of breaking barriers between them,” he says.

McMillan strives to promote what he calls a “people culture rather than a racial culture.” When the Fifth Ward Enrichment Program began in 1985, “it was more Black heritage. Now, we want to promote people’s heritage — not just Booker T. Washington, but also Cesar Chavez. We want other youth to learn about that and the culture of the Aztec, Mayan, and the Incas; we celebrate those as well as the Ashanti and Zulu culture. We want a blurred line between cultures and a cross-pollination of these views from different cultures.”

Ada Edwards, a Houston community leader and radio personality,⁸ emphasizes the need for dialogue.

Edwards has worked to create opportunities for people from all sectors of the community to hear and understand each other’s perspectives. Dialogue is the key, according to Edwards, because when communities see their problems in isolation, they don’t take the opportunity to come together and work to overcome the root causes of the problems. “As long as we keep our problems in isolation and ... [compare] who has the worst stories, tragedies, ... we’re not getting to the crux of the matter: driving while Black, prison issues, health issues. ... We’re blaming each other, we’re not looking at the system that does not provide adequate health care to urban communities.”

Once people begin to talk to each other and hear each other’s stories, they may see the commonalities in their experiences. “We had a discussion about ‘driving while Black’ and we had a number of Hispanics saying hey, wait a minute, the same thing happens to me when I’m ‘driving while Hispanic.’ And a lot of Asians say the same thing, ‘driving while Asian’.”

Edwards calls on the leadership of U.S.-born communities of color and immigrant groups to work together to foster this dialogue and work towards solutions: “It’s incumbent upon leadership in both communities to look and see what is going on here. We may still disagree, but at least we’ll understand why we disagree and how we can move forward with it.”

⁸ In Nov. 2001, Edwards was elected to Houston’s City Council.



Town meeting following incidents of anti-immigrant violence in Ackley, Iowa.

Understanding Anti-Immigrant Movements

Political and media figures that oppose immigrants' rights often share a conservative political orientation. These conservative ideologues blame immigration and immigrants for a wide range of social problems, from unemployment to the poor quality of public schools to urban sprawl and congestion. While such problems are all too real, blaming immigrants for causing them is a form of scapegoating. Misguided and ultimately rooted in racism, it serves to divide people who might otherwise make common cause.

Nativism in U.S. History

“Nativism,” or the idea that only U.S. “natives” really belong here, is not new to this country. Nativism is a thinly disguised form of racism, in which “natives” are tacitly understood to be people of European descent — a category that has expanded since the end of World War II to include southern and eastern Europeans, Catholics, and Jews, although it originally applied exclusively to northern and western European Protestants.

For the past 150 years, attitudes towards immigrants have changed cyclically, often undergoing rapid shifts in response to economic or political conditions. In periods of social and economic turmoil, such as the years following World War I or the post-World War II McCarthy Era, anti-immigrant senti-

ments tend to flare up as people look for someone to blame. During times of economic growth and social stability, nativism tends to die down. As always, it is difficult to tell to what extent media and political figures reflect public attitudes, and to what extent they create them.

Politicians have often turned waves of nativist feeling to political advantage, voting in policies that penalize immigrants. Two particularly clear examples are the Chinese Exclusion Act of the late 1800s, which banned Chinese-born laborers from entering the country, and “Operation Wetback,” in which more than 500,000 people of Mexican descent (including numerous U.S. citizens) were rounded up and deported during the Depression of the 1930s.

Nativism Today

Anti-immigrant feeling ran high in the early 1990s — partly because the country faced a prolonged recession, and partly because of the marked growth of immigration, particularly in California. Some observers believe that the growth of anti-immigrant sentiment in that period was also a reflection of racial anxieties among the white population, as it became increasingly obvious that white Americans would eventually cease to be the majority — a shift that has already occurred in California and is projected to occur by 2050 for the country as a whole.

In addition, a series of economic changes related to globalization were becoming increasingly apparent to most U.S. working people. Such changes included steadily declining real wages, shrinking benefits and protections, the marked growth of temporary and contingent jobs, declining rates of unionization, increasing privatization, cutbacks in health care and education, and the like. Although most of these changes may be traced back to the early 1970s, it was not until the 1990s that they became more widely recognized and discussed.

In 1994, California voters passed an anti-immigrant measure known as Proposition 187, a law that excluded undocumented immigrants from public schools, medical assistance, and other government services. That year, a New York Times/CBS News survey found that 61 percent of U.S. residents thought that immigration levels should be reduced, up from 49 percent in 1986. Although Proposition 187 was ultimately ruled unconstitutional, many of the same measures were incorporated in federal legislation passed in 1996 (see page 36).

The end of the 1990s brought a period of economic expansion and rising wage levels, and anti-immigrant sentiment grew more muted in many parts of the country. The tide turned once again, however, following the World Trade Center attacks of Sept. 11, 2001. Now, however, rather than being stigmatized as an economic drain, immigrants are demonized as dangerous terrorists, as the violent acts of a few extremists are blamed on all immigrants, regardless of who they are or why they are here.

Vigilantes and Hate Groups

Anti-immigrant politics have also given rise to an increase in vigilante activity, particularly in the U.S.-Mexico border region. Vigilantes have vowed to stop “illegal” immigration by patrolling the border with binoculars and guns, “arresting” at gunpoint anyone they presume to be an undocumented immigrant. Despite the threat of bloodshed, several political figures have defended such vigilante activity, including former INS Commissioner Doris Meissner,

who has said that ranchers near the border “have legitimate concerns about the trespassers on their property.” In one 17-month period in 1999 and 2000, at least 30 incidents of vigilante violence were reported in a single section of the Arizona-Mexico border. Other ranchers, by contrast, have installed humanitarian aid stations on their land to assist border crossers who might otherwise face sickness or death due to dehydration.

Some vigilante activity is supported by white supremacist hate groups. A recent report by the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC), which monitors the activity of hate groups, describes organized anti-immigrant networks on the radical right. Groups such as the National Organization for European American Rights (NOFEAR), formed by former Klansman David Duke, and the Council of Conservative Citizens overtly promote racial hatred, using vicious language to attack immigrants. The SPLC report describes their views as follows:

In the eyes of most of these groups, immigrants (typically, nonwhite immigrants) are responsible for nearly all the country’s ills, from poverty and inner city decay to crime, urban sprawl, and environmental degradation. Many of them also believe there is a secret plot by the Mexican government and American Hispanics to wrest the Southwest away from the United States in order to create “Aztlán,” a Hispanic nation.

“Blood on the Border,” SPLC Intelligence Report, Spring 2001

The “Greening of Hate”

In another development during the 1990s, a new form of anti-immigrant ideology took hold, based on claims that immigrants degrade the environment. Since U.S. residents consume resources at a higher rate than people in developing countries, the story goes, immigrants who come here are transformed from low-rate consumers to high-rate consumers, negatively impacting the earth’s environment. Similarly, immigrants are blamed for degrading the quality of life in U.S. communities, by creat-

ing more congestion and urban sprawl and less open wilderness. These arguments scapegoat immigrants for the wasteful and destructive consumption patterns of the world's wealthiest nation.

Anti-immigrant groups like Negative Population Growth or the Carrying Capacity Network are essentially offering a recycled form of arguments for population control. This view identifies "overpopulation" as the source of the world's ills — with the planetary "excess" population once again tacitly understood to consist of people of color. Once accepted with little question, population control ideology was widely and successfully challenged in the 1970s and 1980s — both by Third World-oriented movements arguing that inequities in the distribution and control of the world's resources are the primary cause of global hunger and poverty, and by women's movements around the world arguing that women, not governments, should control their own reproductive decisions.

Some historians trace this type of "scientific racism" back to the original Malthusianism of the 1700s; as each successive form of this ideology has been discredited, a new one has emerged to take its place. The concept of "overpopulation," for example, emerged when the turn-of-the-century "eugenics" movement, which began in the United States, became permanently associated with the atrocities of Nazi Germany. A generation later, as population control fell out of favor, anti-immigrant environmentalism emerged to take its place. In this most recent manifestation, anti-immigrant ideologues have sought to enlist mainstream environmental groups such as the Sierra Club in their cause — so far without success.

Roots of Anti-Immigrant Activism

European Americans have held a dominant position in the United States, both culturally and politically, for the country's entire history. Among some white people, racial anxieties over losing their majority sta-

tus have led to a backlash, combining with resistance to multiculturalism and other movements that seek to include communities of color as equal partners in all aspects of U.S. society.

White supremacist groups tend to seek members among low-income whites, especially those who have been most deeply affected by deindustrialization and other forms of economic dislocation, channeling their anger and frustration over their own condition toward a clear target — people of color.

Some of the more sophisticated anti-immigrant groups, meanwhile, have tried to reach out to African Americans and other U.S.-born communities of color by including them among the "natives" who are threatened by immigration. While such groups may disavow the overtly racist rhetoric of hate groups, they nonetheless advance the same type of arguments in more "respectable" language. For example, according to the SPLC, the mainstream anti-immigrant group Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR), which claims 70,000 members, has worked collaboratively with white supremacist hate groups. Conservative politicians like Patrick Buchanan, meanwhile, combine populist rhetoric on economic issues with racist, anti-immigrant, and anti-Semitic ideology.

The overt racism of hate groups and the more subtle bigotry of mainstream anti-immigrant organizations both serve to divide people who might otherwise find common ground in social struggles for justice. While they may attract followers with the power of their rhetoric, such anti-immigrant movements do nothing to address the root causes of suffering — the economic, social, and political structures that maintain an unjust and increasingly unequal distribution of wealth, power, and privilege. Instead, they substitute a lethal combination of resentment, scapegoating, and hatred — the classic recipe for fascism.

Appendix A: Segment Summaries

Part One: Wars and Work

California's Central Valley is an agricultural region stretching from Sacramento in the north to Bakersfield in the south. In this region, there is a long history of imported and abused labor, which carries on today. From the early 1940s through 1965 the *bracero* program, plagued by human rights abuses, brought Mexican agricultural laborers in as guest workers. Mexican farm workers have continued to grow and harvest our food under hazardous working conditions for very low wages for the past 40 years. In recent years, an increasing number of indigenous people, many of whom do not speak Spanish, have come to the United States from southern Mexico and Guatemala. Indigenous migrants from the Mexican state of Oaxaca are building their own binational organization. In some cases they are also finding common ground with Hmong or Cambodian refugee communities. These communities have faced their own difficult displacement, settling in a country where the population by and large doesn't understand the role they played as allies of the U.S. government in the Indochinese War (1965–1975). Guatemalan refugees, meanwhile, recount stories of the violence and terror they faced in their home countries at the hands of U.S.-backed regimes during the 1970s and 1980s. Nonetheless, Guatemalans and other Central Americans have never been recognized by the U.S. government as refugees from war. Both Asians and Latinos continue to be viewed unsympathetically by many of their non-immigrant neighbors.

Part Two: Borders and Barriers

This segment presents stories of conflict and cooperation in Houston, Texas — the fourth largest city in the United States and home to one of the nation's largest immigrant populations. In 1960, the foreign-born population of Houston was less than three percent, rising to 25 percent by the year 2000. This shift was due to two events during the 1980s: the outbreak of civil war in Central America (especially El Salvador and Guatemala), and a deep recession that hit Houston when the bottom fell out of the oil market. As the price of oil dropped rapidly, unemployment spiked and huge numbers of white workers left the city, just at the moment that large numbers of Central Americans, Mexicans, and Asians were arriving. The potential for conflict between different immigrant communities is illustrated by the Quietflex strike, where a union drive by a group of Latino immigrants failed to gain the support of their Vietnamese immigrant coworkers in another department. Tensions between immigrants and the African American community also exist, as do efforts to build understanding and find common ground, exist as well. The growing diversity of Houston, and the size and strength of its immigrant communities, helped activists pull together a nationwide immigrant coalition that won “late amnesty” for 400,000 people across the country in December 2000.

Part Three: Midwest Migrations

In the central Iowa town of Perry, the story revolves around the “restructuring” of the meatpacking industry in the early 1990s, when meatpacking giant IBP replaced Oscar Meyer as the town’s largest employer. When the predominantly white local labor force proved unwilling to accept a drop in wages of 50 percent or more, IBP turned to active recruitment of Latino immigrants. Over the past few years, this new workforce, working for significantly lower wages and benefits and in far more hazardous conditions, has changed the face of Perry. At least 20 percent of its current residents (as well as 30 percent of incoming school children) are recent immigrants, many of them undocumented. While some of Perry’s established residents have been welcoming to newcomers, immigrants to Perry and other central Iowa towns must also contend with prejudice and hate violence. Emergent community organizations like Perry’s Latino Voice Project (Proyecto Voz Latina) face formidable obstacles as they try to respond to community needs in areas where services are inadequate or nonexistent and cultural and language barriers are, at best, barely beginning to be addressed. (Note that the meat-packing scenes that appear in this section use corporate video supplied by IBP; both current and former workers feel that it does not convey a true picture of the speed, difficulty, or danger of meat-packing “disassembly” lines. Independent footage of meat-packing plants is not available.)

Appendix B: Background and Updates

Most of the stories in *Echando Raices/ Taking Root* grew out of community-based struggles of one sort or another. Viewers may be interested to know a little more about the background and outcome of some of these efforts.

- Part One of the video (Wars and Work) includes interviews with two Cambodian refugees in Stockton, California: Sovanna Koeurt and Bunna Hang. Koeurt is the director and Hang is a staff member of APSARA (the Asian Pacific Self-Development and Residential Association), a unique community organization that formed in the wake of a terrible tragedy that shook the entire nation when it occurred. In 1989, five schoolchildren were killed and thirty other people were injured when a mentally disturbed drifter, Patrick Purdy, opened fire with an assault rifle on their school's largely Asian student body. Among the dead were one Vietnamese and four Cambodian children; the oldest was only nine.

An investigation by the California Attorney General's office found that Purdy, a Stockton native, "attacked Southeast Asian immigrants out of a festering sense of racial resentment and hatred." This incident ultimately led to the passage by the California legislature of the country's first ban on assault weapons. It also prompted Stockton's Cambodian community to organize APSARA. Today, the group owns and operates the Park Village Apartments, where it sponsors programs in Cambodian language and culture as well as sponsoring a variety of services for residents.

- Celedonio Pérez, an *ex-bracero* from Stockton, California, is part of a binational movement among former *braceros* to recover millions of dollars in back wages. Between 1942 and 1949, 10 percent was deducted from every *bracero* paycheck, supposedly so it could be deposited in savings accounts in Mexican banks. Advocates estimate that

70 percent of this amount, or more than \$32 billion, was never returned. In November 2001, after several years of fruitless negotiations, a group of former *braceros* filed a federal class action suit against the U.S. and Mexican governments, a U.S. bank, and three Mexican banks. They are seeking an estimated \$500 million for missing wages plus accrued interest since 1949. At this writing, their case is still pending.

- In 1997, Gregorio Bernardino Juárez and the other residents of the Tall Trees Mobile Home Park in Fresno, California, discovered they were living on top of a federal Superfund site — a dump that had been used for oil recycling by a series of firms. About half of the park's 250 residents were Mixtecos, many of them from the same village, San Miguel Cuevas in Oaxaca, Mexico. With help from California Rural Legal Assistance and the Binational Indigenous Front of Oaxaca, they negotiated a landmark agreement involving the residents, Chevron Oil (the current owner of the site), the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, and city and county government. Under this agreement, the residents were able to receive their choice of relocation to new housing in an uncontaminated site or a cash payment of \$30,000. In October 2000, Tall Trees was evacuated. A group of Mixteco families who wanted to stay together had to continue their struggle for another year until construction on their new community, known Casas San Miguel, finally began in October 2001.
- As shown in the video, Fermín Colindres and the other Quietflex workers in Houston were unsuccessful in their bid to organize a union. With help from the Sheet Metal Workers Union, they filed a discrimination complaint with the federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. The EEOC ruled in October 2000 that Quietflex was discriminating against its Latino employees in job assign-

ments, salaries, promotions, and transfers. A year later, the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund filed a federal civil suit against Quietflex, charging that the company had failed to negotiate a settlement with the EEOC about how it would change its discriminatory practices. Fermín Colindres is one of 80 Quietflex workers named as plaintiffs in the suit.

- On May 1, 2001, the Houston community organization GANO-CARECEN opened its new indoor

hiring hall for day laborers in Houston's Gulfton neighborhood. The Oscar Romero Day Labor Center includes a kitchen, restrooms, and space for classes and meetings as well as seating for day laborers waiting for work. A month later, the day laborers elected a Workers Committee with delegates representing workers from Mexico, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Colombia, Jamaica, and the United States. The new center is offering classes in English, labor rights, and other topics.

Appendix C: Viewer Note Sheet

	1. Reasons that immigrants come here	2. Immigrant experiences and concerns	3. Concerns of U.S.-born residents	4. Efforts to address problems
CENTRAL VALLEY CALIFORNIA				
HOUSTON TEXAS				

<p>1. Reasons that immigrants come here</p>	<p>2. Immigrant experiences and concerns</p>	<p>3. Concerns of U.S.-born residents</p>	<p>4. Efforts to address problems</p>
<p>PERRY IOWA</p>			
<p>5. Who benefits from these situations?</p>			

Appendix D: Facilitator's Viewing Task "Cheat Sheet"

	1. Reasons that immigrants come here	2. Immigrant experiences and concerns	3. Concerns of U.S.-born residents	4. Efforts to address problems
<p>CENTRAL VALLEY CALIFORNIA</p>	<p>Economic necessity Political reasons / torture No work at home Fleeing war (SE Asia, Central America) U.S. will be "like heaven" Persecution of indigenous people</p>	<p>Piece work at low wages Working 7 days a week Unable to be with kids Live near toxic waste Face discrimination and resentment No support to find work/learn English Fear of INS, Health Dept. Unpaid work</p>		<p>Organize as indigenous community Form crosscultural women's group (share culture, experience, resources)</p>
<p>HOUSTON TEXAS</p>		<p>Abuse Family separation Loneliness</p>	<p>Day laborers congregating on street corners without facilities Immigrants taking jobs at lower wages; undercutting union wage Feel disrespected by use of other languages Not enough low-income housing to go around (taking services from African-Americans)</p>	<p>Organize a workers' center Union organizing Discrimination lawsuit Working with youth to build cross-cultural relationships Organize for immigration reform (amnesty and legalization of status)</p>

	1. Reasons that immigrants come here	2. Immigrant experiences and concerns	3. Concerns of U.S.-born residents	4. Efforts to address problems
<p>PERRY IOWA</p>	<p>A recruited labor force</p>	<p>INS raids Broken promises by recruiters Hazardous work/repetitive stress injuries Harassment by local residents (vandalism, arson) Police unresponsive</p>	<p>Loss of good jobs to cheaper labor force Swift change in demographics of small town</p>	<p>Immigrant organization (Latino Voice Project) Diversity committee</p>
	<p>5. Who benefits from these situations?</p> <p>Agricultural industry Business owners Those who don't want to support public services IBP</p>			

Appendix E: Resources and Links

This section includes a directory of the principal national groups involved with organizing, services, advocacy, or research relating to immigrant and refugee communities. More detail about each listing, including local offices where applicable, is available through organizational websites, some of which also include extensive pages of links. AFSC immigrants' rights programs are listed on pages 62–63.

Community-Based Organizations

Asian American Civic Association (www.aacaboston.org) – 200 Tremont St., Boston, MA 02116; tel (617) 426-9492; fax (617) 482-2316; e-mail alan@aaca-boston.org.

Border Network for Human Rights – 611 S. Kansas, El Paso, TX 79901; tel (915) 577-0724; fax (915) 577-0370; e-mail bordernet2001@yahoo.com.

Casa de Proyecto Libertad, 113 N. First St., Harlingen, TX 78550; tel (956) 425-9552.

Central American Resource Center (www.icomm.ca/carecen) – 91 N. Franklin St., Suite 211, Hempstead, NY 11550; tel (516) 489-8330; fax (516) 489-8308; e-mail carecen@pb.net.

Citizens and Immigrants for Equal Justice (www.ciej.org) – e-mail ciejinfo@aol.com.

Coalition for Humane Immigrant Rights of Los Angeles (www.chirla.org) – 2533 W. Third St., Suite 101, Los Angeles, CA 90057; tel (888) 624-4752 or (213) 353-1333; fax (213) 353-1344; e-mail info@chirla.org.

Colombia America Service Organization (www.casa-usa.org) – 3138 Coral Way, Miami, FL 33145; tel (305) 448-2272; fax (305) 448-0178; e-mail casa@casa-usa.org.

Dominican American National Roundtable (www.danr.org) – 1050 17th St. NW, Suite 600, Washington, DC 20036; tel (202) 238-0097; fax (202) 238-9078; e-mail info@danr.org.

National Coalition for Dignity and Amnesty – contact Asociación Tepeyac (<http://www.tepeyac.org/>) or Farm Labor Organizing Committee (www.floc.com).

National Korean American Service and Education Consortium (www.nakasec.org) – 50-16 Parsons Blvd., Flushing, NY 11355; tel (718) 445-3939; fax (718) 445-0032; e-mail nakasec@nakasec.org.

New York Association for New Americans (www.nyana.org) – 17 Battery Pl., New York, NY 10004; tel (212) 425-2900.

Somali Family Care Network (www.somalifamily.org) – 5827 Columbia Pike, Suite 504, Falls Church, VA 22041; tel (703) 379-5900; fax (703) 379-5932.

Immigrant/Refugee Rights Organizations

American Civil Liberties Union Immigrant Rights Project (www.aclu.org/immigrantsrights/immigrantsrightsmain.cfm) – 125 Broad St., New York, NY 10004; tel (212) 549-2660.

Amnesty International (www.aiusa.org) – 322 Eighth Ave., New York, NY 10001; tel (212) 807-8400; fax (212) 627-1451.

Catholic Legal Immigration Network (www.cliniclegal.org) – McCormick Pavilion, 415 Michigan Ave. NE, Washington, DC 20017; tel (202) 635-2556; e-mail national@cliniclegal.org.

Church World Service (www.churchworldservice.org/ Immigration) – 28606 Phillips St., PO Box 968, Elkhart, IN 46515; tel (800) 297-1516 or (574) 264-3102; fax (574) 262-0966; e-mail info@churchworldservice.org.

Coalition to Abolish Slavery and Trafficking (www.castla.org) – 5042 Wilshire Blvd., Suite 586, Los Angeles, CA 90036; tel (213) 385-5584; fax (213) 385-0702; e-mail info@castla.org.

El Pueblo (www.elpueblo.org) – 118 S. Person St., Raleigh, NC 27601; tel (919) 835-1525; fax (919) 835-1526; e-mail elpueblo@elpueblo.org.

Episcopal Migration Ministries (www.episcopalchurch.org/emm) – 815 Second Ave., New York, NY 10017; tel (800) 334-7626 or (212) 867-8400.

Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society (www.hias.org) – 333 Seventh Avenue, 17th Floor, New York, NY 10001; tel (212) 967-4100; fax (212) 967-4483.

Illinois Coalition for Immigrant and Refugee Rights (www.icirr.org) – 36 S. Wabash, Suite 1425, Chicago, IL 60603; tel (312) 332-7360; fax (312) 332-7044; e-mail info@icirr.org.

Immigrant Legal Resource Center (www.ilrc.org) – 1663 Mission St., Suite 602, San Francisco, CA 94103; tel (415) 255-9499; fax (212) 255-9792.

International Gay and Lesbian Human Rights Commission (www.iglhrc.org) – New York: c/o HRW, 350 Fifth Ave., 34th Floor, New York, NY 10118; tel (212) 216-1814; fax (212) 216-1876. California: 1375 Sutter St., Suite 222, San Francisco, CA 94109; tel (415) 561-0633; fax (415) 561-0619.

Lawyers Committee for Human Rights (www.lchr.org) – 333 Seventh Ave., 13th Floor, New York, NY 10001; tel (212) 845-5200; fax (212) 845-5299; e-mail nyc@lchr.org.

Lesbian and Gay Immigration Rights Task Force (www.lgirtf.org) – 350 W. 31st St., Suite 505, New York, NY 10001; tel (212) 714-2904; fax (212) 714-2973; e-mail info@lgirtf.org.

Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Services (www.lirs.org) – 700 Light St., Baltimore, MD, 21230; tel (410) 230-2700; fax (410) 230-2890; e-mail lirs@lirs.org.

Mennonite Central Committee Immigration Office (www.mcc.org/us/peaceandjustice/immigrat.html) – 21 S. 12th St., PO Box 500, Akron, PA 17501; tel (717) 859-1151; (888) 563-4676; e-mail mailbox@mcc.org.

Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (www.maldef.org) – 634 S. Spring St., Los Angeles, CA 90014.

National Asian Pacific American Legal Consortium (www.napalc.org) – 1140 Connecticut Ave. NW, Suite 1200, Washington, DC 20036; tel (202) 296-2300.

National Coalition for Haitian Rights (www.nchr.org) – 275 Seventh Ave, 17th Floor, New York, NY 10001; tel (212) 337-0005.

National Council of La Raza (www.nclr.org) – 1111 19th St. NW, Suite 1000, Washington, DC 20036; tel (202) 785-1670.

National Immigration Forum (www.immigrationforum.org) – 220 I St. NE, Suite 220, Washington, DC 20002; tel (202) 347-0040; e-mail info@immigrationforum.org.

National Immigration Law Center (www.nilc.org) – 3435 Wilshire Blvd., Suite 2850, Los Angeles, CA 90010; tel (213) 639-3900; fax (213) 639-3911; e-mail info@nilc.org.

National Immigration Project of the National Lawyers Guild (www.nationalimmigrationproject.org) – 14 Beacon St., Suite 602, Boston, MA 02108; tel (617) 227-9727; fax (617) 227-5495.

National Legalization Campaign – *see* National Network for Immigrant and Refugee Rights.

National Network for Immigrant and Refugee Rights (www.nnirr.org) – 310 Eighth St., Suite 303, Oakland, CA 94607; tel (510) 465-1984; fax (510) 465-1885; e-mail nnirr@nnirr.org.

National Organization of Women Legal Defense and Education Fund (www.nowldef.org) – 1522 K St. NW, Suite 550, Washington, DC 20005; tel (202) 326-0040; fax (202) 589-0511; e-mail iwp@nowldef.org.

New York Institute for Haiti Advocacy (www.geocities.com/haiti_advocacy) – PO Box 206, New York, NY 10025; e-mail scoup12@hotmail.com.

Resources

See organizational websites for additional resource listings.

Defending Immigrant Rights, activist resource kit, in depth-information about anti-immigrant movements. 2002, 152 pp. with directory and index. Available from Political Research Associates, 1310 Broadway, Suite 201, Somerville, MA 02144; tel (617) 666-6622; e-mail www.publiceye.org.

The City (La Ciudad), four vignettes of Latino immigrant life in New York. 2000, 60 min. Available on video from Zeitgeist Films, tel. (212) 274-1989, e-mail mail@zeitgeistfilm.com

Uprooted: Refugees of the Global Economy, video, 28 min., 2001; \$20 plus \$3.50 handling. Available in English or bilingual (English/Spanish) versions from National Network for Immigrant and Refugee Rights (*see*).

Online Teaching Resources

Literacy Resources Rhode Island, English Language/Civics Resources, http://www.brown.edu/Departments/Swearer_Center/Literacy_Resources/elcivics.html

New England Literacy Resource Center, www.nelrc.org/cpcc/index.htm; Civic Participation and Citizenship Collection includes:

– **Change Agent: Adult Education for Social Justice**, Immigration Issue, <http://www.nelrc.org/changeagent/pdf/issue11webversion.pdf>

– **Civic Participation and Community Action Sourcebook**, <http://literacytech.worlded.org/docs/vera/index1.htm>

Study Circle Resource Center, facilitation guides, <http://www.studycircles.org/pdf/training.pdf>.

Dialogue to Action Initiative (<http://thataway.org/dialogue>) and **Public Conversations Project** (<http://publicconversations.org/index.html>) offer helpful guidance in facilitating community dialogues.

Southeast Asia Resource Center (www.searac.org) – 1628 16th St. NW, 3rd Floor, Washington, DC 20009; tel (202) 667-4690; fax (202) 667-6449; e-mail searac@searac.org.

United Methodist Committee on Relief (<http://gbgm-umc.org/umcor/refugees>) – General Board of Global Ministries, United Methodist Church, 475 Riverside Dr., New York, NY 10115; tel (800) UMC-GBGM; e-mail umcor@gbgm-umc.org.

U.S. Committee for Refugees (www.refugees.org/) – 1717 Massachusetts Ave. NW, Suite 200, Washington, DC 20036; tel (202) 347-3507; fax (202) 347-3418; e-mail uscr@irsa-uscr.org.

U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops Migration and Refugee Services (www.nccbuscc.org/mrs) – 3211 Fourth St. NE, Washington, DC 20017; tel (202) 541-3352; e-mail mrs@usccb.org.

Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children (www.womenscommission.org) – 122 E. 42nd St., 12th Floor, New York, NY 10168; tel (212) 551-3088; fax (212) 551-3180; e-mail info@womenscommission.org.

Related Organizations

American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (www.adc.org) – 4201 Connecticut Ave. NW, Washington, DC 20008; tel (202) 244-2990; fax (202) 244-3196.

American Bar Association Commission on Immigration Policy and Practice (www.abanet.org) – 740 15th Street NW, Washington, DC 20005; tel (202) 662-1000.

American Federation of Labor–Congress of Industrial Organizations (www.aflcio.org) – 815 16th St. NW, Washington, DC 20006; tel (202) 637-5000; fax (202) 637-5058.

Asian American Legal Defense and Education Fund (www.aaldef.org) – 99 Hudson St., 12th Floor, New York, NY 10013; tel (212) 966-5932; fax (202) 966-4303; e-mail info@aaldef.org.

Center for Law and Social Policy (www.clasp.org) – 1015 15th Street NW, Suite 400, Washington, DC 20005; tel (202) 906-8000; fax (202) 842-2885.

Council on American Islamic Relations (www.cair-net.org) – 453 New Jersey Ave. SE, Washington, DC 20003; tel (202) 488-8787; fax (202) 488-0833; e-mail cair@cair-net.org.

Center on Budget and Policy Priorities (www.cbpp.org) – 820 First St. NE, # 510, Washington, DC 20002; tel (202) 408-1080; fax (202) 408-1056; e-mail bazie@cbpp.org.

Enlaces América, International Program of Heartland Alliance (www.enlacesamerica.org) – 208 S. LaSalle St., Suite 1818, Chicago, IL 60604; tel (312) 660-1343; fax (312) 660-1500.

AFSC Immigration Programs

National Programs

Director for Immigrant & Refugee Rights Supports and coordinates the work of AFSC's immigration programs and represents the Service Committee in national and international networks and coalitions.

1501 Cherry Street, Philadelphia, PA 19102.
phone: (215) 241-7134; e-mail: Jcampos-Rivera@afsc.org

Immigration Law Enforcement Monitoring Project (ILEMP) ILEMP partners work to strengthen the capacity of border communities, increase public support for a demilitarized border, and change U.S. immigration policies that foster the abuse of civil, constitutional, and human rights.

Fernando Garcia, Border Network for Human Rights, 611 S. Kansas St., El Paso, TX. 79901.
phone: (915) 577-0724; e-mail: bordernet2001@yahoo.com.

Nathan Selzer, Casa de Proyecto Libertad, 113 N. First St., Harlingen, TX, 78550. phone: (956) 425-9552; e-mail: selzernj@hushmail.com

AFSC Immigration Programs

Regional Programs

Listing is alphabetical by state.

FRESNO, CALIFORNIA

The **Pan Valley Institute** provides opportunities for emerging and active immigrant leaders to affect major policy issues in their communities.

Myrna Martinez Nateras, Director, 1440 West Shaw Ave., Suite A, Fresno, CA 93711. phone: (559) 222-7678; e-mail MNateras@afsc.org

SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA

The **U.S.-Mexico Border Project** focuses on the defense of migrant rights and also monitors the practices of law enforcement agencies such as the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

Christian Ramirez, Project Director, 3275 Market St., Suite B, San Diego, CA 92102. phone: (619) 233-4114; e-mail CRamirez@afsc.org.

STOCKTON, CALIFORNIA

The **Rural Economic Alternatives Project** advocates for alternative economic development, low-income housing, the participation of local immigrants in multi-ethnic events as well as other activities to strengthen the diverse populations of ethnic minorities in California.

Lawrence Reichard, Program Coordinator, 445 W. Weber Avenue, Suite 129, Stockton, CA 95203. phone: (209) 465-4265; e-mail LReichard@afsc.org

VISALIA, CALIFORNIA

The **Farm Labor Program (Proyecto Campesino)** advocates for labor and human rights, organizes tenants associations, assists with naturalization, and supports local community organizing efforts.

Graciela Martinez, Program Coordinator, 111 N.W. Third Ave., Visalia, CA 93291. phone: (559) 733-4844 e-mail: GMartinez@afsc.org

DENVER, COLORADO

The **Centro Humanitario para los Trabajadores** (Humanitarian Workers Center) advocates for the organization of immigrant day laborers who have no local family or support networks. **Rights for All People** organizes in the immigrant community to contribute to the national campaign for legalization/amnesty and promote pro-immigrant policy in Colorado.

Minsun Ji, Program Director (Centro Humanitario); Danielle Short, Program Director (Rights for All People), 901 West 14th Avenue, Suite #7, Denver, CO 80204. phone: (303) 623-3464; e-mail: MJi@afsc.org, DShort@afsc.org

MIAMI, FLORIDA

The **Central American Political Asylum Project** provides legal representation for refugees that arrived in 1984 because of wars in El Salvador and Guatemala.

Amada Orendain, Managing Attorney, 1205 Sunset Drive, Miami, FL 33143. phone: (305) 665-0022; e-mail AOrendain@afsc.org

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Project Voice – Chicago advocates for human and civil rights in state and national policies.

Norman Ospina, Program Director, 637 S. Dearborn, Third Floor, Chicago, IL 60605. phone: (312) 427-2533; e-mail NOspina@afsc.org

DES MOINES, IOWA

The **Iowa Immigrant Rights Project** helps Latino immigrants build communities that create a sense of security for new immigrants to assert their rights.

Sandra Sanchez, Project Director, 4211 Grand Avenue, Des Moines, IA 50312. phone: (515) 274-4851; e-mail SSanchez@afsc.org

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS

The **Latin America Action Program** addresses the racist and anti-immigrant climate that makes it difficult for Latinos to hold jobs and to pursue an education.

Mario Davila, Program Director, 2161 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, MA 02140. phone: (617) 661-6130; e-mail MDavila@afsc.org

NEWARK, NEW JERSEY

The **Immigrant Rights Program** provides information and legal services to immigrants and helps raise public awareness about immigration laws and their impact on immigrant communities.

Amy Gottlieb, Program Director, 972 Broad Street, 6th Floor, Newark, NJ 07102. phone: (973) 643-1924; e-mail Agottlieb@afsc.org

Union City Immigrant Rights Office:

Blanca Molina, Community Organizer, 4511 New York Ave., Union City, NJ 07087. phone: (201) 617-5366; e-mail BMolina@afsc.org

Long Island Immigration Resource Center:

Arif Ullah, Outreach Coordinator, Manhasset Friends Meetinghouse, 1421 Northern Blvd., Manhasset, NY 11030. phone: (516) 365-5575; e-mail AUllah@afsc.org

PORTLAND, OREGON

The **Latino America/Asia Pacific Youth Program** develops youth leadership, cultural expression, community activism and educates youth about nonviolent methods of implementing social change. The **Community Economic Development Program** helps Latinos increase their standard of living and self-sufficiency.

Marco Mejia, Codirector (LAAP); Martin Gonzalez, Director (CEDP), 2249 East Burnside, Portland, OR 97214. phone: (503) 230-9427; e-mail MMejia@afscpxd.org, MGonzalez@afscpxd.org

Equal Rights Advocates (www.equalrights.org) – 1663 Mission St., Suite 250, San Francisco, CA 94103; tel (415) 621-0672; fax (415) 621-6744; e-mail info@equalrights.org.

Farmworker Justice Fund (www.fwjjustice.org) – 1010 Vermont Ave. NW, Suite 915, Washington, DC 20005; tel (202) 783-2628; fax (202) 783-2561; e-mail fjf@nclr.org.

National Interfaith Committee for Worker Justice (<http://capwiz.com/nicwj/home/>) – 1020 W. Bryn Mawr Ave., 4th Floor, Chicago, IL 60660; tel (773) 728-8400; fax (773) 728-8409.

National Organizers Alliance (www.noacentral.org) – 715 G St. SE, Washington, DC 20003; tel (202) 543-6603; fax (202) 543-2462; e-mail info@noacentral.org.

Political Research Associates (www.publiceye.org) 1310 Broadway, Suite 201, Somerville, MA 02144; tel (617) 666-5300; fax (617) 666-6622; e-mail pra@igc.org.

Religious Task Force on Central America and Mexico (www.rtfcam.org) – 3053 Fourth St. NE, Washington, DC 20017; tel (202) 529-0441; e-mail jdietz@rtfcam.org.

Resource Center of the Americas (www.americas.org) – 3019 Minnehaha Ave., Minneapolis, MN 55406; tel (612) 276-0788; fax (612) 276-0898; e-mail info@americas.org.

Research Organizations

Applied Research Center (www.arc.org) – 3781 Broadway, Oakland, CA 94611; tel (510) 653-3415; fax (510) 653-3427; e-mail arc@arc.org.

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace International Migration Policy Program (www.ceip.org) – 1779 Massachusetts Ave. NW, Washington, DC 20036; tel (202) 483-7600; fax (202) 483-1840; e-mail info@ceip.org.

Center for Immigration Research, University of Houston (www.uh.edu/cir) – 492 Philip G. Hoffman Hall, 4800 Calhoun Rd., Houston, TX 77204; tel (713) 743-3964; fax (713) 743-3943; e-mail cir@bayou.uh.edu.

Center for Migration Studies (www.cmsny.org) – 209 Flagg Pl., Staten Island, NY 10304; tel (718) 351-8800; fax (718) 667-4598; e-mail cms@cmsny.org.

Expedited Removal Study, Center for Human Rights and International Justice, University of California, Hastings College of Law (www.uchastings.edu/ers) – 200 McAllister St., San Francisco, CA 94102; tel (415) 565-4720; fax (415) 565-4865; e-mail musalok@uchastings.edu.

International Center for Migration, Ethnicity, and Citizenship (www.newschool.edu/icmec) – 65 Fifth Ave., Room 230, New York, NY 10003; tel (212) 229-5399; fax (212) 989-0504; e-mail icmec@newschool.edu.

Migration Dialogue (www.migration.ucdavis.edu) – e-mail migrant@primal.ucdavis.edu.

Migration News, University of California-Davis (http://migration.ucdavis.edu/mn/links_mn.html).

Migration Policy Institute (www.migrationpolicy.org) – 1400 16th St. NW, Suite 300, Washington, DC 20036; tel (202) 266-1940; fax (202) 266-1900.

Tomas Rivera Policy Institute (www.trpi.org) – California: 1050 North Mills Ave., Pitzer College, Scott Hall, Claremont, CA 91711; tel (909) 621-8897; fax (909) 621-8898. Texas: PO Box 8047, Austin, TX, 78713; tel (512) 471-2872; fax (512) 471-2873; e-mail trpi@cgu.edu.

Urban Institute (www.urban.org) – 2100 M St. NW, Washington, DC 20037; tel (202) 833-7200; e-mail paffairs@ui.urban.org.

Government Information

Census Bureau, U.S. Department of Commerce (www.census.gov).

National Conference of State Legislatures Immigrant Policy Project (www.ncsl.org/programs/immig) – 444 N. Capitol Street NW, Suite 515, Washington, DC 20001; tel (202) 624-5400; fax (202) 737-1069; e-mail info@ncsl.org.

Office of Refugee Resettlement, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (www.acf.dhhs.gov/programs/orr) – 370 L'Enfant Promenade SW, 6th Floor E., Washington, DC 20447; tel (202) 401-9246; fax (202) 401-5487.

Office of Special Counsel for Immigration-Related Unfair Employment Practices (<http://www.usdoj.gov/crt/osc>) – U.S. Department of Justice, Civil Rights Division, 950 Pennsylvania Ave. NW, Washington, DC 20530; tel (800) 255-7688 or (202) 616-5594; fax (202) 616-5509.

U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (www.unhcr.ch/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/home) – Case Postale 2500, CH-1211 Genève 2 Dépôt, Suisse; tel (41) 22-739-8111.

As of March 1, 2003, the Immigration and Naturalization Service was divided into separate agencies and transferred from the Justice Department to the new Department of Homeland Security. The new agencies separate immigration services and enforcement functions. For more information, see:

Bureau of Citizenship and Immigration Services (<http://www.immigration.gov>)

Bureau of Immigration and Customs Enforcement (<http://www.bice.immigration.gov/graphics/index.htm>)

Legal Assistance

American Immigration Lawyers Association Lawyer Referral Service (www.aila.org; click on “need a lawyer?”) – 918 F St. NW, Washington, DC 20004; tel (800) 954-0254 or (202) 216-2400; fax (202) 783-7853; e-mail ilrs@aila.org.

Asian Pacific American Legal Center of Southern California (www.apalc.org) – 1145 Wilshire Blvd., 2nd Floor, Los Angeles, CA 90017; tel (213) 977-7500; fax (213) 977-7595.

California Rural Legal Assistance Foundation (www.crlaf.org) – 2210 K St., Suite 201, Sacramento, CA 95816; tel (916) 446-7901; e-mail citizens2@jps.net.

New York State Defenders Association Immigrant Defense Project (www.nysda.org/NYSDA_Resources/Immigrant_Defense_Project/immigrant_defense_project.html) – 194 Washington Ave., Suite 500, Albany, NY 12210; tel (518) 465-3524; fax (518) 465-3249.

Washington Lawyers’ Committee for Civil Rights and Urban Affairs (www.washlaw.org) – 11 Dupont Circle NW, Suite 400, Washington, DC 20036; tel (202) 319-1000; fax (202) 319-1010.

Anti-Immigrant Groups

Californians for Population Stabilization (www.capsweb.org) – 1129 State St., Suite 3-D, Santa Barbara, CA 93101; tel (805) 564-6626; fax (805) 564-6636; e-mail info@capsweb.org.

Carrying Capacity Network (www.carryingcapacity.org) – 2000 P St. NW, Suite 310, Washington, DC 20036; tel (202) 296-4548; fax (202) 296-4609; e-mail carryingcapacity@covad.net.

Federation for American Immigration Reform (www.fairus.org) – 1666 Connecticut Ave. NW, Washington, DC 20009; tel (202) 328-7004; fax (202) 387-3447.

Negative Population Growth (www.npg.org) – 2861 Duke St., Suite 36, Alexandria, VA 22314; tel (703) 370-9510; fax (703) 370-9514; e-mail npg@npg.org.

Justice Visions

What is the meaning of justice in a world based on violence, exclusion and inequality?

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In recent decades, the growth of “control units” and other forms of isolation in U.S. prisons have emerged as a key manifestation of the increasingly dehumanizing nature of imprisonment in the United States. Over this same period, the number of prisoners in this country has also exploded, making the United States the incarceration capital of the world. This issue brief chronicles efforts by AFSC programs and partners to work with prisoners, family members, and community-based coalitions to challenge these human rights abuses, with the ultimate goal of eliminating control units and supermax prisons. *A Justice Visions issue brief by Rachael Kamel and Bonnie Kerness.*

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A Call to Dialogue on Hate Violence and the Limitations of Hate Crimes Legislation

Is the current push for stronger hate crimes legislation an opportunity to strengthen rights and recognition for lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender communities – or a strategy that will yield many unintended consequences? What is the meaning of justice – and safety – for groups affected by hate violence, such as LGBT people, people of color, Jews, people with disabilities, and women? What does it mean to organize against hate violence when we envision justice as an expression of the transformative power of love and community, rather than punishment and retribution? *A Justice Visions Working Paper by Katherine Whitlock.*

Justice Visions working papers are available as bound publications or downloadable from the web at www.afsc.org/JusticeVisions.htm. For more information contact AFSC’s Community Relations Unit (cruweb@afsc.org).



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