

Immigration as a Moral Issue
A Six Week Introductory Curriculum
for the 2010-2014 Congregational Study/Action Issue
of the Unitarian Universalist Association

Delegates at the 2010 General Assembly in Minneapolis, MN selected "Immigration as a Moral Issue" to be the 2010—2014 Congregational Study/Action Issue (CSAI) of the Unitarian Universalist Association of Congregations (UUA).

This study guide is meant to help Unitarian Universalist congregations and individuals engage in our new CSAI. This PDF file (155 pages) contains Section I, which is organized as a six week curriculum, intended to give a broad overview to this complex issue. Section II lists additional organizations and resources that might be helpful to more deeply study and act on this issue. It can be found here:

<http://www.uua.org/justice/issuesprocess/currentissues/immigration/studyguide/index.shtml>

(Multiple views are represented in the resource list; inclusion should not be interpreted as endorsement by the Unitarian Universalist Association of Congregations.)

[Week One](#): Understanding the Causes of Migration

[Week Two](#): History of Immigration in the U.S.

[Week Three](#): Economics of (Im)migration

[Week Four](#): Security, Enforcement, and Human Rights

[Week Five](#): Who Benefits from a Broken System?

[Week Six](#): Seeking Solutions

Week One

Understanding the Causes of (Im)migration

Please note that the workshop outline depends on participants having read the materials for week one before the course begins. Facilitators should find a way to get materials to course participants beforehand.

Goals

- To introduce participants to each other and get a sense of what they bring with them to the discussion and what they hope to gain
- To engage participants with the personal reasons for why people immigrate
- To begin to think about how our national policy should treat different kinds of immigrants

Learning Objectives

- Understand the terminology that is used to describe different kinds of people who migrate and their legal meaning
- Understanding how difficult it is to immigrate to the country legally and the difference between "illegal" and "criminal"
- Understanding of the wide scope of the reasons for immigration.

Handouts for Week One

Course Outline

- 1.1 Definition of Terms
- 1.2 Three Stories
- 1.3 The Legalities of Legal Immigration
- 1.4 What Part of Legal Immigration Don't You Understand?
- 1.5 What Part of Illegal Don't You Understand?

Workshop-at-a-Glance

1. 10" Welcome
2. 5" Chalice Lighting and Opening Reading
3. 20" Activity 1: Sharing Our Stories
4. 20" Activity 2: Causes of Migration
5. 20" Activity 3: In Their Shoes
6. 10" Debrief
7. 5" Closing

Welcome

Introducing the facilitator(s)

Overview of the course and logistics

A reminder that we are here to learn from each other and explore the topic of immigration, and that due to different life experiences, people will come at the issue from different perspectives. This may be frustrating at times but we are called by covenant to assume good faith. While the chalice is lit, let us hold its flame as a reminder of that covenant. (Facilitators are encouraged to avail themselves of the resources on compassionate communication before the beginning of the course.)

Chalice Lighting and Opening Reading

The first time that I dreamed, we were in flight....
We came at once to a tall house, its door
Wide open, waiting for the long-lost heirs.
An elderly clerk sat on the bedroom stairs
Writing; but we had tiptoed past him when
He raised his head and stuttered: "Go away."
We wept and begged to stay;
He wiped his pince-nez, hesitated, then
Said no, he had no power to give us leave:
Our lives were not in order; we must leave.

—W. H. Auden, "*The Lesson*"

Activity 1: Sharing Our Stories

Participants get to know each other by sharing their names and a personal story a story about why are they interested in the issue of immigration. If possible, facilitators should model by sharing their story first—perhaps someone they know who is an immigrant, perhaps they have been impacted either positively or negatively. Try to keep it personal and avoid expounding on general opinions (either pro or con).

Activity 2: Causes of Migration

Based on handouts 1.1 and 1.2, address the following questions:

- What are the different reasons for why people migrate/immigrate?

(Note: Facilitators should make sure that the following reasons are brought up by the group, and if not, then to direct discussion to the areas in the handouts where they are addressed: political turmoil, persecution, environmental crises, economic need and family reunification. This list is not intended to be exhaustive—your group may come up with additional reasons!)

- What is the difference between a refugee, a migrant, and an immigrant?
- Should any of these classes be given automatic entry into the U.S.?
- If some should while others should not, what is the basis for the distinction?
- If there is time remaining, facilitators can ask these questions as well:
 - What kind of rights do people have when they are forced to migrate?
 - What kind of rights do people have when they migrate voluntarily?

Activity 3: In Their Shoes

Before class, facilitators create role-playing profiles on index cards for each registered participant. Each profile will list:

- Name and country of origin
- the reason for their wanting to immigrate
- whether they have a job prospect in the U.S.
- whether they have a family sponsor in the U.S.
- if the family sponsor is a partner, is the partner same-sex?

For the session, hand out one index card to each person. Have participants break into small groups, and using the charts provided in handouts 1.3 and 1.4, determine their likelihood of

permission to enter legally into the U.S. as a permanent resident, or to work. Allow enough time to bring the small groups back to share their findings. If the overall group is small, facilitators can just do the exercise with the overall group.

Some Sample Profiles:

No. 1

Name: Iryna Fedulova

Country of origin: Russia

Reason: Iryna wants to work in the U.S. where she believes she'll have a better life than in Russia

Job?: She is currently a waitress and has does not have an employer in the U.S.

Family?: She has a cousin in the U.S.

No. 2

Name: Joon Kim

Country of origin: South Korea

Reason: Joon's father emigrated to the U.S. without his family in order to work for a high-tech security firm that has contracts with the U.S. government. Dad now wants to bring his family, including his 14 yr old son Joon, to join him in the U.S.

Job?: not applicable.

Family?: Father, who is a permanent legal resident.

Debrief

Participants are invited to share anything that strongly moved them during the session.

Closing Reading and Extinguishing the Chalice

As a religious people who affirm human compassion, advocate for human rights, and seek justice, we must never make the mistake of confusing a legal right with a moral right. The forced removal of Native Americans from their land and onto reservations was legal. The importation and sale of African slaves was legal. South African apartheid was legal. The confiscation of the property of Jews at the beginning of the Nazi regime was legal. The Spanish Inquisition was legal. Crucifying Jesus was legal. Burning Michael Servetus at the stake for his nitarian theology was legal. The powerful have always used the legal system to oppress the powerless.

It is true that as citizens we should respect the rule of law. More importantly, though, our duty is to create laws founded on our highest sense of justice, equity, and compassion. Loud voices urge us to choose fear, denial, reactionary nationalism, and racism. We must resist and choose the better way urged by every major religious tradition. We must choose the path of compassion and hope. We must choose a path that is founded on the recognition that we are connected, that we are all in this together.

—Rev. Peter Morales, Unitarian Universalist Association (UUA) President, excerpted from his essay in *"A People So Bold"*

Homework for Week Two

- 2.1 A Native American Perspective On Immigration
- 2.2 Story from the Tohono Odham Nation
- 2.3 A Very Brief Primer on U.S.Mexican History
- 2.4 Ten Anti-Immigrant Quotes That Sound...Familiar
- 2.5 White By Law—Requirement for Becoming "American"

Ask the class to come next week prepared to share when their families (whether it was them, their parents or fore-parents) first came to the United States. Encourage them to bring pictures, if they have them. (And of course facilitators should do the same.)

Further Study

To explore the topics covered in this session, as well as related topics, see the resources listed in [section II.A \(PDF, 9 pages\)](#) of the study guide.

Handout 1.1 - Definition of Terms

Citizen

A **native-born citizen** is a person who was born within the country's territory and has been legally recognized as a citizen of that country since birth. A **naturalized citizen** is a person who was born an alien, but has lawfully become a citizen

Alien

The main legislation governing immigration in the U.S. is the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, (INA). For INA purposes, an "**alien**" is any person who is not a citizen or a national of the United States.

Documented

U.S. policy provides two distinct paths for the lawful/documented admission of non-citizens, or "aliens": permanent admission or temporary admission.

Temporary admission would refer to things like visas for work, school, or tourism.

Permanent resident

Permanent admission grants the status of "lawful permanent residents" (LPRs). A **permanent resident** is a person who is allowed to reside indefinitely within a country of which he or she is not a citizen. Permanent residents are usually eligible to work and to apply for citizenship by naturalisation after a period of residency in the country concerned.

Under U.S. law, only "aliens"/non-citizens who are granted permanent residency are formally classified as "**immigrants**." As such, they receive a permanent resident card, commonly referred to as a green card.

Undocumented ("illegal")

A foreign-born person who either entered the country without authorization or stayed beyond the expiration date of a visa or other status.

Sources:

<http://definitions.uslegal.com/>

<http://www.cbo.gov/ftpdocs/70xx/doc7051/02-28-Immigration.pdf>

Migrant Worker

According to the "United Nations Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families", a "**migrant worker**" is "a person who is engaged or has been engaged in a remunerated activity in a State of which he or she is not a national."^[1]

The Convention has been ratified by Mexico, Brazil, and the Philippines (amongst many other nations that supply foreign labour) but it has not been ratified by the United States, Germany, and Japan (amongst other nations that receive foreign labour).

The term "foreign worker" is generally used in the United States to refer to someone fitting the international (UN) definition of a migrant worker while the term *migrant worker* is considered someone who regularly works away from home, if they have a home at all.

In the United States, migrant worker is commonly used to describe low-wage workers performing manual labor in the agriculture field; these are often undocumented immigrants who do not have valid work visas.

Refugee

Under the United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees from 1951, a **refugee** is a person who (according to the formal definition in article 1A of this Convention), "owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality, and is unable to or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country".^[1] Refugees were defined as a legal group in response to the large numbers of people fleeing Eastern Europe following World War II. The concept of a refugee was expanded by the Convention's 1967 Protocol and by regional conventions in Africa and Latin America to include persons who had fled war or other violence in their home country.

The U.S. Committee for Refugees and Immigrants gives the world total as 62,000,000 refugees and estimates there are over 34,000,000 displaced by war, including internally displaced persons (IDPs), who remain within the same national borders. The majority of refugees who leave their country seek asylum in countries neighboring their country of nationality.

Asylum seekers

The United States recognizes persecution "on account of race, religion, nationality, political opinion, or membership in a particular social group" as grounds for seeking asylum. Until a request for refuge has been accepted, the person is referred to as an **asylum seeker**. Only after the recognition of the asylum seeker's protection needs, he or she is officially referred to as a refugee and enjoys refugee status, which carries certain rights and obligations according to the legislation of the receiving country.

The practical determination of whether a person is a refugee or not is most often left to certain government agencies within the host country. This can lead to a situation where the country will neither recognize the refugee status of the asylum seekers nor see them as legitimate migrants, making it difficult to obtain documented/lawful status.

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)

The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) (established December 14, 1950) protects and supports refugees at the request of a government or the United Nations and assists in their return or resettlement. Almost all refugees in the world are under the UNHCR mandate.

UNHCR provides protection and assistance not only to refugees, but also to other categories of displaced or needy people. These include asylum seekers, refugees who have returned home but still need help in rebuilding their lives, local civilian communities directly affected by the movements of refugees, stateless people and so-called internally displaced people (IDPs). IDPs are civilians who have been forced to flee their homes, but who have not reached a neighboring country and therefore, unlike refugees, are not protected by international law and may find it hard to receive any form of assistance. As the nature of war has changed in the last few decades, with more and more internal conflicts replacing interstate wars, the number of IDPs has increased significantly to an estimated 5 million people worldwide.

Not all migrants seeking shelter in another country fall under the definition of "refugee" according to article 1A of the Geneva Convention.

“Climate Change Refugees”

Although they do not fit the definition of refugees set out in the UN Convention, people displaced by the effects of climate change have often been termed "climate refugees" or "climate change refugees"

Sea level rise and raising global temperatures threaten food security and state sovereignty for many around the world. Higher temperatures are expected to further raise sea level by expanding ocean water, melting mountain glaciers and small ice caps, and causing portions of Greenland and the Antarctic ice sheets to melt. The IPCC (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change) estimates that the global average sea level will rise between 0.6 and 2 feet (0.18 to 0.59 meters) in the next century, while other sources project that sea levels could be up to 5 feet higher (0.5 to 1.4 meters) in 2100 and rising 6 inches per decade. These models provide evidence that people that call low lying atolls, islands, and the Arctic home will become displaced.

In tropical and subtropical regions and even in temperate zones where crops and livestock production play an essential role in a regions economy are highly susceptible to global temperature rise and in turn food security crises. Severe drought and hunger related deaths will become more prevalent, causing “unprecedented rates of migration from north to south, from rural to urban areas, and from landlocked to coastal countries” as was seen between the late 1960s to the early 1990s by the Sahel.

Economic migrants

The term economic migrant refers to someone who has emigrated from one region to another region for the purposes of seeking employment or improved financial position. Economic migrants are not recognized as refugees. Given that many countries have immigration and visa restrictions regarding work visas, economic migrants are often refused entry into a country.

In 2008-2009, the humanitarian nature of the mass movement of Zimbabweans to neighbouring Southern African countries blurred the distinction between what is a "refugee" and an "economic migrant". Those crossing the border were not

refugees - most did not even apply for refugee status – but given the extent of economic collapse at home, they could hardly be considered "voluntary" economic migrants. The Zimbabweans fit neither category perfectly and fall outside the specific mandate of the UNHCR, so many of them were not legally protected, nor did they receive humanitarian support, as they fell outside the mandates of the support structures offered by government and non-government institutions.

According to the report *Zimbabwean Migration into Southern Africa: New Trends and Responses*, released in November 2009 by the Forced Migration Studies Programme (FMSP) at the University of the Witwatersrand, South Africa, the displaced Zimbabweans fell between the cracks. The researchers found that a lack of protection of migrants in the region was based on a "*false distinction*" between a forced and an economic migrant, when instead focus should have been given to the real and urgent needs some of these migrants have. The report suggested that a better term would be "forced humanitarian migrants", who moved for the purpose of their and their dependents' basic survival.

Sources:

The sections on migrants and refugees were excerpted from wikipedia articles on each subject, with moderate editing for readability.

Handout 1.2 - Three Stories

A Journey to Peace

For all he has lost in his flight from Iraq, Samir Aljuhily is reminded every day of just how much he has gained, how far he has come, each time he opens the door of his apartment without fear it will be rigged with bombs.

“Of all the things we have had to suffer, of all the things that are still missing, we feel happy and blessed,” said Aljuhily, a Mandaean refugee, who shares the two-bedroom apartment with his wife and four children.

Massachusetts is home to the country’s largest and fastest-growing number of Mandaeans, members of a non-Arab, pre-Christian race whose 60,000 people have been scattered worldwide since Iraq erupted in sectarian violence in 2006.

Mandaeans are a monotheistic people who revere John the Baptist; regard running water, such as rivers, as sacred; do not intermarry; do not accept conversions; and speak an ancient Aramaic language.

They also are pacifists who, in Iraq, have suffered murder, rape, and kidnappings by Islamic extremists, and by criminals who target the Mandaeans’s traditional success as jewelers, said Wisam Breegi, a Mandaean refugee who lives in Woburn.

A total of 380 Mandaeans have emigrated directly to Massachusetts since 2008, according to State Department figures. Mandaean leaders estimate that at least 50 more refugees have migrated to Massachusetts from other states. “This is a place where they can not only start, but flourish,” said Breegi, whose jewelry store in Boston’s Downtown Crossing serves as a resettlement assistance center.

In the last two years, Breegi has helped and advised most of the Mandaeans who have flocked to Massachusetts. The work, Breegi says, is a matter of cultural survival. “If we keep being scattered, if we don’t bring people in, it probably will be an actual death sentence to our culture, our faith, and our people,” said Breegi, 50, who arrived in Massachusetts in 1992.

Richard Chacon, executive director of the state Office for Refugees and Immigrants, said the Mandaean resettlement in Massachusetts came as a surprise.

“We weren’t as familiar with who the Mandaean are,” Chacon said. “But they fit perfectly in what has been the narrative of this Commonwealth, in being a home for individuals of religious traditions who were forced out or persecuted in their own countries.”

Breegi said he wants to “build a society with all the bells and whistles.” His efforts began two years ago by approaching charitable groups, politicians, and government officials with slide shows, PowerPoint presentations, and pleas to investigate the plight of Mandaean refugees.

His drumbeat struck a chord with Lutheran Social Services, which encouraged Mandaean to relocate to Worcester, a relatively affordable city where many of them live near downtown. In Worcester, resettlement officials said, Mandaean have been steered to housing, jobs, schooling, and myriad other necessities of American life.

Most of the Mandaean in Massachusetts, according to Breegi, state officials, and social workers, have found jobs, although many of them are entry-level, low-paying positions. Still, Breegi said, they are happy to be working.

“This has not happened in their lifetime: that they have a community that feels safe and is not persecuted,” said Jozefina Lantz, a Lutheran Social Services official who is Massachusetts director of the agency’s Services for New Americans.

Before Breegi called, Lantz said, “I had never heard of the Mandaean community.”

That obscurity has been a survival tactic for a people, desperate not to be noticed, whose last mass migration occurred 2,000 years ago, Breegi said. Since they moved to lands in present-day Iraq and Iran in the first century, Breegi said, the Mandaean have suffered waves of persecution and massacre.

“We became a people of shadows,” said Breegi, who practiced veterinary medicine in Baghdad.

The Massachusetts connection happened by chance, said Breegi, who settled here only because he had corresponded with a resident of the state while still in Iraq. Breegi had no family in Massachusetts, but quickly became impressed with its educational and medical resources.

In the last two years, after the number of US-admitted Iraqi refugees increased dramatically, Breegi has helped as many Mandaean as he could with their initial needs in this country.

The United States regards all Iraqis who seek to flee that country as refugees, but screens each applicant to help ensure that terrorists and criminals are not admitted, according to Beth Schlachter, a State Department spokeswoman.

In Massachusetts, an expanding support system is helping steer increasing numbers to the state. Through Sept. 22, 113 Mandaeans had resettled in Massachusetts this year, more than double the number in Texas, the second most-popular destination in 2010.

One recent arrival to Massachusetts is Luay Abdulazeez, a Baghdad jeweler who says he was kidnapped in 2003 and held blindfolded for four days until his family paid a \$120,000 ransom.

“I see the freedom here,” said Abdulazeez, 35, who lives in Worcester with his wife and 5-year-old daughter. “It’s a very nice place.”

His new home also is a place with little free time. Abdulazeez rises at 6 a.m., commutes to Boston to train at Breegi’s store, returns to Worcester by 6:30 p.m., and attends classes at Quinsigamond Community College four nights a week.

“In my dream,” Abdulazeez said, “I want to be a lawyer.”

Mandaeans have always lived near one another, and establishing a community in a central location such as Massachusetts, Breegi said, is vital to preserving traditions that have been handed down through centuries.

Otherwise, Breegi said, “you may save the people, but you’ll kill the faith.”

“I’m very much worried,” agreed Aljuhily, who wears a long beard and braided hair typical of religious Mandaeans. “We’re all discussing the same thing.”

Although they use the many streams and natural water around Worcester for their rituals, Breegi said, Mandaeans lack a temple and a cemetery. They also fear their children will drift from the religion in a culture that is rife with distractions. Already, Aljuhily said, he has been visited by Jehovah Witnesses who handed him Christian literature written in Arabic.

“If we have a place to worship,” Aljuhily said, “we can be the beacon for all the Mandaean in the United States.”

Breegi shares a commitment to that ambitious goal.

“What we are building,” he said, “is the foundation of the Mandaean community in a new place after 2,000 years. This is majestic.”

(From a Boston Globe article, October 8, 2010 - http://www.boston.com/news/local/massachusetts/articles/2010/10/08/for_mandaeans_a_journey_to_peace/)

The Carteret Islands

With their boundless vistas of turquoise water framed by swaying coconut palms, the Carteret Islands northeast of the Papua New Guinea mainland might seem the idyllic spot to be a castaway.

But sea levels have risen so much that during the annual king tide season, November to March, the roiling ocean blocks the view from one island to the next, and residents stash their possessions in fishing nets strung between the palm trees.

“It gives you the scary feeling that you don’t know what is going to happen to you, that any minute you will be floating,” Ursula Rakova, the head of a program to relocate residents, said by telephone. The chain could well be uninhabitable by 2015, locals believe, but two previous attempts to abandon it ended badly, when residents were chased back after clashing with their new neighbors on larger islands.

This dark situation underlies the thorny debate over the world’s responsibilities to the millions of people likely to be displaced by climate change.

There could be 200 million of these climate refugees by 2050, according to a new policy paper by the International Organization for Migration, depending on the degree of climate disturbances. Aside from the South Pacific, low-lying areas likely to be battered first include Bangladesh and nations in the Indian Ocean, where the leader of the Maldives has begun seeking a safe haven for his 300,000 people. Landlocked areas may also be affected; some experts call the Darfur region of Sudan, where nomads battle villagers in a war over shrinking natural

resources, the first significant conflict linked to climate change... While all Pacific island states are expected to lose land, some made up entirely of atolls, like Tuvalu and Kiribati, face possible extinction.

“For the first time in history, you could actually lose countries off the face of the globe,” said Stuart Beck, the permanent representative for Palau at the United Nations. “It is a security threat to them and their populations, which will have to be relocated, which is the security threat to the places where they go, among other consequences.”

Scientific studies distributed by the United Nations or affiliated agencies generally paint rising seas as a threat. A 2007 report by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, detailing shifts expected in the South Pacific, said rising seas would worsen flooding and erosion and threaten towns as well as infrastructure. Some fresh water will turn salty, and fishing and agriculture will wither, it said.

Australia’s previous prime minister, John Howard, was generally dismissive of the problem, saying his country was plagued with “doomsayers.” But a policy paper called “Our Drowning Neighbors,” by the now governing Labor Party, said Australia should help meld an international coalition to address it. Political debates have erupted there and in New Zealand over the idea of immigration quotas for climate refugees. New Zealand established a “Pacific Access Category” with guidelines that mirror the rules for any émigré, opening its borders to a limited annual quota of some 400 able-bodied adults between the ages of 18 and 45 who have no criminal records.

But its position has attracted criticism for leaving out the young and the old, who have the least ability to relocate. Australia’s policy, by contrast, is to try to mitigate the circumstances for the victims where they are, rather than serving as their lifeboat.

The sentiment among Pacific Islanders suggests that they do not want to abandon their homelands or be absorbed into cultures where indigenous people already struggle for acceptance.

“It is about much more than just finding food and shelter,” said Tarita Holm, an analyst with the Palauan Ministry of Resources and Development. “It is about your identity.”

Ms. Rakova, on the Carteret Islands, echoes that sentiment. A year ago, her proposed relocation effort attracted just three families out of a population of around 2,000 people. But after last season's king tides — the highest of the year — she is scrounging for about \$1.5 million to help some 750 people relocate before the tides come again.

Jennifer Redfearn, a documentary maker, has been filming the gradual disappearance of the Carterets for a work called "Sun Come Up." One clan chief told her he would rather sink with the islands than leave. It now takes only about 15 minutes to walk the length of the largest island, with food and water supplies shrinking all the time.

"It destroys our food gardens, it uproots coconut trees, it even washes over the sea walls that we have built," Ms. Rakova says on the film. "Most of our culture will have to live in memory."

(Excerpted from a New York Times article, May 29, 2009 - <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/05/29/world/29refugees.html>)

Deported

Many couples fear immigration officers, but Asa and Tony have a particularly horrible story. Asa, a British citizen, was deported while trying to visit Tony in the U.S., and Homeland Security launched its own investigation of their relationship. Tony, forty and a denizen of Atlanta, Georgia, met Asa, thirty-three, during a vacation in Britain in early 2002. They fell in love, and, like many other couples, immediately faced a quandary: how to be together?

At the time, U.K. immigration laws gave residency to unmarried foreign partners of British citizens—but only after the couple had lived together for two years. The two therefore planned eventually to move to London, but since Tony had commitments to his own business in the U.S., they would need to demonstrate their cohabitation through Asa spending as much time as possible with him there. "I went to the INS," Asa says, "and they told me there was no limit to how often I could come in and out of the U.S. legally, as long as I don't overstay. So I would go in and out of the county every ninety days."

I spent the majority of my time during those two years in the U.S... While I was forced to quit my job in Britain to spend time in the States, I could not work, drive, own a cell phone or even a bank account in America—all the things most people take for granted. My partner was powerless to do anything to help. ... One of our major hurdles was that I had to live in America [to prove to the U.K.

that they had cohabited for two years], but I couldn't do so legally in the U.S.'s eyes. Yet, we had to build documentation that we were living together. We had to walk this fine line.

Still, Asa left every three months and remained legal. In 2004, having met the requirements, they resettled in London, where Tony got a new job. In June 2005, Tony had to return to the U.S. for an eight-week business trip—"which was a long time to be apart," Asa says. "We said I'd go there on holiday for two weeks [at the end of Tony's trip], and fly back together. Tony asked me if I was worried about coming into the country. Ironically, every other time I was horrified coming into the country, the most nerve-wracking experience. This time, I wasn't worried at all."

At the Atlanta airport, "I got to immigration. They asked me the standard series of questions: last time I was here, what I was here for—a holiday. I kept the answers as simple as possible. They put my passport in an orange folder, so I knew. They took me into another room."

That was the horrible experience in itself... There was an African woman who had a little baby and they were letting the baby into the country and not the mother. And then they had a few other people who'd been put aside for questioning as well. At least I spoke English— I could tell the translators weren't doing a proper job interpreting.

They asked details about me. I told them the hundred percent truth. I said I'm in a same-sex relationship, we live in the U.K., we transferred our lives there ... It was blatantly obvious to me that the questioning was homophobic. It's hard to explain... You knew they could do it because our relationship had no status, and the end result was that it all happened to me because I was in a same-sex relationship ... I guess I just wasn't human.

He asked me questions about our landlord when we had lived in San Francisco. Were they already investigating us? He told me that he didn't think I'd be let into the country. I said, "Don't do this to me."

They never said, You have been refused entry because. And I never actually asked, why aren't you letting me in. I just said, please, don't do this to me. I was given a refusal, and made to sign. The flights to the U.K. were all booked. They didn't think they could permit me to fly back to another E.U. country. They found a London flight leaving in a couple of hours, with one seat in first class—for \$5,000. I bought that. When my flight came up, I got escorted there by a Homeland Security officer and boarded onto the plane.

"The American government has singled gay people out for mistreatment," Asa says. "We have been careful to abide by every law and hurdle placed in front of us, and we are still being treated as criminals."

Tony waited hours for Asa to emerge—then waited for him to call when he got back to London that night. He remembers,

At 10 or 11 a.m. next morning, someone was banging on my door—two officers standing there, cars sitting in front of my house. I was shocked. But I knew what it was. Homeland Security.

[The agents] didn't want any pleasant communications. They informed me of my rights—I could have an attorney present; they recorded everything. I told them all they asked for. They wanted to know what my relationship to Asa was. I knew he'd already told them, so I told them the same.

They knew things about our relationship. We had moved to San Francisco for about a year. We'd signed a lease there, so we had both our names on it. Sitting in my house, they had the documentation: they asked about our landlords in San Francisco by name; "Did Asa live with you for the year?" I explained that no, he'd been doing it legally, leaving and entering every ninety days. They didn't believe me. They asked, "Where are you living now?" I said in London. Obviously, they didn't believe I was living anywhere but Atlanta, because I still own the house there. The line of questioning was: when did we meet; how long in was he in the U.S.; did I know that it was a violation of law if I let him live with me and if I harbored an illegal immigrant? They asked me how Asa supported himself in the U.S. They knew he didn't have a job in the U.K. "So he lives there but you pay all the bills?"

By coincidence or not, Tony says, "One or two weeks later, I got an internal revenue audit. That's still going on... I'm not at risk, but—I suspect that they're making sure that I didn't pay Asa."

"We never did anything that should have flagged us," Tony says. "Honestly, I love my country; if we could live in America tomorrow, I would want to come home. ...Our home is there. My family is there. Asa's family is spread out. He and I are here alone in London." And yet, Tony says, "they treat me so well over here, almost to the point that it freaks you out. It's the other side of the spectrum. You don't see any hate here. It's really nice."

(From a Human Rights Watch/Immigration Equality telephone interview with Asa and Tony (last names withheld at their request), January 5, 2006, and an e-mail from Asa to Human Rights Watch, January 5, 2006, as relayed in "Family Unvalued -

<http://www.immigrationequality.org/familyunvalued.php>)

Handout 1.3 - The Legalities of Legal Immigration

Whether via permanent residency or guest worker visa, there are serious problems with our immigration system that leads to years of waiting.

(Sections one and two of this handout – “Visa Backlogs” and “Flawed Worker Programs” were excerpted from the UUA’s “Welcoming Our Neighbors” immigration resource.

Visa Backlogs

*The majority of immigrants who obtain a “green card”—a visa which grants lawful permanent residency—do so through **sponsorship by a family member or sponsorship by an employer who is already in the United States**. After five years as a lawful permanent resident, an immigrant can apply for U.S. citizenship. But a tremendous backlog in processing visa applications is putting families in the painful position of having to choose whether to follow the law and be separated for up to twenty years in some cases, or to break the law in order to be together.*

There are many different categories of visas for people who want to become permanent residents of the U.S. Which type of visa a person applies for is determined by their relationship to the family member already in the U.S. who is sponsoring him or her, or the type of work they are coming to the U.S. to perform.

Many visa categories have a quota or “cap,” which limits the number of people who can receive that kind of visa to enter the U.S. each year. Family reunification is the largest avenue through which individuals qualify for permanent residence. Family-based immigration is split into two major categories.

- **Immediate relatives** - This category is unlimited, and includes spouses of citizens, unmarried children under 21 of citizens, or parents of U.S. citizens who are over 21.
- **Family preference** - This category includes unmarried children over 21 of U.S. citizens (cap: 23,400); unmarried children over 21 of green card holders who are not yet citizens (114,200); married children of U.S. citizens (23,400); and siblings (65,000).

It might seem as if there are a lot of visas in the family preference category, but . . .

Due to application processing backlogs, the wait for a permanent residency visa for those who fall into the “Family Preference” category ranges from two or three years to over twenty, depending on an applicant’s sub-sub-category and country of origin.

See the flowchart in handout 1.4 to find out how long the waiting period for a permanent residency visa can be for different people trying to immigrate to the United States

Flawed Guest Worker Programs

*In addition to visas granted to immigrants coming to the U.S. to live permanently, visas are also granted to individuals coming to the U.S. to fill the temporary needs of U.S. employers. **Temporary** or **nonimmigrant** work visas are divided into categories dealing with everything from foreign athletes to academics to laborers. For the purposes of worker justice and immigration reform advocacy, two of the most important categories are H-2A and H-2B, which deal with unskilled labor. These temporary visas are valid for one year, and are renewable for two more years.*

- **H-2A** – temporary or seasonal agricultural workers.
- **H-2B** – temporary or seasonal nonagricultural workers, e.g., at a ski resort, carnival, etc.

Shortage of Unskilled Labor. The H-2B category is fraught with bureaucratic red tape that makes it time-consuming and difficult to use. The H-2B category is further limited by an annual cap of 66,000 visas, far below current demand. Furthermore, the H-2B temporary visa program is useful only for employers who can establish that their need for foreign workers is seasonal. A nonimmigrant visa category does not exist for employers who need workers for permanent or long-term jobs, for example in health care, retail, hospitality, construction, and other industries. **Permanent** immigrant visas for unskilled laborers are available, but that category's low cap of 5,000 per year has created a backlog. According to U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services, "A petitioner could expect to wait many years before being granted a visa under this category." According to AILA, the wait for a permanent visa for unskilled work is typically over ten years long. *As a result, it is extremely difficult for enough unskilled workers to legally enter the United States, causing employers and workers to seek ways to circumvent the system.*

Opportunities for Employer Abuse. The H-2B program is rife with exploitation and abuse. As with all guestworkers, H-2B workers suffer from an imbalance of power with their employers because their temporary, non-immigrant status ties them to particular employers and makes their ability to obtain a visa dependent on the willingness of the employer to make a request to the U.S. government. H-2B workers and U.S. workers at H-2B employers lack many of the protections afforded to workers in the H-2A program, such as . . . free housing . . . and eligibility for federally funded legal services. Many H-2B workers begin their employment indebted to recruiters, contractors, or employers who charge high fees to gain access to the jobs. Many workers finance the fee payments by taking out high interest loans or putting the deeds to their homes in the hands of a labor recruiter as collateral. Once in the US, many workers face unrealistic productivity requirements and unsafe working conditions, underpayment for their difficult and dangerous work, insufficient work, and unsuitable living conditions. *Despite these conditions, these debt-ridden workers are reluctant to complain because their employers or contractors exercise control over them and they fear losing their job or not being rehired the following season.¹ To escape exploitation, some H2-B workers leave the employers who sponsored their visa and become undocumented workers.*

¹ Farmworker Justice. "The H-2B Guestworker Program." [Www.fwjjustice.org/Immigration_Labor/H-2B.htm](http://www.fwjjustice.org/Immigration_Labor/H-2B.htm) (June 16, 2008).

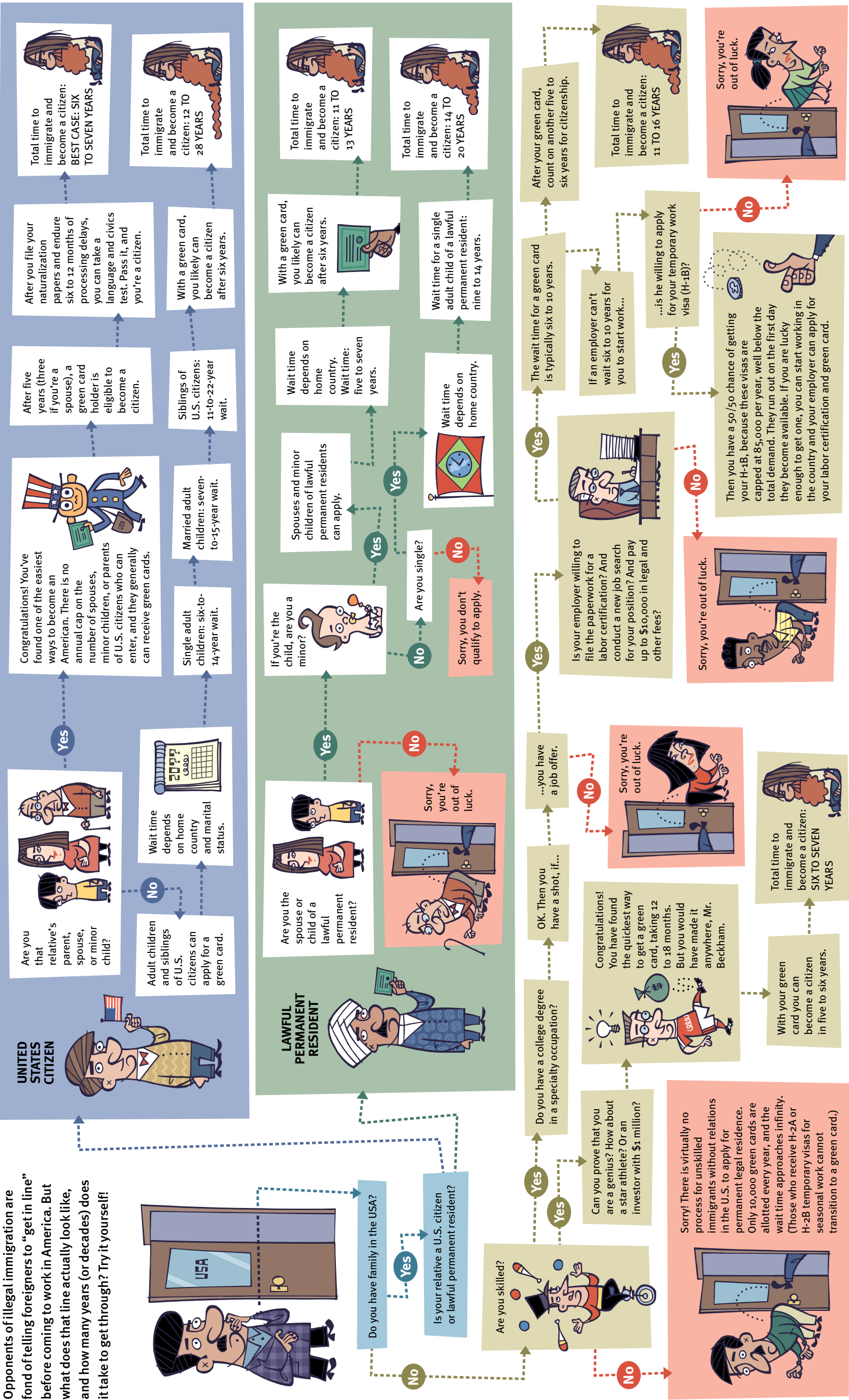
Visa Quota Chart (from <http://www.immigralaw.com/>)

IMMIGRANT VISAS (Green Cards)	
<u>Family-based green cards</u>	226,000 (current total quota)
immediate relatives	none
family first preference	23,400 plus any unused 4th preference visas
family second preference	114,200 plus any unused 1st preference visas (and no less than 77% to 2A)
family third preference	23,400 plus any unused 2nd preference visas
family fourth preference	65,000 plus any unused 3rd preference visas
<u>Employment-based green cards</u>	140,000 (current total quota)
employment first preference	28.6% of the annual total
employment second preference	28.6% of the annual total
employment third preference	28.6% of the annual total
employment fourth preference	7.1% of the annual total
employment fifth preference (investment)	7.1% of the annual total
<u>Green Card Lottery</u>	55,000 (current total quota)
<u>Amnesty</u>	none
<u>Asylum</u>	none
<u>Refugees</u>	90,000 (current quota)
<u>Temporary Protected Status (TPS)</u>	none
<u>Special Immigrant Status</u>	10,000 (no more than 5,000 to non-clergy religious workers)
<u>Special Agricultural Worker Status</u>	none
NON-IMMIGRANT VISAS (Temporary Work/Travel Visas)	
<u>Specialty Occupation (H-1B)</u>	65,000
<u>Intracompany Transfer (Executives) (L-1)</u>	none
<u>Investment (E-2)</u>	none
<u>Temporary/Seasonal Workers (H-2B)</u>	66,000
<u>Job Training (H-3)</u>	none
<u>Student Visas (F-1, M-1)</u>	none
<u>Religious Worker Visas (R-1)</u>	none

What Part of Legal Immigration Don't You Understand?

Mike Flynn and Shikha Dalmia

Illustrated by Terry Colon



(Flynn is director of government affairs and Dalmia is a senior policy analyst at Reason Foundation. This chart was developed by Reason Foundation in collaboration with the National Foundation for American Policy.)

Handout 1.5 - What Part of “Illegal” Don’t You Understand?

It sounds very simple but there is actually a great deal of confusion around the term “illegal immigrant.” Being in the country without documentation is actually a civil offense, much like exceeding the speed limit while driving. If you’re going 50 mph in an 35 mph zone, you are breaking the law, but does that make you an “illegal driver”?

Due to the dysfunction of the current U.S. immigration system as explained in the previous sections, family members face years of separation and workers face years of waiting before they can find employment to support their families. In both cases, the situation is untenable, especially when there are young, dependant children involved. For that reason, many people choose to enter or remain in the country without documentation.

Much of the discussion around illegal immigration has centered around the idea of people sneaking across the border. The media portrays people with ladders climbing over barbed-wire fences or tunneling under them. The images convey a sense of criminal activity. Indeed, over half of the estimated 11 million people currently in the country without documentation entered clandestinely. However, almost half – an estimated 45% - entered the country legally and then overstayed their visas[1]. These are workers who, as stated in the previous section, leave their sponsoring employers in order to escape exploitation. They are students who have come to the U.S. for college or graduate school and then found love and work here. They are family members visiting their loved ones on tourist visas who then cannot bear to part. In short, the vast majority of “illegal immigrants” are people like you and me, not criminals.

But they are breaking the law. Doesn’t that make them criminals by definition?

Not necessarily. Unless they are committing some other activity at the same time that actually is criminal – such as smuggling or identity fraud – even those who are climbing over fences are not committing a crime. Legally speaking, being in the country without documentation is a civil offense. What “illegal immigrants” are “guilty” of is not having the necessary paperwork.

Assistant Homeland Security Secretary John Morton is currently head of Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE). As he stated in a Feb 2010 interview, “The immigration laws are civil in nature.... For example, if you enter the country on a visa and you overstay your visa, that is a civil but not a criminal offense. There is some overlap. Sometimes you are here unlawfully and you’re also guilty of a crime. But it is not one to one.” He added, “Generally speaking, if you’re being deported and you’re being detained for it, it’s for a civil infraction and not a criminal one.”[2]

The same view was upheld by Homeland Security Secretary, Janet Napolitano in a CNN interview.[3]

In fact, deportation or removal proceedings are conducted in civil court, not criminal court, and the punishment is deportation, not imprisonment. Undocumented immigrants found to be in violation of immigration laws are officially detained only while our immigration system decides whether they have a right to stay in the United States.

Many U.S.Americans mistakenly believe that all undocumented immigrants are by definition criminals, which is understandable. First, there are the images of the militarized border that connote crossing as an illegal activity. Secondly, we continually hear the term illegal immigration, illegal immigrant, illegal, illegal.... Third, while detained undocumented immigrants are officially held in **non-criminal** custody, due to overcrowding and privatization, over half of the immigrants in detention now are physically housed in private prisons or county jails. (More about this in week five.) All of these things combined create the sense that undocumented immigrants are criminals. It's no wonder that people are confused!

It is for this reason that many people and organizations, including the UUA, advocate the use of the term “undocumented immigrant” over “illegal immigrant.”

References

1. <http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=5485917>
2. <http://pajamasmedia.com/blog/illegal-aliens-are-not-criminals/>
3. <http://transcripts.cnn.com/TRANSCRIPTS/0904/19/sotu.01.html>

Week Two

The History of (Im)migration in the U.S.

Goals

- To encourage participants to see the immigration issue from perspectives other than from the legacy of colonialism
- To think about what it means to be considered "American"

Learning Objectives

- Understand the history of migration to what is now called the United States
- Understanding how immigration policy has been tied to race/ethnicity

Handouts for Week Two

- 2.1 A Native American Perspective On Immigration
- 2.2 Story from the Tohono Odham Nation
- 2.3 A Very Brief Primer on U.S.-Mexican History
- 2.4 Ten Anti-Immigrant Quotes That Sound...Familiar
- 2.5 White By Law—Requirement for Becoming "American"

Workshop-at-a-Glance

1. 5" Chalice Lighting and Opening Reading
2. 10" Check-in
3. 20" Activity 1: U.S. History: Through Whose Eyes?
4. 20" Activity 2: Immigration and Ethnicity Timeline
5. 20" Activity 3: Becoming "American"
6. 10" Debrief
7. 5" Closing

Chalice Lighting and Opening Reading

Not like the brazen giant of Greek fame,
With conquering limbs astride from land to land;
Here at our sea-washed, sunset gates shall stand
A mighty woman with a torch, whose flame
Is the imprisoned lightning, and her name
Mother of Exiles. From her beacon-hand
Glow world-wide welcome; her mild eyes command
The air-bridged harbor that twin cities frame.
"Keep ancient lands, your storied pomp!" cries she
With silent lips. "Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore.
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost to me,
I lift my lamp beside the golden door!"

- Emma Lazarus, *The New Colossus*

Check-in

Participants are invited to share where they are spiritually/emotionally with respect to the class.

Activity 1: U.S. History: Through Whose Eyes?

Discussion to be held with the group as a whole: In handout 2.1, the author talks about a television commercial that starts with "an image of white people, then it moved on to African Americans, Latinos and finally Asians." In many ways, the ad mirrors the narrative that is taught in our U.S. history classes. What are the assumptions underlying this version of history? From whose perspective is it being told? How might a Native American tell the story? An African American? A Latino/a American? What would the commercial look like that tried to balance different points of view?

Activity 2: Immigration and Race Timeline

Workshop facilitator(s) choose(s) dates from the links below to create a timeline, written on poster paper and put up in the room. (Create the timeline beforehand.) Pay special attention to the relationship between race and immigration policy. A quick way to add dates is to copy them from the websites into a Word file, print and cut them out, and paste them onto the wall. Add dates about the history of your church. Leave space for members of your congregation to write when they or their fore-parents entered the United States, and post photos if they have them.

- [Immigration Timeline from the University of North Carolina](http://bit.ly/oL8N1m) (<http://bit.ly/oL8N1m>)
- [Immigration Timeline by The Flow of History](http://bit.ly/fd9y9I) (<http://bit.ly/fd9y9I>)

Invite participants to share "How long has their family been in the U.S.? From where? Why did they come?"

Activity 3: Becoming "American"

Discussion to be held with the group as a whole: Every generation of immigrants to the U.S. has faced resistance from those who were already here. Historically speaking, these groups have eventually come to be accepted as "American." Who are the groups who are facing resistance in the U.S. now? It used to be law that one had to be recognized as "white" to be "American." Since that is no longer the case, what does it mean to be "American"? What are the attributes?

Debrief

Participants are invited to share anything that strongly moved them during the session.

Closing Reading and Extinguishing the Chalice

If you
Want to show
Your love
For America
Love
Americans
Smile
When you see
One
Flowerlike
His
Turban
Rosepink.

Rejoice
At the
Eagle feather

In a grandfather's
Braid.

If a sister
Bus rider's hair
Is
Especially
Nappy
A miracle
In itself
Praise it.

How can there be
Homeless
In a land
So crammed
With houses

&
Young children
Sold
As sex snacks
Causing our thoughts
To flinch &
Snag?

Love your country
By loving
Americans.

Love Americans.

Salute the soul
& the body
Of who we
Spectacularly &
Sometimes
Pitifully are.
Love us. We are
The flag.

- Alice Walker, *Patriot*

Handouts for Week Three

3.1 Shop Til You Drop on a Mexican Wage

(Note: This is a worksheet to be filled out while visiting an interactive website)

3.2 NAFTA and Immigration

3.3 Effects on Working Conditions

3.4 Stories of Farm Workers

3.5 Immigration Myths and Facts, from the ACLU

Further Study

To explore the topics covered in this session, as well as related topics, see the resources listed in [section II.B \(PDF, 11 pages\)](#) of the study guide.

Handout 2.1 - A Native American Perspective on Immigration

Listen to the Native Americans on Immigration

Immigration policy must include the voices, experiences and concerns of America's indigenous people

New America Media, Commentary, Marta Donayre, Oct 19, 2006

SAN FRANCISCO--I lowered my head and shook it from side to side when I saw the television ad.

It started with an image of white people, then it moved on to African Americans, Latinos and finally Asians. As each group was mentioned, people filled the image and their respective population percentage was announced.

As usual, Native Americans were completely excluded.

But we cannot afford to omit the Native American perspective in the immigration debate, and not for the obvious reasons.

Yes, European undocumented immigrants devastated the way of life of Native Americans. First Nation peoples, from Alaska to Tierra del Fuego, had their lands, dignity and history stolen by the newcomers. One would assume Native Americans know something about the consequences of immigration.

Many of today's immigrants are Indigenous people who are trying to escape starvation. They don't speak Spanish, only their original pre-Hispanic language. Some don't even identify with their country of origin.

To them the chant, "We didn't cross the border, the border crossed us" couldn't be any more real.

In Latin American countries, Indigenous people bear the brunt of poverty. Like their North American counterparts, they had their land stolen and they were relegated to second-class status simply because of who they are. As a result, many are uprooting themselves from their ancestral lands to find work in the United States.

First Nations people in the United States are also being affected by immigration policy. Fortunately, they are speaking up about it.

Between Aug. 29 and Oct. 1, Native Americans from the northern and southern borders met at the first Border Summit of the Americas.

They expressed solidarity with immigrants, took a stance against the projected wall between the United States and Mexico and demanded a halt to the militarization of the border and for the United States to respect the sovereignty of Native American nations.

Many people don't know that there are over 20 tribes that live in the border area who are suffering the consequences of the immigration crackdown.

Federal agents violate tribal land without any regard to the rule of law set by treaties. When on tribal lands, agents invade homes at gunpoint, and demand papers.

In addition, the proposed border wall would cross through tribal territory, including sacred burial grounds, also in violation of the treaties. Migrating animals would be drastically affected by the wall as well.

"We are directed under our law to go to the aid of others and not just sit back and watch the devastation," said Mohawk Mark Maracle, representing the Women Title Holders. Maracle added that the proposed border fence would upset nature. "If this fence goes up, this nation will see natural disasters like it has not seen before. It will disrupt the natural order."

Bill Means, a member of the Indian Treaty Council went farther and called the proposed fence another "Berlin Wall" that would violate federal laws such as the Native American Grave Protection and Repatriation Act and American Indian Religious Freedom Act.

The current proposal for a wall, as well as the need for Indigenous people to migrate to the United States, have one thing in common: they result from the continuous disregard and disrespect of Natives since the European colonization.

Policy is never ever drafted with Native people's interests in mind and favors only the interests of the colonizers.

Free trade agreement policies benefit large corporations to the detriment of small and subsistence farmers. In Latin America these farmers are all Indigenous campesinos, people of the fields. Many still live the way their ancestors did prior to the arrival of the Europeans.

Proponents of the wall don't even think about the needs of border tribes, just like the needs of the Indigenous campesinos aren't taken into account in official policymaking.

I know that I have Inca blood in me, and I know how poorly the descendants of the Incas are treated back home. I also know how poorly the descendants of the First Nations of North America are treated here.

Nothing can be done to restore their lands, their dignity or their history. Many traditions have been lost to colonialism. But we still have the capacity to find new solutions that rely on inclusion and respect. A great place to start is by including First Nation people's perspectives and needs in the economic and immigration policy debates.

Marta Donayre is co-founder of Love Sees No Borders and a member of the Leadership Council of the Bay Area Immigrant Rights Coalition. IMMIGRATION MATTERS regularly features the views of the nation's leading immigrant rights advocates.

(http://www.imdiversity.com/villages/native/politics_law/nam_native_immigration_1006.asp)

Handout 2.2 – Story from the Tohono O'odham Nation

New Travel Rules Leave Native Americans in Limbo

By Tim Gaynor
Lukeville, AZ | Dec 11, 2007

(Reuters) - The U.S. border inspector at this lonely desert crossing with [Mexico](#) fingers the tribal enrollment card decorated with a wooden staff and eagle feathers, and glances at the holder's photograph.

Tohono O'odham elder Ofelia Rivas, 51, has used the document to cross between the tribe's ceremonial sites in Mexico and her home in Arizona for years, but the inspector tells her that it will soon no longer be valid for international travel.

The U.S. Western Hemisphere Travel Initiative in January will require U.S. citizens to present government photo ID, such as a driver's license, plus proof of citizenship, such as a birth certificate, when they enter the United States by land or sea.

The measure, which is to be followed by requirements for a passport by June 2009, is causing confusion and anxiety among some Native American tribes that straddle the United States' borders with Mexico and Canada.

According to the National Congress of American Indians, there are around 40 U.S. tribes whose members cross regularly over the northern and southwestern borders, some to work and visit kin, others to attend ceremonies at traditional sites.

With implementation of the new travel rules looming in just a few weeks, some tribal members say it is still unclear whether enrollment documents issued by their own tribal governments will be acceptable at the borders, and are unsure if they can meet the new travel ID requirements if they are obliged to comply.

"We were all born at home with a midwife, and nobody at the time recorded our births," said Rivas, explaining the difficulty for her and other members of her family who cross frequently to and from Mexico using their tribal enrollment cards.

"I have no birth certificate so how am I supposed to get a passport?"

CONFUSION

The U.S. travel initiative kicked off in January this year, when all people traveling between the United States and Canada by air were required to present a passport to enter or re-enter the United States.

The second phase for land and sea travel comes into effect on January 31 2008. It will be followed by tougher rules requiring all U.S. citizens to hold passports or new "passport cards," created for limited cross-border travel, by June 1 2009.

The impending changes will affect traditional nations including the Confederated Colville Tribes, the Blackfeet and the Mohawks, who cross back and forth across the northern border with Canada, as well as several tribes who travel between Alaska and British Columbia and the Yukon Territory.

Southwest border tribes affected include the Tohono O'odham, in Arizona and Sonora, the Campo Band of the Kumeyaay Nation who have members in California and in Baja California in northwest Mexico, and the Kickapoo Band of Texas and Tribe of Oklahoma, who have ties to kin in Coahuila, Mexico.

The new passport rules make exceptions for some travelers including cruise ship passengers embarking from and returning to U.S. ports as well as U.S. and Canadian children traveling in designated groups, who will not be required to show passports for travel.

But so far, the Kickapoo are the only tribe authorized to cross over the border using their American Indian Cards instead of a passport, under a special law that was passed in the early 1980s.

Several border tribes are in talks with the U.S. Department of Homeland Security individually to discuss the status of tribal enrollment cards, yet it remains unclear what arrangement they might reach.

"It's very confusing. Nobody except for the DHS staff who are writing it right now knows what the final law is going to look like," said Heather Dawn Thompson, the Director of Government Affairs at the National Congress of American Indians.

LINGERING UNCERTAINTY

The U.S. government recognizes several hundred Native American nations whose members lived on the land for centuries before the United States, Canada and Mexico existed, speaking their own languages and following beliefs centered on the natural world.

A spokeswoman for U.S. Customs and Border Protection told Reuters that Native Americans will be able to continue presenting tribal enrollment cards if they are affixed with a photo ID during the transition period from the end of January.

Kelly Klundt said the challenge remains in ensuring that all tribal enrollment documents have adequate security features to comply with the new requirements, and that tribes can demonstrate that the issuing process is secure.

"We are working with the tribes to see what solutions we can come up with that will meet the security requirements while recognizing their cultural and historical needs," Klundt said.

"It is very high on our radar, and we are very cognizant of their specific concerns," she added.

But despite assurances that tribal ID documents will continue to be valid for travel, the situation on the southwest border is confused.

While crossing north from Mexico through Lukeville with this correspondent late last month, Rivas was told by a CBP inspector she would need a passport to cross from January.

Rivas said that the lingering uncertainty over Tohono O'odham members' ability to visit family and carry out sacred ceremonies at Quitovac in Mexico haunts her and other traditionalists in the tribe.

"The elders are distraught that they might not be able to go and conduct a ceremony that we have carried out since Creation," she said. "It is devastating. I can't imagine not going."

(Reporting by Tim Gaynor; Editing by Eddie Evans)

<http://www.reuters.com/article/idUSN1163473120071212>

Handout 2.3 - A Very Brief Primer on U.S.-Mexican History

By Kat Liu

Adapted from a blogpost that appeared on Inspired Faith, Effective Action, August 9th, 2010 (<http://bit.ly/b2iRmY>)

In the early 1800s, U.S.Americans started settling into a territory of Mexico known as Texas. Alarmed by the fact that the immigration rate was so high that U.S. settlers were starting to outnumber Mexicans, Mexico closed the territory to further legal immigration. But U.S. settlers continued to pour in illegally. Rather than attempting to learn the language and culture of the country to which they had immigrated, U.S.American immigrants in Texas declared independence from Mexico in 1836. (One has to wonder what the Mexican families who had already been living on the land thought about that.)

In 1845, the Republic of Texas was annexed as the 28th state, and President Polk was eyeing Mexico's territories west of TX, all the way to the Pacific Ocean. The annexation of Texas, which Mexico continued to think of as a rebellious territory, caused Mexico to break diplomatic ties with the U.S., but it did not declare war. Polk needed Mexico to be the first to engage in hostilities so that he could frame his expansionist intentions as defensive. He sent Gen. Zachary Taylor to Texas to push its southern boundary from the Nueces river (the border that Mexico recognized) 150 miles southward to the Rio Grande (the border that the U.S. wanted). The ploy worked; in April of 1846, a Mexican detachment attacked a U.S. patrol in the disputed area, killing 16 U.S. soldiers. The U.S.-Mexican War was on.

In the meantime, Polk had sent word to U.S.Americans in California, also a Mexico-owned territory, that the U.S. would support any efforts of "independence" against the Mexican government. When word of the U.S.-Mexico war reached California, U.S. settlers there played "the Texas game" and declared revolution. (Again, one has to wonder what the Mexican families who had already been living in California thought about that.)

Weak from internal instability, the Mexican government was no match for the U.S. military. By September 1847, U.S. forces occupied Mexico City. Mexico had no choice but to accede to whatever the U.S. demanded. The U.S. secured its hold on Texas, established the border at the Rio Grande, and received land that would become all or parts of the states of California, Nevada, Utah, Colorado, Arizona, New Mexico, and Wyoming. (At the risk of repeating ourselves, there were Mexican families who had lived on these lands for generations before they suddenly became part of the U.S.)

All of the events above are well-known to anyone who has studied U.S. history. But there is something that is not as widely known – which is that while U.S. forces occupied Mexico City, the Senate debated whether or not to annex ALL of

Mexico. To be clear, there were moral voices against the war and its subsequent land expansion, including but not limited to a then young Rep. Abraham Lincoln of Illinois and former President then Rep. John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts. But overall, the country was in the grips of “Manifest Destiny” fever, and we might well have annexed Mexico if not for the persuasive argument made by Sen. John C. Calhoun of South Carolina:

“...it is without example or precedent, wither to hold Mexico as a province, or to incorporate her into our Union. No example of such a line of policy can be found. We have conquered many of the neighboring tribes of Indians, but we have never thought of holding them in subjection—never of incorporating them into our Union. They have either been left as an independent people amongst us, or been driven into the forests.

I know further, sir, that we have never dreamt of incorporating into our Union any but the Caucasian race—the free white race. To incorporate Mexico, would be the very first instance of the kind of incorporating an Indian race; for more than half of the Mexicans are Indians, and the other is composed chiefly of mixed tribes. I protest against such a union as that! Ours, sir, is the Government of a white race. The greatest misfortunes of Spanish America are to be traced to the fatal error of placing these colored races on an equality with the white race. That error destroyed the social arrangement which formed the basis of society. The Portuguese and ourselves have escaped—the Portuguese at least to some extent—and we are the only people on this continent which have made revolutions without being followed by anarchy. And yet it is professed and talked about to erect these Mexicans into a Territorial Government, and place them on an equality with the people of the United States. I protest utterly against such a project.

Sir, it is a remarkable fact, that in the whole history of man, as far as my knowledge extends, there is no instance whatever of any civilized colored races being found equal to the establishment of free popular government, although by far the largest portion of the human family is composed of these races. And even in the savage state we scarcely find them anywhere with such government, except it be our noble savages—for noble I will call them. They, for the most part, had free institutions, but they are easily sustained among a savage people. Are we to overlook this fact? Are we to associate with ourselves as equals, companions, and fellow-citizens, the Indians and mixed race of Mexico? Sir, I should consider such a thing as fatal to our institutions.”

Sen. Calhoun convinced the U.S. Senate to let Mexico remain an independent nation, not because it was morally wrong to annex countries by conquest, but because Mexicans are Indians and the U.S. could not have Indians as U.S. citizens, as equals to “the free white race.” (I am sorry to say that John C.

Calhoun was a Unitarian, a member of my beloved All Souls Church, in DC. But I am proud to say, so was John Quincy Adams.)

There are three conclusions that we can draw from this event. One, Mexicans have lived on the land that we know as the Southwest long before it was called the U.S. When the U.S. forcibly annexed the land it split extended families apart, making them citizens of two different countries. Two, while they may be referred to by separate labels today, we once recognized the commonality between Mexicans and Indians, and there are Native people who still recognize that commonality today. Some of the most vocal protestors of SB1070 are Native Americans, who object to the exclusion of their sisters and brothers down south, and who themselves are the targets of racial profiling. And three, from very early on there has been a significant and powerful segment of the U.S. who views the United States as a “white” nation and has fought to keep it that way.

Whenever the point is raised about the U.S. having taken land from Mexico, the objection is raised that since Mexico was also a colony (of Spain), it is just as much founded on stolen land as the U.S. Why should we care about taking land from people who had themselves taken it from others? There is arguably some truth to that argument. However, one could just as easily use that observation to call into question the legitimacy of borders altogether. The conquests of the past are of the past; but the injustices perpetuated in the present are our responsibility.

Handout 2.4 10 Historical Anti-Immigrant Quotes That Sound ... Familiar

By Gabriela Garcia on Change.org under Immigrant Rights, posted August 15, 2010, with emphasis added.

(http://immigration.change.org/blog/view/10_historical_anti-immigrant_quotes_that_sound_familiar)

In our young history as a nation, we've always held a complicated relationship with immigration. We've gone from open border policies, to semi-open border policies (only white people!), to exclusionary laws, to our current jumbled up mix of craziness that makes legal entry near-impossible for most. In between all of that, we've blamed immigrants, from a variety of countries, for ... well, the same things. Over and over again.

Want some concrete proof? I present to you (drumroll, please) quotes from nativists past that are pretty much saying *the exact same thing* as nativists present.

1. Few of their children in the country learn English ... The signs in our streets have inscriptions in both languages ... Unless the stream of their importation could be turned they will soon so outnumber us that all the advantages we have will not be able to preserve our language, and even our government will become precarious. - *Benjamin Franklin, Founding Father, on **German** immigration to Pennsylvania, 1750s*
2. We should build a wall of brass around the country. - *John Jay, first chief justice of Supreme Court, regarding "**Catholic** alien invaders," 1750s*
3. What means the paying of the passage and emptying out upon our shores such floods of pauper emigrants — the contents of the poor house and the sweepings of the streets? — multiplying tumults and violence, filling our prisons, and crowding our poor-houses, and quadrupling our taxation, and sending annually accumulating thousands to the poll to lay their inexperienced hand upon the helm of our power? - *Lyman Beecher, Leader of the Second Great Awakening, on **English** immigrants, 1834*
4. The enormous influx of **alien foreigners** will in the end prove ruinous to American workingmen, by REDUCING THE WAGES OF LABOR to a standard that will drive them from the farms and workshops altogether. - *Opinion article in the Philadelphia Sun, 1854*
5. Standing behind them are Christian employers of this land, who would rather import heathen willing to work for barely enough to sustain life than retain a brother Christian at a wage sufficient to live as becomes a Christian. We do not want Opium or the **Chinese** who grow it. - *Terence Powderly, Irish-American labor leader, 1892*

6. We demand the change of the national naturalization laws by the repeal of the act authorizing the naturalization of minors...We demand for the protection of our citizen laborers, the prohibition of the importation of **pauper labor**, and the restriction of immigration...We protest against the gross negligence and laxity with which the Judiciary of our land administer the present naturalization laws, and against the practice of naturalizing aliens. - *statement of principles of the American Protective Association, 1894*

7. Not a day passes but families are ruthlessly turned out to make room for **foreign invaders**. The rates are burdened with the education of thousands of foreign children. - *William Evans Gordon, British nativist, 1905*

8. The people of this country are too tolerant. There's no other country in the world where they'd allow it... After all we built up this country and then we allow a lot of foreigners, the scum of Europe, the offscourings of **Polish** ghettos to come and run it for us. - *John Dos Passos, early 20th century novelist, on U.S. immigration policy*

9. They are coming in such numbers and we are unable adequately to take care of them...It simply amounts to unrestricted and indiscriminate dumping into this country of people of every character and description...If there were in existence a ship that could hold three million human beings, then three million **Jews of Poland** would board to escape to America. - *Congressional hearing, 1920*

10. Now, what do we find in all our large cities? Entire sections containing a population incapable of understanding our institutions, with no comprehension of our national ideals, and for the most part incapable of speaking the English language. Foreign language information service gives evidence that many **southern Europeans** resent as an unjust discrimination the quota laws and represent America as showing race hatred and unmindful of its mission to the world. The reverse is true. America's first duty is to those already within her own shores. - *Representative Grant Hudson, 1924*

Conclusion: Anti-immigration, selective immigration, screaming at people with no documents? We've been there, done that for centuries, mostly in times of economic hardship and almost always followed by cries about immigrants taking jobs from "real" Americans, spreading crime, and refusing to assimilate. All of our fears and predictions proved un-founded. The nation didn't collapse "overrun by foreign invaders." In fact, our nation was founded on immigration, and immigration has always strengthened, enriched, and shaped our identity. How ironic then that the very descendants whose ancestors were targets of demonization are now the leaders of anti-immigrant movements. Perhaps the most timeless quote of all is "Those who do not learn from history are doomed to repeat it."

Handout 2.5 - White by Law

By Ian Lopez Haney

excerpted from *White by Law*, pages 1, 3, 203–208 (New York University Press, 1996)

In its first words on the subject of citizenship, Congress in 1790 restricted naturalization to "white persons." Though the requirements for naturalization changed frequently thereafter, this racial prerequisite to citizenship endured for over a century and a half, remaining in force until 1952. From the earliest years of this country until just a generation ago, being a "white person" was a condition for acquiring citizenship.

Whether one was "white," however, was often no easy question. As immigration reached record highs at the turn of this century, countless people found themselves arguing their racial identity in order to naturalize. From 1907, when the federal government began collecting data on naturalization, until 1920, over one million people gained citizenship under the racially restrictive naturalization laws. Many more sought to naturalize and were rejected. Naturalization rarely involved formal court proceedings and therefore usually generated few if any written records beyond the simple decision. However, a number of cases construing the "white person" prerequisite reached the highest state and federal judicial circles, and two were argued before the U.S. Supreme Court in the early 1920s. These cases produced illuminating published decisions that document the efforts of would-be citizens from around the world to establish their Whiteness at law. Applicants from Hawaii, China, Japan, Burma, and the Philippines, as well as all mixed-race applicants, failed in their arguments. Conversely, courts ruled that applicants from Mexico and Armenia were "white," but vacillated over the Whiteness of petitioners from Syria, India, and Arabia. Seen as a taxonomy of Whiteness, these cases are instructive because they reveal the imprecisions and contradictions inherent in the establishment of racial lines between White and non-Whites. . . .

. . . Although now largely forgotten, the prerequisite cases were at the center of racial debates in the United States for the fifty years following the Civil War, when immigration and nativism were both running high. Naturalization laws figured prominently in the furor over the appropriate status of the newcomers and were heatedly discussed not only by the most respected public figures of the day, but also in the swirl of popular politics. Debates about racial prerequisites to citizenship arose at the end of the Civil War when Senator Charles Sumner sought to expunge Dred Scott, the Supreme Court decision which had held that Blacks were not citizens, by striking any reference to race from the naturalization statute. His efforts failed because of racial animosity in much of Congress toward Asians and Native Americans. The persistence of anti-Asian agitation through the early 1900s kept the prerequisite laws at the forefront of national and even international attention. Efforts in San Francisco to segregate Japanese schoolchildren, for example, led to a crisis in relations with Japan that prompted President Theodore Roosevelt to propose legislation granting Japanese immigrants the right to naturalize. Controversy over the prerequisite laws also found voice in popular politics. Anti-immigrant groups such as the Asiatic Exclusion League formulated arguments for restrictive interpretations of the "white person" prerequisite, for example claiming in 1910 that Asian Indians were not "white," but an "effeminate, caste-ridden, and degraded" race who did not deserve citizenship. For their part, immigrants also participated in the debates on naturalization, organizing civic groups around the issue of citizenship, writing in the immigrant press, and lobbying local, state, and federal governments.

The principal locus of the debate, however, was in the courts. From the first prerequisite case in 1878 until racial restrictions were removed in 1952, fifty-two racial prerequisite cases were reported, including two heard by the U.S. Supreme Court. Framing fundamental questions about who could join the citizenry in terms of who was White, these cases attracted some of the most renowned jurists of the times. . . .

Though the courts offered many different rationales to justify the various racial divisions they advanced, two predominated: common knowledge and scientific evidence. . . . "Common knowledge" rationales appealed to popular, widely held conceptions of races and racial divisions. . . . Under a common knowledge approach, courts justified the assignment of petitioners to one race or another by reference to common beliefs about race.

The common knowledge rationale contrasts with reasoning based on supposedly objective, technical, and specialized knowledge. Such "scientific evidence" rationales justified racial divisions by reference to the naturalistic studies of humankind. . . . These rationales, one appealing to common knowledge and the other to scientific evidence, were the two core approaches used by courts to explain their determinations of whether individuals belonged to the "white" race. . . .

The first reported racial prerequisite decision was handed down in 1878. From then until the end of racial restrictions on naturalization in 1952, courts decided fifty-one more prerequisite cases. These decisions were rendered in jurisdictions across the nation, from state courts in California to the U.S. Supreme Court in Washington, D.C., and concerned applicants from a variety of countries, including Canada, Mexico, Japan, the Philippines, India, and Syria. all but one of these cases presented claims of White racial identity.

Week Three

Economic Pressures Around (Im)migration

Goals

- To “experience” the standard of living disparities between the U.S. and Mexico (and by extension, other parts of the world)
- To see the working conditions under which migrant workers toil

Learning Objectives

- Understand the economic forces that drive immigration
- Understand the deleterious effects forced low-wage labor has on the working conditions of everyone who works in the U.S., both with documentation and without

Handouts for Week Three

3.1 Shop Til You Drop on a Mexican Wage
3.2 NAFTA and Immigration
3.3 Effects on Worker Conditions
3.4 Stories of Farm workers
3.5 Immigration Myths and Facts, from the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU)

Workshop-at-a-Glance

1. 5” Chalice Lighting and Opening Reading
2. 10” Check-in
3. 15” Activity 1: Comparing Shopping Lists
4. 25” Activity 2: “Focal Point: Standards of Living”
5. 20” Activity 3: Cost Benefit Analysis
6. 10” Debrief
7. 5” Closing

Chalice Lighting and Opening Reading

Show me the suffering of the most miserable;
So I will know my people's plight.
Free me to pray for others;
For you are present in every person.
Help me take responsibility for my own life;
So that I can be free at last.
Grant me courage to serve others;
For in service there is true life.
Give me honesty and patience;
So that the Spirit will be alive among us.
Let the Spirit flourish and grow;
So that we will never tire of the struggle.
Let us remember those who have died for justice;
For they have given us life.
Help us love even those who hate us;
So we can change the world
Amen

—Cesar Chavez, “*Prayer of the Farm Workers’ Struggle*”

Check-in

Participants are invited to share where they are spiritually/emotionally with respect to the class.

Activity 1: Comparing Shopping Lists

Have participants break into small groups and compare their shopping spree results. What things jumped out at them? (Note: If the overall group is small, facilitators can just do the exercise with the overall group.) After 5-10", report back to the larger group. In light of the shopping results and handout 3.2 on NAFTA's effects on the Mexican economy, have people's thoughts changed about Mexican immigration to the U.S. If so, why? If not, why not?

Activity 2: "Focal Point: Standards of Living"

This activity depends on the ability to show a [23 minute internet video](http://bit.ly/mPFQvh) (<http://bit.ly/mPFQvh>) during the session (Note: make sure to hit the full screen button in the lower right hand corner of the video for easier viewing.), which means internet access and a laptop or other way to display the video. (Best to set this up before the session starts.)

If viewing the video during the session is not possible, and we recognize that this will be the case for many congregations, then facilitators are encouraged to lead a discussion around handout 3.4

Activity 3: Cost Benefit Analysis

According to handout 3.3 from Interfaith Worker Justice, the presence of large numbers of undocumented immigrant workers hurts all workers, but it is fact that their undocumented status makes them vulnerable to exploitation that is the problem, not their presence itself. According to handout 3.5 from the ACLU, immigration has a positive net effect on the federal level but state and local levels do feel a financial impact, since they are the ones who provide health care and education. With the group, make a list of pluses and minuses regarding immigration, based on the readings. What other benefits and strains can people come up with that are not part of the readings? How do people feel about it overall?

Debrief

Participants are invited to share anything that strongly moved them during the session.

Closing Reading and Extinguishing the Chalice

Bless the hands of the people of the earth,
The hands that plant the seed,
The hands that bind the harvest,
The hands that carry the burden of life.
Soften the hands of the oppressor and
Strengthen the hands of the oppressed.
Bless the hands of the workers,
Bless the hands of those in power above them
That the measure they deal will be tempered
With justice and compassion. Amen.

—Farm Worker Blessing Prayer

Homework for Week Four

- 4.1 Militarization of the Border
- 4.2 What Happens When a Town Implodes? —the Postville Raid
- 4.3 Housing Immigration Detainees in a Prison
- 4.4 Hazing Arizona—Sheriff Arpaio and the 287(g) agreement
- 4.5 Mahmud's Story—A Family Torn Apart

Further Study

To explore the topics covered in this session, as well as related topics, see the resources listed in [section II.C \(PDF, 11 pages\)](#) of the study guide.

Handout 3.1 – Shop Til You Drop on a Mexican Wage

(To be completed before Session Three)

Visit <http://www.ueinternational.org/shop/>.

Pick a profession to compare. Then choose six products from the “store.”

Record the results. Do this three times for different occupations.

	Wage in U.S.	Wage in Mexico
Occupation:		

product	Time in U.S.	Time in Mexico
1.		
2.		
3.		
4.		
5.		
6.		
Total		

	Wage in U.S.	Wage in Mexico
Occupation:		

product	Time in U.S.	Time in Mexico
1.		
2.		
3.		
4.		
5.		
6.		
Total		

	Wage in U.S.	Wage in Mexico
Occupation:		

product	Time in U.S.	Time in Mexico
1.		
2.		
3.		
4.		
5.		
6.		
Total		

Handout 3.2 – NAFTA and Immigration

By Kat Liu

Inspired Faith, Effective Action, October 18th, 2010

(<http://socialjustice.blogs.uua.org/2010/10/18/nafta-and-immigration/>)

A Tidal Wave of Migration

Last week we learned that people have been migrating freely across the U.S.-Mexico border since there was a border, and they continued to do so even after the border was created. In fact, the U.S. has a long history of relying on Mexican migrant labor. It officially started with the Bracero program of the mid-1940s, where Mexican farm workers were “invited” in to work on U.S. farms that were short-handed due to the war, but migrant farm work had been going on unofficially well before that. Migration across the border to look for work is nothing new. However, it is also true that the influx of Mexicans into the U.S. looking for work has jumped dramatically in the last couple of decades. Pundits are actually not exaggerating when they describe a relative tidal wave of immigration that is stressing public services and changing the demographics of many U.S. states. In the early 1990s, Mexican migration to the United States was less than 400,000 a year. By 2007 it was 500,000 a year. As Alejandro Portes wrote for ssrc.org in 2006 (<http://borderbattles.ssrc.org/Portes/>):

“From a purely regional presence in the west and southwest, it has become a truly national phenomenon. States that had barely a handful of “Hispanics” in 1990 now count a sizable Hispanic population. In Georgia, for example, the Latin-origin population went from 1.7 percent in 1990 to 5.3 percent in 2000, a 312 percent increase due to an inflow of 300,000 persons, overwhelmingly from Mexico. Cities like Charlotte, North Carolina, whose “Hispanics” in 1990 consisted of a few wealthy Cuban and South American professionals, now have upwards of 80,000, mostly undocumented Mexican laborers.”

What is causing this massive migration? Many U.S. Americans – regardless of political leaning – operate under the assumption that everyone else in the world would prefer to live in the U.S. but were not fortunate enough to have all been born here. This belief is even stronger towards those we perceive to be living in “un(der)developed” countries. Starting from that assumption, some seek to restrict the number of foreign-born people who can immigrate, fearing that a shortage of resources will hurt their own standard of living. Others are more sympathetic, believing that as it was chance that determined who would be lucky enough to be born in the U.S, the least we can do is to let people in who make the effort to come for a “better lifestyle.” Yet both groups of people are laboring under false assumptions.

It is true that there many people from all over the world want to come to the U.S. But not everyone who comes here really wants to. Many would actually have

preferred to stay in their own country. Emigrating from one's home country often means leaving behind family and culture, having to adopt a second language, and a loss (or dramatic shift) of one's identity... It is not an insignificant consideration to think of one's children growing up with a different national identity than one's own. Many here in the U.S. were not attracted by the lure of "America" and its fabled gold-paved streets so much as they were driven out of their home countries by extreme poverty. To understand this is the key to developing public policy that humanely and effectively stems the flood of humanity coming to the U.S., as it means that we must do more than just put more guards at the border and instead address the reasons why people are so desperate to cross it.

Sold A False Bill of Goods

When the presidents of Canada, the U.S., and Mexico signed the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in 1994, it was supposed to benefit the economies and workers of all three nations. "Free trade" was also supposed to alleviate Mexican immigration into the U.S. – which had been an issue by the mid-90s but was nothing like it is now - by boosting the Mexican economy and creating enough job opportunities to keep its people there. Instead, it has done the exact opposite.

As U.S. American workers know, NAFTA had a catastrophic effect on them. 800,000 to 1 million jobs that used to be done in the U.S. were "out-sourced" to factories (maquiladoras) just south of the border and to other countries. Entire communities were devastated by plant closures and mass layoffs. It may have seemed to U.S. workers that our government sold them out to benefit the workers of other countries. However, as bad as NAFTA has been for U.S. workers, it has been far worse for the people of Mexico.

Mexico's economy, which had consisted mainly of small self-sufficient farms and jobs in state-owned industries, was supposed to have been "modernized" into a free-market economy.

What happened when the market became "free" was that U.S. corn flooded Mexico, increasing from 2.7 to 6.1 million metric tons as of 1997. The price of Mexican-grown corn dropped by 70%. Mexican subsistence farmers, most of whom were indigenous farmers who had been on their land for generations, could not compete with U.S. government-subsidized, factory-farmed corn. The expectation was that Mexican farmers would "transition" from growing corn, to which they were accustomed, to growing strawberries and vegetables for U.S. consumption. However, the "foreign investment" that was supposed to fund such a transition never happened. Coupled with the "free-market" lifting of restrictions on the sale of peasant (ie – indigenous) land, two million farmers and their families were thus driven off their lands. Desperation forced everyone except the

elderly and young children to leave their villages in search of work, thus becoming migrants. Entire villages were decimated.

On the manufacturing end, the foreign company-owned factories, or maquiladoras, were supposed to create hundreds of thousands of new jobs. Indeed, U.S. businesses flooded into Mexico with NAFTA to take advantage of the cheap labor, leaving workers in the States high and dry. However, the maquiladoras never ventured further into Mexico than within 300 miles of the border. The Mexican government was supposed to build roads and infrastructure for more companies to move south, but a financial crisis just months after NAFTA went into effect dashed all hopes of that. Meanwhile, Mexican manufacturers who were once protected by tariffs could not compete with U.S. products and were driven out of business, taking jobs with them. At the same time, many companies who had moved their manufacturing from the U.S. to Mexico subsequently moved their factories to even cheaper localities (ie – where they would pay workers even less). A free market free-for-all. As a result, jobs in the manufacturing sector declined from a high of 4.1 million in 2000 to 3.5 million in 2004. Even where such jobs were available, they usually paid close to the Mexican minimum wage of U.S. \$1/hour. In 1975, the average Mexican wage was 23% of the average U.S. manufacturing wage; by 2002, Mexican wages were only 12%, amounting to about \$1,600 a year. For many migrant workers, one hour of the California minimum wage is more money than they make for an entire day in Mexico.

Since NAFTA was enacted in 1994:

- Economic growth in Mexico has been anemic, averaging less than 3.5 percent per year
- Mexico has created only about half of the one million new jobs needed per year for young adult Mexicans entering the job market. Thus, unemployment has skyrocketed.
- Half of the labor force works at improvised jobs in the “informal economy,” a figure ten percent higher than before NAFTA.
- Mexican worker productivity has increased by 45% yet their real wages have dropped by 22%.
- Of the 110 million people in Mexico, some 67 million live in poverty with incomes less than \$3 a day. (13 million of them on less than \$1 a day.) That is 19 million more Mexicans living in poverty than before NAFTA.
- By the Mexican government's own estimates, 82% of the working population has less income than what is needed for “basic subsistence”

Open Markets and Closed Borders

All of this is just part of the larger problem of globalization. If goods move freely across borders that means that jobs do too. Think about it. By sending tons of U.S.-grown corn to Mexico for sale in its markets, the demand for Mexican-grown

corn is lowered and the demand for American-grown corn is raised. That means fewer farmers are needed in Mexico while more (low-wage) factory farm workers are needed in the U.S. "Free-market" forces are causing this movement of both goods and jobs across borders. Despite that, we do not allow the free movement of workers across those same borders. Mexican farmers know that if they go north there are jobs there waiting for them. (Jobs that are in essence degraded versions of the jobs that were taken from them but pay better than anything they can get in Mexico now.). Yet, they are at the same time told that they cannot legally go north.

If you were in their situation, what would you do?

Note: For the sake of clarity, we have been exclusively discussing NAFTA and its effects on Mexico. However, other countries further south of Mexico have even weaker economies. Despite the obvious failings of NAFTA, it has been used as the model for trade agreements with "developing" Latin American countries, including CAFTA (United States-Dominican Republic- Central American Free Trade Agreement), which was enacted in 2005, and free-trade agreement proposals with Panama, Columbia and Peru. Agreements with Panama and Columbia are still in process; the agreement with Peru was passed in 2007.

Handout 3.3 - Effect on Worker Conditions

What is the effect of millions of undocumented workers on working conditions in the U.S.?

Excerpted from Interfaith Worker Justice's "For You Were Once A Stranger."

In the latest wave of immigration, when much focus is placed on undocumented workers from Mexico and Central and South American countries, conflicting interests and fears are expressed.

- **Many businesses want access to pools of immigrants as a cheap and reliable source of labor.** Undocumented workers, who fear being reported to immigration authorities, are less inclined to complain to their employers or to authorities about labor abuses than are workers who are legal residents of the U.S. Therefore, they are more likely to accept sub-standard wages.
- **Native born U. S. workers have seen their standard of living decline steadily since the late 1970s,** for a host of related reasons: the decline of the manufacturing sector and outsourcing of jobs, falling rates of unionization, and the widening of the income gap between the wealthy and the rest of us. Many blame their problems on immigrant workers, who have become more prominent in many industries—services, hospitality, construction, garment manufacturing, agriculture—as wage levels and standards have fallen. In fact, research has shown that low-wage workers are negatively impacted by competition with undocumented immigrants.²⁷

The current immigration "system" reflects these contradictory interests. On the one hand, workplace raids by ICE are sending a message that the U.S. is getting "tough" on undocumented immigrants and employers who hire them. (In fact, unscrupulous employers call ICE on themselves as a way to avoid paying their workers).²⁸ But outside of a radical fringe such as the Minuteman and some talk show hosts, there is not a clamor for wholesale deportation. Some industries would collapse if unauthorized immigrants were removed from the workforce. Undocumented workers make up less than five percent of the U.S. workforce.

The following table shows that these workers are heavily concentrated in occupations that demand hard labor and are often poorly paid.

Undocumented Workers' Share of Selected Occupations, 2005 ²⁹	
Occupation	Share
Total, Civilian Labor Force (with occupation)	4.9%
Insulation workers	36%
Miscellaneous agricultural workers	29%
Roofers	29%
Drywall installers, ceiling tile installers and tapers	28%

Helpers, construction trades	27%
Butchers and other meat, poultry and fish processing workers	27%
Pressers, textile, garment and related materials	26%
Grounds maintenance workers	25%
Construction laborers	25%
Brick masons, block masons and stone masons	25%
Dishwashers	23%
Helpers—production workers	23%
Maids and housekeeping cleaners	22%

Increased enforcement activity results in family separations and it drives immigrant further underground. But ICE raids and border patrols cannot stop the influx of undocumented immigrants, which is part of a global phenomenon created by trade and foreign policies that push people from their homes and countries and pull them to areas where a livelihood can be eked out. A new system is needed that can help immigrants gain legal status and can protect native-born workers from unfair competition.

- Undocumented workers compete with legal permanent residents and native-born and naturalized citizens on an uneven playing ground.** This harms all workers and lowers standards for everybody, to the advantage of unscrupulous employers. Because undocumented workers are under constant threat of deportation, they accept inferior wages and conditions and cannot effectively assert their rights in the workplace. **The problem isn't with the workers, who live, work and pay taxes in the U.S., but with their legal status.**
- Guest workers and work visa programs replace permanent jobs with benefits with temporary jobs without benefits or the legal protections guaranteed to most U.S. workers.** Importing workers from various countries is nothing new. During World War II, the U.S. developed the Bracero program to bring Mexican workers for temporary work all over the country, mostly as agricultural laborers. Although the Bracero program ended in 1965, the importation of temporary workers under various off-shoot programs has continued. Guest workers come from many countries and are employed in multiple industries and professions, from farm labor and meat processing plants to nurses and high-tech jobs.

Guest worker programs create a second-class workforce with fewer rights and lower wages. Large guest worker programs give corporations the ability to bring in a new, low-wage workforce while undercutting recent immigrants and native-born U.S. workers. Some guest workers such as those in the *H-2A* (agricultural) and *H-2B* (nonagricultural) visa programs are not allowed the freedom to leave abusive employers and secure other jobs. Employers can fire and deport H-2A workers if they demand freedom of association for higher wages or better working conditions. H-2A workers are not entitled to disclosure about job terms when they are recruited. Even H-1B visa holders, who have college degrees and specialized training, are exploited, frequently working for lower wages than their

American counterparts. But American citizens and legal permanent residents are not even allowed to apply for H-1B advertised jobs. What ever happened to the American concept of equal opportunity?

The myth behind these programs is that there are jobs that American workers won't or can't do. Just as U.S. corporations claim they cannot find American workers to work in shoe or electronics factories and must move operations overseas, so companies import workers rather than pay prevailing wages and allow full labor and workplace protections. Employers who advocate for guest worker programs want a workforce that can be paid less than one hired from local communities in the U.S.

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Handout 3.4 - Farmworkers

Nearly 80% percent of farm workers are migrant workers. Their back-breaking labor brings cheap fruits and vegetables to our tables. Yet their working conditions are some of the worst.

Before attending week three, if possible, please watch this two minute video on farm workers, created by the National Farm Worker Ministry:

<http://vimeo.com/7604731>

With or Without Papers—The Same Life in a Labor Camp

By David Bacon. New America Media:Immigration, Aug 31, 2010

(<http://bit.ly/aF2iMU>)

NORTHERN CALIFORNIA - On a ranch north of the Bay Area, several dozen men live in a labor camp. When there's work they pick apples and grapes or prune trees and vines. This year, however, the ranch has had much less work, as the economic recession hits California fields. State unemployment is over 12%, but unemployment in rural counties is always twice what it is in urban ones. Despite these statistics, however, unemployment among farm workers is largely hidden.

In the case of these workers, it's hidden within the walls of the camp, far from the view of those who count the state's jobless. Because they work from day to day, or week to week, there are simply periods when there's no work at all, and they stay in the barracks.

In the past, the ranch's workers were mostly undocumented immigrants. In the last several years, however, the owner has begun bringing workers from Mexico under the H2-A guest worker program. While there are differences in the experiences of people without papers and guest workers, some basic aspects of life are the same. For the last several weeks, all the workers in the camp have been jobless, and neither undocumented workers nor guest workers can legally collect unemployment benefits. Everyone's living on what they've saved. And since the official total of the state's unemployed is based on counting those receiving benefits, none of the men here figure into California's official unemployment rate.

The camp residents share other similarities. Poverty in Mexico forced them all to leave to support their families. Living in the camp, they do the same jobs out in the fields. All of them miss their families and homes. And that home, as they see it, is in Mexico. Here, in the U.S., they don't feel part of the community that surrounds them.

A permanent resident visa, or "green card," would allow them to bring their families, and perhaps eventually to become integrated into the community. But for people coming from Mexico to look for work in California fields, green cards are not available. Their only alternative is what they call "walking through the mountains" -- that is, crossing without papers -- or signing up as a guest worker. In addition, as one man points out, because farmers are in the U.S. during planting season, the fields they'd normally cultivate at home go unplanted.

Some of their options as unemployed workers are different, however, because of their different immigration status. Ironically, in one way, guest workers have a disadvantage they don't share with the undocumented. Guest workers have a visa, but they can only work for

the rancher or contractor who brought them to the United States. If they're out of work and leave the ranch to look for a job with another employer, they violate the terms of their visa and can be deported.

Undocumented workers, however, can and do look for jobs outside the ranch when work there gets slow. The dangers of deportation and working without a visa hang over their heads every day they're in the United States.

JOSE CUEVAS:

I'm 38 years old, and I come from Leon, Guanajuato, where there are a lot of factories making shoes. I spent 10 years working in those factories as a cutter. If you work a 10-hour day, you can make 1,100 pesos (about \$100) a week. That's not enough to support a family, even there. And I have three kids, who are still living there with my wife.

I came to the U.S. because of the economic pressure of trying to provide for them. I wanted them to get an education and just eat well, just so they'd be healthy. We all felt terrible when I decided to come here nine years ago. The kids were little -- they didn't really understand. But when they got older, they'd ask me why I had to be gone so long.

It's been five years since I've been able to go home. I came without any papers, just crossing the border in the mountains. When I think about my friends with papers, I wish I'd had the chance. But the truth is, I couldn't come that way.

There always used to be times when you could go back to Mexico. But it's too difficult now. To begin with, it costs about \$5,000 now to cross the border coming back. And the border has become very dangerous. It's not like it was before. If you leave, you're not sure you'll be able to get back, even walking through the mountains.

So I've been trapped here for five years. But I tried to take advantage of it, and not think too much about going back. I work here in the grapes and the apples. I knew about the work here from my wife's brothers. Years ago, a lot of people came here from Leon. Now I'm the only one. Lots of those other folks left, and I was the only one who stayed.

This year it's been harder. I've hardly worked on the ranch this year -- just a couple of months. I looked for other work, but there wasn't a lot. In January and February, I went to the day labor center near here, and got work pruning apple trees. I'm very grateful to them.

Even when there wasn't work on the ranch here, we could work other places and still live in the camp. They never charged us rent. When they have work, they expect you to work for them. You're living in their housing. Some of the jobs are paid by piece-rate. When they pay by the hour, it's about \$9.85 per hour.

Sometimes, if we're working, we eat meat every day. But when you're not working, you eat tortillas and salt. That's the normal thing. Before coming here, when I was living in Mexico, we didn't eat meat very often.

When you're here, you're always thinking about Mexico. This is going to be my last year. I've decided to stay in Mexico, and to try not to think about coming here anymore. I've put some money into a house and a little land. I'll go back to work in those shoe factories. I still know how to do all the work there. We'll suffer economically, but I hope we'll be OK. Who knows?

Here everything is just work. It's all very serious. Mexico feels more free. Living here, it's not

your country.

My oldest son is studying psychology, and will go to the university in Leon. He has a good future because he studies, and I support him. I hope for a good future for my other kids too, and I'm hoping that they'll have a future in Mexico. I don't want them to leave. With more education, I hope they won't have to.

RODRIGO HUERTA:

I'm 21 -- not married yet. I come from Tlazezalco in Michoacan, where my father works in the fields. My grandfather has some land, and so his sons rent from him.

My father worked in the U.S. many years ago, in the 80s, before I was born. He just worked one year and never went back. Then my brother went to Atlanta eight years ago.

I actually never planned to come here. I always said, I'm not going. But now look. Here I am. I have a dream -- to build a house, get married, and have a family. I have someone in mind, but you can't rush it. She told me to go, so I'm hoping she'll wait for me.

I never wanted to come to the U.S. by walking through the mountains. But one Christmas Eve, my aunt asked me if I'd ever thought about coming here. At first I wasn't that enthusiastic, but then I began thinking about it.

Every Christmas, she goes back to Michoacan. She said, "They're hiring people, and they asked me to give them a hand." So they brought me here, on an H2-A visa. Now I've been coming this way for three years.

The bosses here on the ranch arrange for the visa. Then the foreman meets us at the border. We have to pay our own expenses to get there from our town. They pay for transportation and food from the border to the ranch here. The first two times we came in at Nogales, and this last time through Tijuana.

The foreman takes us to the appointment with the consulate, where they tell you if you've been approved or not. If they don't approve you, you have to go back home. This last time, two of us weren't approved. The consulate asked them if they had experience working in the fields. They'd worked in factories. They said you need two months experience working in the fields to come here.

The visa only lasts for six months. We're only supposed to work on this ranch. I guess we could work other places but you'd be breaking the agreement, so it's better not to risk it. But we haven't had work here for several weeks.

In the last two years, I really haven't made a lot of money. But the pay is better here. It's easier to save, because you're not spending so much. In six months, you can save what it might take you two years at home.

In my town there aren't any factories so the work is all in the fields, but there's not much work there. Some weeks you work three days, and in other weeks, you don't work at all. The economy is bad all over. Here you can eat meat every day if you want. The way things are in Mexico, you can't buy meat every day.

To me, I just have a temporary life here. I have friends here who invite me to play football, but it's not a real team. I could never join one, because I'm not here during part of the football

season. So I just play with friends.

Here I'm always living against the clock. I'm not here to make a home. That's just the way my life is here. Temporary. In reality, my home is my town, Tlazezalco. I wouldn't trade it for any other.

ANTONIO PEREZ:

I came here because of the poverty. There's work at home, but just a little. I rent a little land on which I plant corn and garbanzos, and raise some animals. But you can't actually live on the money you make farming. It just helps a little.

I'm always working in other jobs, in someone else's fields, or on a hog farm. When I work for someone else, I get paid by the day. When I work for myself, it depends on the price of what I'm able to grow, or how much I get for an animal I raise. The corn price has been the same for a while -- 70 or 80 pesos. Sometimes, you can sell it, but other times you just feed it to the animals.

There are times when my family can survive this way. But if you have a big family, it doesn't really give you anywhere near enough money.

So my aunt got me to come here on an H2-A. We'll see how it works out. I haven't decided if it's worth it yet. We're not here for that long, but you always want to be with your family.

I'm not planting anything this year either, because I'm here during the planting season.

Immigration Myths and Facts — January 2008

MYTH: Immigrants are a drain on our social services.

FACT: By paying taxes and Social Security, immigrants contribute far more to government coffers than they use in social services.

In its landmark report published in 1997—arguably the most thorough national study to date of immigration’s fiscal impacts—the National Research Council (NRC) of the National Academy of Sciences concluded that on average, immigrants generate public revenue that exceeds their public costs over time—approximately \$80,000 more in taxes than they receive in state, federal and local benefits over their life times.¹ This same conclusion was reached in 2007 by the Council of Economic Advisers in their report to the Executive Office of the President where they state that “the long-run impact of immigration on public budgets is likely to be positive,” and agree with the NRC report’s view that “only a forward-looking projection of taxes and government spending can offer an accurate picture of the long-run fiscal consequences of admitting new immigrants.”²

Indeed, most non-citizens are not even eligible for the majority of welfare programs unless they are legal permanent residents and have resided in the United States legally for at least five years. This includes benefits such as Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF), SSI, Medicaid, and the State Children’s Health Insurance Program (CHIP).

Moreover, according to government reports, noncitizens are much less likely than citizens to use the benefits for which they are eligible. For example, immigrants, especially the undocumented, tend to use medical services much less than the average American.³ In fact, the average immigrant uses less than half the dollar amount of health care services as the average native-born citizen.⁴ Moreover, the claim that immigrants account for high rates of emergency room (ER) visits is refuted by research; in fact, communities with high rates of ER usage tend to have relatively small percentages of immigrant residents.

Likewise, according to Department of Agriculture reports, noncitizens who are eligible for food stamps are significantly less likely to use them than are all other individuals who are eligible for the program. For example, about 45 percent of eligible noncitizens received food stamps in 2002, compared to almost 60 percent of eligible individuals overall.⁵

Most of the fiscal impact from immigration is felt at the state and local levels. The Council of Economic Advisors points out in its report to the Executive Office of the President that “the positive fiscal impact tends to accrue at the federal level, but the net costs tend to be concentrated at the state and local level,” which bear primary responsibility for providing not only health care but education.⁶

Still, according to recent studies from a number of cities and states—including the states of Arizona, Texas, Minnesota, California, New York, North Carolina and Arkansas, and cities or counties of Chicago and Santa Clara—while the cost of educating the children of immigrants may be high, the overall economic benefits of immigrants to the states remain positive.⁷ A University of Illinois study found that undocumented immigrants in the Chicago metropolitan area alone spent \$2.89 billion in 2001, stimulating an additional \$5.45 billion in total local spending and sustaining 31,908 jobs in the local economy.⁸

The Udall Center at the University of Arizona found that the fiscal costs of immigrants, starting with education, totaled \$1.41 billion in 2004, which, balanced against \$1.64 billion in state tax revenue attributable to immigrants as workers, resulted in a fiscal gain of \$222.6 million.⁹ Similarly, in its Special Report about undocumented immigrants in Texas, the Comptroller of

Public Accounts found that in 2005, even counting the costs associated with education, “the state revenues collected from undocumented immigrants exceed what the state spent on services, with the difference being \$424.7 million.”¹⁰

MYTH: Immigrants have a negative impact on the economy and the wages of citizens and take jobs away from citizens.

FACT: Immigration has a positive effect on the American economy as a whole and on the income of native-born workers.

In June 2007, the President’s Council of Economic Advisers (CEA) issued a report on “Immigration’s Economic Impact.” Based on a thorough review of the literature, the Council concluded that “immigrants not only help fuel the Nation’s economic growth, but also have an overall positive effect on the American economy as a whole and on the income of native-born American workers.”¹¹ Among the report’s key findings were that, on average, U.S. natives benefit from immigration in that immigrants tend to complement natives, not substitute for them. Immigrants have different skills, which allow higher-skilled native workers to increase productivity and thus increase their incomes. Also, as the native-born U.S. population becomes older and better educated, young immigrant workers fill gaps in the low-skilled labor markets.¹²

With respect to wages, in a 1997 study, the National Research Council estimated the annual wage gain due to immigration for U.S. workers to be \$10 billion each year¹³ in 2007 CEA estimated the gain at over \$30 billion per year.¹⁴ The CEA acknowledges that an increase in immigrant workers is likely to have some negative impact on the wages of low-skilled native workers, but they found this impact to be relatively small and went on to conclude that reducing immigration “would be a poorly-targeted and inefficient way to assist low-wage Americans.”¹⁵

In addition to having an overall positive affect on the average wages of American workers, an increase in immigrant workers also tends to increase employment rates among the native-born. According to a Pew Hispanic Center study, between 2000 and 2004 “there was a positive correlation between the increase in the foreign-born population and the employment of native-born workers in 27 states and the District of Columbia.” These states included all the major destination states for immigrants and together they accounted for 67% of all native-born workers.¹⁶ California, for example, saw an increase in wages of natives by about four percent from 1990 to 2004—a period of large influx of immigrants to the state—due to the complimentary skills of immigrant workers and an increase in the demand for tasks performed by native workers.¹⁷

MYTH: Immigrants—particularly Latino immigrants—don’t want to learn English.

FACT: Immigrants, including Latino immigrants, believe they need to learn English in order to succeed in the United States, and the majority uses at least some English at work.

Throughout our country’s history, critics of immigration have accused new immigrants of refusing to learn English and to otherwise assimilate. These charges are no truer today than they were then. As with prior waves of immigrants, there is a marked increase in English-language skills from one immigrant generation to the next.¹⁸ In the first ever major longitudinal study of the children of immigrants, in 1992 Rambaut and Portes found that “the pattern of linguistic assimilation prevails across nationalities.” The authors go on to report that “the linguistic outcomes for the third generation—the grandchildren of the present wave of immigrants—will be little different than what has been the age-old pattern in American immigration history.”¹⁹

While many first-generation Latino immigrants are unable to speak English, 88 percent of their U.S.-born adult children report that they speak English very well.²⁰ And studies show that the number rises dramatically for each subsequent generation. Furthermore, similar to other immigrants, Latinos believe that they need to learn English in order to succeed in the United States, and believe they will be discriminated against if they don't.²¹ Most Latino immigrants (67%) report that they use at least some English at work.²²

California's second-generation immigrants experience a large drop in "low levels of English proficiency" compared to first generation immigrants, from 27% to 6%, and the proportion of immigrants with high levels of English proficiency rises from 49% in the first generation to 79% in the second generation. The proportion of both Asian and Latino immigrants, who speak English exclusively rises from 10% in the first generation to 29% in the second and 94% in the third.²³

Notwithstanding the current levels of English language acquisition for the newest wave of immigrants, there is a demand for English language classes that far exceeds the supply and which, if met, would greatly advance immigrants' integration into American social and cultural life.

MYTH: Immigrants don't want to become citizens.

FACT: Many immigrants to the United States seek citizenship, even in the face of difficult requirements and huge backlogs that can delay the process for years.

Most immigrants are ineligible to apply for citizenship until they have resided in the U.S. with lawful permanent resident status for five years, have passed background checks, have shown that they have paid their taxes, are of "good moral character, demonstrate knowledge of U.S. history and civics, and have the ability to understand, speak and write English." In addition, people applying for naturalization have to pay a fee, which increased by 69% in 2007 from \$400 to \$675, making it much harder for low-income immigrants to reach their dream of becoming Americans.²⁴

Despite these barriers, The Pew Hispanic Center's report on U.S. Census data shows that the proportion of eligible immigrants who have acquired citizenship rose to 52% in 2005, "the highest level in a quarter of a century."¹⁵ In the 2007 fiscal year, DHS received 1.4 million citizenship applications—nearly double from last fiscal year²⁶—and between June and July of 2007, naturalization applications increased 350% compared to last year.²⁷ In his testimony to Congress, US Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS) Director, Emilio Gonzalez, referred to this increase as "unprecedented in the history of immigration services in our nation."²⁸

Yet, despite the promise by USCIS that backlogs would be eliminated, applications for naturalization can take a year and half to adjudicate and of the 1.4 applications it received in 2007, less than 660,000 have been decided.²⁹

MYTH: Immigrants don't pay taxes.

FACT: Almost all immigrants pay income taxes even though they can't benefit from most federal and state local assistance programs and all immigrants pay sales and property taxes.

According to the 2005 *Economic Report of the President*, "more than half of all undocumented immigrants are believed to be working 'on the books'...[and]... contribute to the tax rolls but are ineligible for almost all Federal public assistance programs and most major Federal-state programs." According to the report, undocumented immigrants also "contribute money to public coffers by paying sales and property taxes (the latter are implicit in apartment rentals)."³⁰

All immigrants (legal and undocumented) pay the same real estate taxes and the same sales and other consumption taxes as everyone else. The University of Illinois at Chicago found in 2002 that undocumented immigrants in the Chicago metro area spent \$2.89 billion annually from their earnings and these expenditures generated \$2.56 billion additional spending for the local economy.³¹

Legal immigrants pay income taxes and indeed many undocumented immigrants also pay income taxes or have taxes automatically withheld from their paychecks—even though they are unable to claim a tax refund, Social Security benefits or other welfare benefits that these taxes support. In the Chicago metro area for example, approximately seventy percent of undocumented workers paid payroll taxes, according to the University of Illinois study from 2002.³² In the Washington Metro Region, immigrants paid the same share of the region's overall taxes (18 percent) as the rest of the population (17.4 percent), according to a 2006 Urban Institute study.³³ This study also points to the fact that immigrants' tax payments support both local and state services in addition to the federal government.

The Social Security Administration (SSA) holds that undocumented immigrants "account for a major portion" of the billions of dollars paid into the Social Security system—an estimated \$520 billion as of October 2005.³⁴ The SSA keeps a file called the "earnings suspense file" on all earnings with incorrect or fictitious Social Security numbers and the SSA's chief actuary stated in 2005 that "three quarters of other-than-legal immigrants pay payroll taxes."³⁵ Their figures show that the suspense file is growing by more than \$50 billion a year, generating \$6 to 7 billion in Social Security tax revenue and about \$1.5 billion in Medicare taxes.

MYTH: Immigrants send all their money back to their home countries instead of spending money here.

FACT: Immigrants do send money to family members, making it possible for more people to stay in their home countries rather than migrating to the United States. Importantly, sending remittances home does not keep immigrants from spending money in the United States.

It's true that remittances are the biggest sources of foreign currency for most Latin American countries and surpass any amount of foreign aid sent by the U.S. The money sent by immigrants to their family members allows many people to stay in their home countries who might otherwise feel compelled to migrate to the U.S.

And while 51 percent of Latino immigrants send remittances home,³⁶ they are spending their money in the United States as well. In fact, a 1998 study found that immigrants become net economic contributors after 10 to 15 years in the U.S.³⁷

In addition to paying taxes and Social Security, immigrants spend money on goods and services in the United States. A study of Latino immigrants in California found significant gains in home ownership between those who had been in this country for ten years (16.4 percent are homeowners) and those who had been here for over thirty years (64.6 percent).³⁸ Furthermore, a 2002 Harvard University study of U.S. Census data found that there were more than 5.7 million foreign-born homeowners in the United States.³⁹ The study found that foreign-born new homeowners are buying their homes by saving more than native-born homebuyers and stretching their incomes more.

While homeownership nationally was approximately 69% in 2006, it was 60% for Asians and 50% for Latinos—each group with large immigrant populations and therefore greater impediments to obtaining bank loans.⁴⁰ Although homeownership is largely correlated with legal status in the U.S., undocumented immigrants are also buying into the "American Dream" of homeownership in some of the most expensive housing markets in the country.⁴¹

MYTH: Immigrants bring crime to our cities and towns.

FACT: Immigrants are actually far less likely to commit crimes than their native-born counterparts. Even as the undocumented population has increased in the United States, crime rates have decreased significantly.

According to a 2000 report prepared for the U.S. Department of Justice, immigrants maintain low crime rates even when faced with adverse social conditions such as low income and low levels of education.⁴²

Although incarceration rates are highest among young low-income men and many immigrants arriving in the U.S. are young men with low levels of education, incarceration rates among young men are invariably lower for immigrants than for their native-born counterparts. This is true across every ethnic group but the differences are especially noticeable among Mexicans, Salvadorans and Guatemalans, who constitute the majority of undocumented immigrants in the United States. Even in cities with the largest immigrant populations, such as New York, Los Angeles, Chicago and Miami, violent and non-violent crime rates have continued to decline.⁴³

Even after taking into account higher deportation rates since the mid 1990's, and reviewing the 1980 and 1990 censuses, the National Bureau of Economic Research (NBER) ascertained that, "18-40 year-old male immigrants have lower institutionalization rates than the native born each year...and by 2000, immigrants have institutionalization rates that are one-fifth those of the native born."⁴⁴ In fact, according to the NBAR study, the newly arrived immigrants are particularly unlikely to be involved in crime.

Cities like Hazleton, Pennsylvania have tried to blame a new wave of immigrants for a supposed rise in crime. Yet, Hazleton's own crime statistics taken from the Pennsylvania State Police show that overall crime in the city has decreased and is now less than half of the national average.⁴⁵

MYTH: Most immigrants are undocumented and have crossed the border illegally.


FACT: Two thirds of immigrants are here lawfully—either as naturalized citizens or in some other lawful status. Moreover, almost half of all undocumented immigrants entered the United States legally.

According to the Pew Hispanic Center, one third of all immigrants are undocumented, one third have some form of legal status and one third are naturalized citizens. This applies to immigrants from Latin America as well as others.⁴⁶

Almost half of all undocumented immigrants entered the United States on visas that allowed them to reside here temporarily—either as tourists, students, or temporary workers. This means they were subject to inspection by immigration officials before entering the country,⁴⁷ and became undocumented only when their visas expired and they didn't leave the country

MYTH: Weak border enforcement has led to high rates of undocumented immigration. We should increase enforcement and build a wall around our border.

FACT: Increased border security and the construction of border fences have done little to curb the flow of immigrants across the United States border. Instead, these policies have only succeeded in pushing border crossers into dangerous and less-patrolled regions, and increased the undocumented population by creating an incentive for immigrants not to leave.



Building a wall along the entire 2000-mile southern U.S. border would be prohibitively expensive. According to a study by the Cato Institute, rather than acting as a deterrent to those attempting to cross the border, increased enforcement has only succeeded in pushing immigration flows into more remote, less patrolled regions, resulting in a tripling of the death rate at the border and decreased apprehensions, and creating a dramatic increase in taxpayer money spent on making arrests along the border (from \$300 per arrest in 1992 to \$1,200 per arrest in 2002).⁴⁸

Furthermore, increased border enforcement has actually increased the number of undocumented immigrants in the U.S. at any one time. The increased risk and cost to immigrants of crossing the border has resulted in fewer undocumented immigrants returning to their home countries for periods of time as part of the decades-long circular migration patterns that characterize undocumented immigration from Mexico up until the 1990s. Instead, immigrants stay in the United States for longer periods of time, often choosing to immigrate their families to avoid longer periods of separation.⁴⁹

The Secure Fence Act of 2006 directed the Department of Homeland Security to construct 850 miles of additional border fencing. According to a report by Congressional Research Services, the San Diego fence, combined with increased border patrol agents in the area, succeeded in decreasing border crossing in that region, but at the same time there is considerable evidence that the flow of illegal immigration has shifted to the more remote areas of the Arizona desert, decreasing the number of apprehensions and increasing the cost.⁵⁰

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Week Four

Security, Enforcement and Human Rights

Goals

- To get a glimpse of the enormity of the human suffering caused by the U.S.' enforcement-only immigration policy
- To consider how human rights are protected (or not)

Learning Objectives

- Understand the cost of our enforcement-only immigration policy, in terms of money, lives and human rights
- Understand the process by which immigration has become criminalized over time
- Understand the relationship between state and local authorities and the federal government's immigration enforcement agency.

Handouts for Week Four

- 4.1 Militarization of the Border
- 4.2 What Happens When a Town Implodes? – Postville Raid
- 4.3 Housing Immigration Detainees in a Prison
- 4.4 Hazing Arizona – Sheriff Arpaio and the 287(g) agreement
- 4.5 Mahmod's Story – A Family Torn Apart

Workshop-at-a-Glance

1. 5" Chalice Lighting and Opening Reading
2. 10" Check-in
3. 20" Activity 1: The Border
4. 20" Activity 2: The Aftermath of a Raid
5. 20" Activity 3: Detainees Near You
6. 10" Debrief
7. 5" Closing

Chalice Lighting and Opening Reading

I walk the path that you took
hours or days ago.
Stones and slope and thorns
threaten each step with
danger.
I see where you slept
under the mesquite tree
home to spiders, snakes, ants—
familiar to coyotes, Gila monsters,
God knows what.
A piece of plastic,
grass woven into the branches
for shade against the merciless sun,
a tuna can, toothbrush,
tortilla cloth, used bus ticket -
all part of your story,
your life lost in this desert.
Nearby a tiny silver spoon
engraved, a love letter
your bible, a pair of panties,

a baby bottle, birth control pills,
breast cancer medicine,
diapers, one chancla,
perfume bottle,
a pair of pants with
a name and number written in the inseam.
O, what you leave behind
haunts me
I know you
Sister, mother, friend,
Lover, aunt.
Some day
we will all be held
accountable for
your suffering, your loss.
Some day, we will
celebrate your courage,
your story, your making
your way to the Promised Land.
Some day we will
name this crossing Exodus
and thank God that
some of you make it
across.

—Rev. Delle McCormick, *La Ruta de Mujeres*

Check-in

Participants are invited to share where they are spiritually/emotionally with respect to the class.

Activity 1: The Border

Over the years, the U.S. has increasingly militarized the border between the U.S. and Mexico, as documented in handout 4.1. What are some of the human rights abuses that have resulted from this approach? What are the mechanisms for safeguarding the human rights of migrants, if any? Who is responsible for safeguarding the rights of those who seek to immigrate from one country to another?

Activity 2: The Aftermath of a Raid

This activity depends on the ability to show a [6 minute internet video](http://bit.ly/zQwDv) (<http://bit.ly/zQwDv> - Note: make sure to hit the full screen button in the lower right hand corner of the video for easier viewing.) during the session, which means internet access and a laptop or other way to display the video. (Best to set this up before the session starts.)

Whether or not viewing the video during the session is possible, then facilitators are encouraged to lead a discussion around handout 4.2. What happens to a community in the aftermath of a large raid? Who is affected?

Activity 3: Detainees Near You

Before week four, facilitators should go to Detention Watch Network and use their [map tool](http://bit.ly/eInb5) (<http://bit.ly/eInb5>) to look up detention centers near your congregation. Print out a copy of the map of detention centers across the country and one of detention centers in your area (if any).

Ask participants whether they knew how many detention centers there are across the nation (and in your area, if any). How do folks feel about that? Based on handouts 4.3-4.5, compare

the rights of detainees in detention centers versus inmates who are being held for criminal offenses.

Debrief

Participants are invited to share anything that strongly moved them during the session.

Closing Reading and Extinguishing the Chalice

"I was a stranger and you did not welcome me, naked and you did not give me clothing, sick and in prison and you did not visit me. Truly I tell you, just as you did not do it to one of the least of these, you did not do it to me."

—Matthew 25:43, 45

Questions for Reflection

For what reasons are immigrants arrested and incarcerated? And once incarcerated, how are individuals and families treated in detention centers?

There are international laws that protect the rights of migrants and refugees (mainly the UN Declaration of Human Rights and the Geneva Conventions). There are national laws that protect the rights of accused criminals. Are these laws adequate to protect people in the current context? Who is unprotected? Who is responsible for ensuring that human rights are protected?

Homework for Week Five

- 5.1 Don't Be Fooled: Immigration is NOT the Real Problem
- 5.2 Does Globalization Help the Poor?
- 5.3 Migrants: Pawns in Mexico-U.S. Game
- 5.4 This Alien Life: Privatized Prisons for Immigrants
- 5.5 Prison Economics Help Drive Ariz. Immigration Law

Further Study

To explore the topics covered in this session, as well as related topics, see the resources listed in [section II.D \(PDF, 12 pages\)](#) of the study guide.

Handout 4.1 - Militarization of the Border

By Timothy J. Dunn, José Palafox. 2005

The Oxford Encyclopedia of Latinos and Latinas in the United States

Border enforcement has escalated sharply along the United States-Mexico border since 1993, as the U.S. Border Patrol has implemented four major operations that mass agents and other enforcement resources at traditional unauthorized border crossing points near urban areas. The operations are Blockade/Hold the Line (1993) in El Paso, Gatekeeper (1994) in San Diego, Safeguard (1994) in southern Arizona, and Rio Grande (1997) in South Texas. The Border Patrol and its parent body the U.S. Immigration and Citizenship Services (USCIS), until March 2003, the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), have championed the approach as "prevention through deterrence," though the strategy also attempts to divert unauthorized border crossers into more remote, difficult terrain. It seeks to prevent unauthorized crossers, overwhelmingly Latina and Latino, from blending into largely Latina and Latino local communities, with a border police force that is approximately half Latina and Latino.

There is much debate over the effectiveness of this effort. The Border Patrol has succeeded in creating an image of the United States-Mexico border as "under control" by channeling undocumented migration into more isolated areas. Border Patrol apprehensions of unauthorized crossers in the Southwest-95 percent of whom are Mexican and most of the remainder Central American-have fluctuated wildly, jumping 68 percent from 1994 to 2000 (from 979,101 to over 1.6 million) and then dropping sharply through 2002 (929,809), just slightly fewer than when the main operations started in 1994, despite roughly doubling the number of Border Patrol agents (to almost 10,000) and almost tripling the budget for INS border-enforcement efforts. There has been a "squeezing the balloon" displacement effect among the Border Patrol's nine sectors along the United States-Mexico border, as apprehensions generally fell drastically in most sectors targeted by the operations (especially San Diego and El Paso), while rising in others (especially Arizona and eastern California). Meanwhile, the undocumented immigrant population within the United States more than doubled during the 1990s to an estimated 8 to 9 million, in part because many people opted for longer stays instead of circular migration as a result of increased border enforcement.

The increased enforcement has been accompanied by a rise in the number of deaths of unauthorized border crossers in the region, as they have been pushed into more remote and dangerous areas (deserts, mountains, and brush country). Estimated border crossing deaths range from more than 1,600 from 1993 through 1997, to 1,422 from 1996 through 2000, for an average of some 300 per year. In response, the Border Patrol implemented "Operation Life Saver" in 1998 and rescued over 1,800 migrants in distress during 2002. INS (USCIS) and Border Patrol officials blame migrant deaths on unscrupulous smugglers, and they use evidence of increased migrant smuggling and fees as evidence of the success of their enforcement operations.

Beyond this, the unit has a long record of human rights abuses, as their enforcement efforts have been overwhelmingly directed against Latinas and Latinos in the border region-citizens and legal residents, not just unauthorized border crossers. However, the more recent Border Patrol operations have lessened direct agent contact with the public, reducing the potential for abuses.

Operation Blockade/Hold the Line

The operation that became the model for the rest was launched in September 1993 by the El Paso Border Patrol as Operation Blockade (later renamed Operation Hold the Line). Previously, the El Paso sector had typically been the Border Patrol's second busiest in terms of apprehensions. In a radical departure from previous tactics that had centered on roving patrols in the city, some four hundred agents in Border Patrol SUVs were placed in fixed positions directly on the banks of the Rio Grande along twenty miles of the river dividing El Paso from Ciudad Juárez. This wall of agents was supplemented by frequent, low-flying helicopter patrols, the repair of holes in border fencing, and the placement of generators and bright lights on the river near agents' locations. It has continued ever since, though on a smaller scale after the first several months.

The origins of Operation Blockade were decidedly local. Over the preceding year there had been a growing outcry from Mexican Americans and Mexican immigrants with evidence of mistreatment and rights abuses by agents, stemming from the unit's operations on the grounds of a high school and in Latina and Latino neighborhoods. Many abuse claims were validated by a federal judge's 1992 preliminary ruling in a remarkable class action civil lawsuit brought against the El Paso Border Patrol by Latina and Latino students and staff from the high school. Interestingly, the plaintiffs suggested as alternatives several measures that were incorporated into Operation Blockade, including posting agents directly on the river and patching the border fence.

The INS's new chief patrol agent for the sector, Sylvestre Reyes, implemented Operation Blockade in July 1993, in large part as a response to the rights abuses criticisms, as well as his view that unauthorized border crossing was "out of control" and brought poverty and chaos to the city. Apprehensions around El Paso by the Border Patrol dropped 80 to 85 percent in the first weeks and 72 percent in the first year.

Operation Blockade was overwhelmingly popular among El Pasoans from its inception. Two formal opinion polls of local residents over the next year found some 85 percent were in favor of the operation. Latina and Latino support was nearly equal to the overall level. A major reason for its popularity was the framing of the operation as an anti-crime measure. During the early weeks of the operation, criminal activity declined, although crime had already been dropping in the El Paso area since 1991. Although Operation Blockade was very popular, a proposal to extend it west by building a mile-long steel wall provoked a diverse and strong local opposition. Many opponents characterized it as a new "Berlin Wall" that contradicted growing binational economic integration. After much public debate, a compromise was reached to build a reinforced chain-link fence.

Operation Blockade effectively neutralized the glaring issue of rights abuses by agents that had so plagued the unit just prior to its implementation. Reports of abuses dropped drastically in the mainly urban area covered by the operation, as contact with the public was greatly curtailed. However, the problem was displaced to less visible outlying areas where agents still had direct contact with the public and the unit still employed roving patrols. By the end of the 1990s and into 2000 the problematic patrolling and questioning had shifted to Las Cruces, New Mexico, focusing on lower-income Latina and Latino areas. In addition, the deaths of unauthorized border crossers in the El Paso sector jumped 72 percent from 1993 to 1998 (from 18 to 31), which would prove to be relatively low compared to subsequent border operations.

Operation Gatekeeper

Operation Gatekeeper was launched in the San Diego/Tijuana border region in October 1994, as the first measure in the Clinton administration's 1994 Border Patrol "National Strategy," which was modeled largely on Operation Blockade in El Paso. This operation was a response to the fast-growing anti-immigrant sentiment in California during a severe regional recession and profound demographic shift toward becoming a majority-minority state. California's importance as a key electoral state for Clinton's looming 1996 re-election campaign was the motivation behind Operation Gatekeeper.

The San Diego Border Patrol sector, covering sixty miles of the border, had long been the highest volume site for unauthorized border crossings, accounting for roughly half of all Border Patrol apprehensions (typically around one-half million). Half of those occurred in just one five-mile stretch between Tijuana and San Diego. Gatekeeper focused initially on San Diego and gradually moved east to cover the entire California border by 1998. As in Operation Blockade, various enforcement resources were massed at the border, including a doubling of Border Patrol agents deployed in visible, fairly fixed positions along key sections, the extension of border walls (thin steel, ten to fifteen feet high) from fifteen to over fifty miles, high-intensity stadium lights, heat sensors, helicopters, and infrared telescopes. Various U.S. military agencies also provide "support." The operation deterred unauthorized border crossings near San Diego, creating a greater sense of calm there. However, it displaced such crossings progressively eastward to more remote areas. This is precisely what was intended, as a 1995 INS report noted that the operation would make illegal crossings "so difficult that aliens would be forced to areas east of the city, in more remote, mountainous terrain where it is harder to cross and where the Border Patrol has the tactical advantage" (Palafox, p. 3). Apprehensions by the Border Patrol in the entire San Diego sector were up a bit during the first two years of the operation, hovering around one-half million, and then fell steeply from 1996 to 2002. However, the unit's apprehensions spiked sharply upward in each of three sectors immediately to the east.

Gatekeeper has made the California-Mexico border much harder to cross and pushed enforcement further out of public view, but at an enormous cost in life. It is estimated that 134 migrants perished along the California-Mexico border during 2001. About 632 died there from late 1994 to 2000.

Operation Safeguard

In fall 1994 the Border Patrol announced Operation Safeguard for the Tucson Border Patrol sector, which covers nearly the entire desert-dominated, sparsely populated Arizona-Mexico border. An INS report notes that the operation was designed to "redirect illegal crossings away from urban areas near the Nogales port of entry to open areas that the Border Patrol can easily control" (Palafox, p. 2). Several years later Douglas, Arizona, became a focal point, and more recently the vast desert west of Nogales. The high-visibility posting of agents in urban border areas has been combined with roving patrols, as the number of agents more than quintupled from 1994 to 2000 to 1,535. In addition, the sector has received extensive new surveillance equipment, high-intensity lighting, and much helicopter surveillance. Border walls have been extended in Nogales and Naco and newly constructed in Douglas, ranging from two to five miles long. In 2002 the Border Patrol announced plans for the construction of 255 miles of border wall, including eighty-four miles of "secondary fencing," and almost eighty miles of high-intensity lighting. This massive proposal has sparked protests from environmentalists, border rights groups, and Native American rights activists.

Despite Operation Safeguard, the Tucson sector has been the primary displacement site for unauthorized border crossings by long-distance migrants deterred elsewhere. Between 1998 and 2002 it was the Border Patrol's busiest sector. As in Operation Gatekeeper, the death toll has been high. There has been a steep rise from 14 deaths in 1994, to 90 in 2000, to 145 in 2001, to more than 163 in 2002—roughly half the total deaths in the last two years. This growing tragedy led to a rare public criticism from within the unit, as the retired Tucson Border Patrol sector chief Ron Sanders critiqued the operation: "By every measure, the strategy is a failure. All it's accomplished is killing people." He went on to say, "But since these people are Mexicans, no one seems to care" (Moser, pp. 14, 16).

In addition to Border Patrol enforcement, armed vigilante groups such as Ranch Rescue, Civil Homeland Defense, and American Border Patrol in southeastern Arizona are trying to stop the "illegal immigration invasion" from Mexico. Using broadly applied "citizen's arrest" powers, ranchers and property owners in rural areas have detained and turned over thousands of would-be migrants to the Border Patrol and the INS.

On the other side of the issue, there is a growing movement of area citizens and even sympathetic ranchers working to help migrants in distress. Humane Borders, based in Tucson, has over two thousand volunteers maintaining over thirty-eight water stations along popular crossing routes in Arizona. Samaritan Patrol assists the water efforts and also patrols remote areas to search for migrants in need, often driving them to hospitals; the Border Patrol has threatened Samaritan Patrol with prosecution for the latter. Citizens for Border Solutions (CBS) has worked with area ranchers to reduce their animosity toward unauthorized immigrants crossing their property.

Operation Rio Grande

The last of the four major southwest enforcement efforts by the Border Patrol is Operation Rio Grande, launched in summer 1997. It is focused on the McAllen and Laredo Border Patrol sectors in south Texas, particularly the cities of Brownsville, McAllen, and Laredo. In the preceding three years, Border Patrol apprehensions had approximately doubled in both sectors, with McAllen reaching 243,793 in 1997. The operation employs the familiar tactics of massing various enforcement resources at the border (agents in high-visibility positions, miles of stadium lighting, fence improvements, brush clearing) to deter unauthorized border crossing at sites near urban areas and displace it to more isolated areas. The number of agents in the two sectors nearly doubled from 1996 to 2000, reaching 2,160. An innovative civil lawsuit brought by environmental groups led the Border Patrol to agree to modify its tactics, including placing shields on lighting and strict limits on brush clearing, to protect endangered species.

Operation Rio Grande has deterred unauthorized crossings in the main crossing zones in the cities of Brownsville and Laredo. However, a displacement effect occurred toward the west in the first three years. As in El Paso, the unit has trumpeted declining crime rates in Brownsville and Laredo as evidence of the operation's success, though again the actual relationship is not so direct. Nonetheless, there is greater calm and less traffic through city neighborhoods near the river. Yet Robert Lee Maril reports in his recent ground-breaking study that Border Patrol officials' claims of success in reducing unauthorized immigrant crossings in the South Texas region are completely detached from the reality of a growing movement of such crossers observed by local Border Patrol officers who are unable to apprehend them.

Despite these relative successes, the operation has also had its human-rights problems. Deaths of unauthorized migrants increased as much as 1,181 percent from 1996 to 2000 for the entire Texas-Mexico border. The largest single incident, as of 2003, was in May 2003 in Victoria, Texas, where nineteen Latino immigrants were discovered suffocated among a larger group packed into a semi-truck's sealed cargo trailer. Operation Rio Grande had forced more unauthorized immigrants to turn to smugglers, who have increasingly used this dangerous method to evade detection. Other human-rights problems have also arisen with the operation. There have been reports of continuing stops, questioning, and harassment of local Latina and Latino residents, even a federal judge, as agents patrol transportation points and low-income Latino and Latina neighborhoods outside central zones of border cities. The vigilante issue has also surfaced. In McAllen, two men who were part of an armed group patrolling a ranch were arrested for beating unauthorized Latina and Latino border crossers in March 2003.

Military Participation

Although immigration has been the main target of enforcement efforts along the United States-Mexico border since the early 1990s, the drug enforcement emphasis that had grown so markedly during the 1980s and early 1990s continued as well. However, in Texas in 1997 a Chicano high-school student was killed by a marine who mistook him for a drug scout. The incident prompted the Pentagon to cease all deployment of drug-enforcement ground troops, pending review.

The use of armed ground troops was merely the most militaristic of a wide range of military activities on the border that date back to the early 1980s. In 1999 the Pentagon issued a new policy that armed ground-troop missions required the approval of the Secretary of Defense or his deputy, while all other forms of military support could continue. This support takes many forms: engineering and construction (for example, road and border wall building), equipment loans, military training for police (from first aid to raid planning and execution to suspect interrogation), aerial surveillance, intelligence support, and more. Most visibly, the military has built border walls at various sites in Arizona and California. The Border Patrol has been the main beneficiary of this military support for civilian police anti-drug efforts.

Virtually all military support for drug enforcement spills over into immigration enforcement. The latter occasionally becomes the main focus. In early 1996 the Clinton administration directed some 350 troops to temporarily directly aid the Border Patrol immigration enforcement along the California and Arizona sections of the border, and in 1994 governor Pete Wilson requested the same of the California National Guard. The military itself generally has not been eager to involve itself in such matters but has become more willing to do so in the post-September 11 context. For security reasons, these efforts are less likely to be made public. Also following September 11, there were increasing calls in Congress to deploy troops on the border, and even to grant them arrest power.

Illegal Immigration and Human Rights

The vast buildup in enforcement along the United States-Mexican border has coincided with rising human rights problems, as enforcement operations have largely diverted unauthorized crossings and related human-rights problems away from urban areas to more remote, environmentally harsh areas, resulting in over three hundred deaths per year. Although it is a human-rights tragedy, this outcome is entirely legal under national law. U.S. border enforcement officials have denied any responsibility for the situation, blaming smugglers instead. They praise the operations for other successes, though these are more apparent than real. On the other hand, the new wave of border operations has generally reduced civil-rights infringements among Latina and Latino citizens and legal residents in border-urban areas by limiting agent contact with them.

This clash between national sovereignty and the human rights of immigrants has inspired several activist groups to file suit against U.S. border enforcement policies with the Inter-American Court of Human Rights (part of the Organization of American States). However, Joseph Nevins points out that such critiques question the means but not the ends of such border enforcement, and leave aside more profound human rights concerns entailed in those ends. The tragedy of border-crossing deaths is likely to continue unless greater legal avenues for migration are opened up and much more is done to address the conditions that compel unauthorized immigrants to take such risks to come here in the first place. If "squeezing the balloon" the entire length of the border with ever-increasing

enforcement eventually leaves nowhere for unauthorized crossers to go, the balloon might burst, with unforeseeable consequences.

See also Border, The; Immigration; Immigration and Naturalization Service; and United States Foreign Policy.

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Handout 4.2 - What Happens When a Town Implodes? – the Postville Raid

By Betsy Rubiner. Time Magazine, Jan. 28, 2000

(<http://www.time.com/time/nation/article/0,8599,1874205,00.html>)

During a bitterly cold January week, penniless women and children stream into a Catholic church in the northeastern Iowa town of Postville that has served as their refuge since May 12, when 389 workers were arrested during an immigration raid at the Agriprocessors Inc. meatpacking plant. The women are among 26 former Agriprocessors workers, most from Guatemala and Mexico, charged with immigration violations and fighting deportation. Released on humanitarian grounds but required to wear electronic ankle bracelets, the women, as well as about 59 children, now depend on the community, especially St. Bridget's church, which operates a Hispanic ministry from a worn brick house.

One woman needs medical care for her anxious 12-year-old son, who has started wetting his bed. Another needs legal help for her husband, who was arrested during a return visit to Agriprocessors by immigration agents last fall. "I am very sad and worried," says Irma Lopez, 28, a former Agriprocessors worker who remains in limbo with her young daughter while her husband is back in Guatemala, one of many arrested workers deported in October after serving five months in prison. "I worked since I was 8 years old, and now I feel worthless. I can work, but I'm not allowed to."

Eight months after the Agriprocessors raid, Postville is still grappling with what its leaders call a "humanitarian and economic disaster," compounded by the recession and a harsh winter. Life isn't much easier for "legal" workers. Inside a faded community hall serving as a relief center are Michael Barner, 47, and Patricia Williams, 41, who moved to Postville last month to work at Agriprocessors but had to leave their jobs soon after because of illness. They have arrived with an eviction notice and are seeking help to return to Dubuque. "We came here. We tried. I got sick. We just have to go back home," says Barner.

Almost 400 families, many with lost jobs and wages, have dropped by the center since the community opened it in late November to connect people to resources like food stamps, legal aid and unemployment benefits. "It's just snowballed," says Maryn Olson, the coordinator. "People need decent jobs with a secure income, decent housing. There is hope here, but there are so many uncertainties that there's a lot of fear."

The hope — a cautious hope — is that Agriprocessors, which went bankrupt in November, will soon be sold. An Israeli firm, Soglowek Nahariya Ltd., made a \$40 million offer this month to buy Agriprocessors and a smaller subsidiary plant in Nebraska. "A sale is likely," says Joseph Sarachek, a court-appointed trustee temporarily overseeing Agriprocessors' operations. "This is a real buyer." But he adds that the offer is the opening bid in what will probably be a March auction for the plant, which was once the nation's largest kosher meat producer and once Postville's major employer, with 968 workers. He predicts it will be a few months before the plant is sold and run by a new

owner. Agriprocessors does hope to ramp up hiring and production soon, especially to meet Passover demand. After the raid, the plant ran at reduced capacity but shut down in November, reopening in December with about 300 workers.

Former Agriprocessors CEO Sholom Rubashkin faces federal charges including defrauding a bank, helping illegal immigrants obtain false papers and money-laundering. (He has made no comment on the charges on advice of counsel, but his lawyer Guy Cook says, "Whether it's 99 counts or 9,000 counts, he's pled not guilty.") Other managers face criminal charges, and the plant faces millions in state fines for alleged workplace violations.

Meanwhile, Postville waits.

Help has come primarily from community groups and churches, with donations from near and far. The local food pantry is now open Sundays as well as Wednesdays, serving about 150 people. But some leaders say the help is not enough and worry about shortages and increasing hardships, especially evictions. In December, a citizens' group faxed a letter to state and federal leaders that said, "Postville is a community in turmoil, a broken, hurting place ... If Postville was reeling after the raid, recent events have brought the town to its knees. What happens when a place implodes?"

With Agriprocessors' future uncertain, so too are the prospects for farmers who are owed money for cattle and workers owed back wages. Postville's faltering small businesses have lost customers. The town, already facing over \$300,000 in unpaid property-tax and utility bills, could be liable for millions more if Agriprocessors completely shuts down, because the town is responsible for paying the balance of a federal loan used to build a sewage-treatment lagoon for the meatpacker.

While other Iowa communities devastated in 2008 by floods and tornadoes have received government aid, relatively little is available for Postville, once a vibrant community of some 2,300 people. "They don't have money for an economic humanitarian disaster. Believe me, we've asked," says Darcy Radloff, the city clerk. Two AmeriCorps Vista volunteers were recently assigned to Postville, and the town, known for its inflated rental properties, has received almost \$700,000 in government grant money to help residents pay rent and utilities (although reported problems include landlords' reluctance to accept the payments because they're lower than the rent they charge). However, undocumented people are not eligible for government programs, so they must rely upon the community and especially St. Bridget's, which also is helping 25 "witnesses" — Agriprocessors workers returned to the Postville area after prison to serve as potential witnesses in a trial against Agriprocessors managers, scheduled for September. (The "witnesses" have been granted temporary work permits.)

Some former Agriprocessors workers like Lopez hope to remain and work legally, although they long to be reunited with relatives sent back to their native lands. Many townspeople hope a responsible buyer will revive the plant. "We'd like to see somebody who buys it and makes it an honest business," says Radloff.

Handout 4.3 - Housing Immigration Detainees in a Prison

After Accepting NYC's Immigration Detainees, Hudson County Correctional Tries to Make Jail Feel 'Civil'

by Colin Asher. Jersey City Independent, July 9th, 2010

“Usually they’re pretty alert when they get here, then they get discouraged, then disillusioned. Then they get depressed.”

Greg Sullivan is speaking about the 355 immigration detainees being held in the Hudson County Correctional Center in Kearny, most of whom were living in New York City before they were detained. Inside the facility, they have minimal contact with family and friends, and little to do but wait for their cases to be heard by a judge.

“They’re just sitting in their dorm, not knowing what their status is,” Sullivan says.

Sullivan is the program director of First Friends, a nonprofit that began sending volunteers into the jail to visit detainees in March, when Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) transferred them from New York City.

Though the jail is less than 10 miles from Manhattan, the detainees held inside are, in every meaningful sense, much farther removed. Making calls from the jail costs a small fortune, and talking to family is a rich indulgence. Visiting hours are limited. And though there are but few miles between the jail and New York City, crossing them is no simple task. Traveling from upper Manhattan requires a subway ride, and then a PATH ride, and then a trip on NJ Transit’s Number 1 bus. If everything goes smoothly, during rush hour, when trains arrive and depart at a brisk pace, the trip takes just under 2 hours.

The result of this distance, both measurable and experienced, is alienation. And though the jail’s administration has been accommodating to their immigrant charges, immigration advocates say no ameliorative measures can make the situation acceptable. ICE announced in January that New York City’s detainees would be transferred to Hudson County Correctional. At the time, immigrants, their families, and advocates vocally opposed the decision, claiming that the move to New Jersey would make it more difficult for detainees to stay in contact with their families, and lawyers. Even elected officials joined the fray. Sen. Charles Schumer of New York opposed the transfer on the grounds that forcing families to travel nearly two hours on public transportation — the only option for many — would violate the detainees’ right to due process.

Persuasive as the arguments against moving the detainees were, the argument in favor was more so. Housing immigration detainees in Hudson County costs the federal government \$111 a day, less than half of the \$253 per day it cost to house them in Manhattan. And, though the move was bemoaned, conditions at Varick, the facility they were being transferred from, were not acceptable. Detainees held there had no access to outdoor space, and the medical facilities were seen as inadequate.

And so, the transfer took place in early March, amid dire predictions.

The next month, a report entitled “[Locked Up But Not Forgotten](#)” was released. Researched and written by immigration advocates and NYU law students, and published by the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), the report examines conditions in six New Jersey detention sites, including Hudson County Correctional. The document paints a dispiriting picture of what life is like for immigration detainees being held in New Jersey.

While research for the report was taking place, detainees in Hudson County could only see their families in no-contact booths. Visits were limited to 30 minutes, between 3 and 7 pm from Monday to Thursday. A person had to arrive by 6:15 pm if they wanted to be allowed inside, meaning that visiting was a virtual impossibility for anyone with a day job.

Detainees were required to list their visitors ahead of time, and the names they supplied were written on cards that could hold no more than five names. The cards, detainees were told, would only be updated once every three months. Phone service at the time was provided by a contractor that charged 89 cents per minute for calls to or from New York, after a \$1.75 connection fee had been assessed.

As detailed in the report, detainees at Hudson County Correctional have also filed official complaints about a lack of kosher and halal meals, inadequate medical care, and the pepper spraying of a mentally ill detainee.

But the distance imposed by detention was the report’s primary concern. Detention, the report says, “amounts to near total isolation from the outside world, often for prolonged periods of time.”

That isolation is the result of detention is especially troubling because the justification for detaining immigrants without legal status is different than the justification for holding accused criminals. Immigrants are held to ensure they will abide the dictums of the court system, while people accused of crimes are held for reasons of public safety. Detention is a civil matter, not a criminal penalty. In some of the cases featured in “Locked Up,” it is hard to imagine the reasoning behind the decision to hold them pending trial.

Take Persian Gulf War veteran Warren Joseph, a Trinidadian-American, who was detained for 3 years before a court lifted his removal order and he was released to his home. Or Pauline Ndize, a mother of 3 U.S. citizen children, who had been living in the country for more than 20 years when she was detained in the fall of 2008. She was held for five months before being released.

Because ICE does not have the capacity to hold nearly as many detainees as they take into custody, most are housed in jails and prisons, like Hudson County Correctional. Their detention then feels like a criminal penalty, though technically it is not.

“In effect, immigration detention is punishment — not just for the immigrants in detention, but for their families and communities as well,” the report reads.

The feeling of being punished is only more pronounced the further removed detainees are from their families, their communities, and for those who have them, their lawyers. And being separated from family and community is especially fraught for immigration detainees because they have no constitutionally guaranteed right to legal counsel.

Only 14 percent of the country’s detainees are represented by lawyers as they wind their way through the immigration courts system, a February report from the American Bar Association found. The other 86 percent construct a legal rationale for remaining in the country on their own, or with their families. No simple task, and one made more difficult when phone calls are unaffordable and family can’t visit. Constructing a defense, and remaining hopeful, is hardest, of course, for detainees who have no one to visit them. They, the report says, “easily lose hope of staying in the country — regardless of the strength of their claims to remain in the U.S.”

It is easy to imagine becoming depressed inside Hudson County Correctional. Detainees held there live in rooms with a 65 person capacity, separated from the normal jail population. The available outdoor recreation space is a caged unit attached to a dormitory door. Communal televisions turn off at 9 pm. And by all reports, the food available to detainees and inmates alike is nutritionally sufficient, but terrible.

“It’s a degrading and demoralizing atmosphere,” First Friends’ Sullivan says. “There’s not really that much they can do.”

Almost the moment they arrived from New York, the detainees being held at Hudson County Correctional began agitating to improve their circumstances. They threatened a hunger strike, and sent a petition, signed by more than 180 people, to the American Bar Association. They complained about the phone rates, inadequate health care and mistreatment by guards. In response to their protests, and those of their advocates, conditions inside the jail improved, even before “Locked Up” was released in April.

As a jail, Hudson County Correctional normally functions as a short term facility. The introduction of New York’s detainees necessitated the review of some policies, including visiting and phone service. James Kennelly, Hudson County’s spokesperson, says early complaints by the detainees transferred from Varick came during a period when the jail was in the process of making changes to accommodate the new arrivals.

“We’ve tried to accommodate Varick detainees as best as possible,” he says.

Phone rates dropped to about 30 cents per minute, and they might get lower when a new service contract is negotiated. And contact visits were instituted so detainees can see their loved ones without a Plexiglas barrier separating them. The limit was removed from visitor lists, and weekend visiting hours were added. Computer kiosks that allow

detainees to request medical treatment, file complaints, and add the names of visitors to their list are being installed in the detention facility.

“The last thing Hudson County wants to do is fail to live up to our responsibility to treat our detainees humanely,” Kennelly says of the changes.

The story told by immigration advocates is one of a flexible jail administration, forced to contend with a situation that is ideal for no one and dispiriting for the people held in its custody.

Rev. Eugene Squeo, a pastor at St. Patrick’s Assumption in Jersey City, is a member of NJ Advocates for Immigrant Detainees. He has toured the detention facilities at Hudson County Correctional, and attended meetings with jail officials to discuss making changes to jail policy.

“I’ve been pleased by the willingness of officials at the correctional center to work with advocates,” he says.

Like many other advocates, his quarrel is not with Hudson County Correctional — it is with the system of immigration detention itself. The jail is just the low-hanging fruit.

“There should be no massive and arbitrary detention of immigrants,” Squeo says. “But as long as that’s the policy of ICE we want to make sure the conditions are as good as possible under the circumstances.”

Acknowledging they will only be satisfied by a tidal shift in federal policy leaves advocates with few options, and there is a danger in even making some demands. The Varick Detention Facility was the source of bitter complaints because it provided no outdoor space for recreation. But the shift to Hudson, though it allowed access to outdoor space, was not necessarily an improvement for detainees.

“We’re challenged by arguing for closure of facilities,” says Amy Gottlieb, the immigrant rights director of AFSC for the New York metropolitan region.

Pushing for ICE to drop their contract with Hudson County Correctional might be tempting, but no one is making that demand because there is no way to know where detainees would be moved. Chances are, they’d be transferred even farther from home.

John Morton, the head of ICE, has stated publicly that he intends to improve conditions in immigration detention facilities. His expressed desire is to make detention “truly civil.” But Gottlieb is dismissive of his stated goal.

“It’s hard for me to imagine a setting in which it doesn’t feel like a criminal penalty,” she says.

The only way to significantly improve conditions for immigrants awaiting the conclusion of their court proceedings, she argues, is to “find a way to release people.”

When it was announced that Varick was closing, and detainees would be transferred to Hudson County en masse, a group of 16 advocacy organizations suggested another course of action. They volunteered to collectively review the cases against every individual detainee, to determine who among them would be good candidates for electronic monitoring or parole. Those detainees who were unlikely to flee should be released while their applications were pending, they suggested.

ICE rejected the offer out of hand.

(<http://www.jerseycityindependent.com/2010/07/09/after-accepting-nycs-immigration-detainees-hudson-county-correctional-tries-to-make-jail-feel-civil/>)

Handout 4.4 - Hazing Arizona

By Aura Bogado Mother Jones, July 2010.

(<http://motherjones.com/politics/2010/07/sheriff-joe-arpaiio-maricopa-county-sb-1070>)

Long before the state passed its anti-immigrant law, Sheriff Joe Arpaio was taking border enforcement into his own hands.

David de la Fuente might still be alive if his pal David Salazar hadn't been short on cash one day. Both men lived in Phoenix, where they'd settled after making their separate ways north from the Mexican farming village of Colonia Emilio Carranza many years earlier. Salazar and his family came across legally in 1974, while de la Fuente arrived during the 1990s, traversing the desert on foot to cross the border illegally near Nogales, Arizona. De la Fuente, a plumber, and Salazar, a delivery driver, eventually became good friends. Their families grew close, too, often spending weekends and holidays together.

But that all changed one morning in May 2009, when Salazar asked de la Fuente for a ride to the ATM. They hopped into de la Fuente's green Nissan Maxima and drove to a nearby Wells Fargo. As they were about to turn into the parking lot, a Phoenix squad car driving behind them hit its flashers.

By Salazar's account, officer Matthew Prutch asked de la Fuente for a driver's license. When he produced a fake, Prutch had him step out of the car and handcuffed him. Salazar asked the officer whether he'd pulled them over because of their skin color; Prutch, he says, replied that he was just doing his job. (In [his report](#) (PDF), Prutch wrote that he ran the Nissan's plates while following the car and found no driver's license data associated with the registered owner. "He appeared to be a Hispanic male," Prutch added, "and under reasonable suspicion I believe [sic] the driver to be driving with no valid license.") Minutes later, another officer arrived and asked Salazar for his license, even though he hadn't been at the wheel. Prutch then delivered de la Fuente to the police station for booking. From there, the 35-year-old was taken to Maricopa County Sheriff Joe Arpaio's notorious Durango Jail, and charged with using a fake ID. A month later, he was dead.

Before SB 1070, the Arizona law that allows police officers to detain anyone they suspect might be in the country without papers, there was 287(g). That's a 1996 amendment to the Immigration and Nationality Act under which the feds can deputize state and local law enforcement to capture and detain undocumented immigrants. Some 71 agencies in 26 states operate under [287\(g\) agreements](#)—Arpaio signed up in 2007.

The man who calls himself "America's toughest sheriff" has long had a knack for drawing media attention—reviving [chain gangs](#) (PDF), for instance, and humiliating county inmates by forcing them to don [pink underwear](#) (PDF). He grew obsessed with illegal immigration in 2005, when the state's "coyote statute" took effect, making it a felony to smuggle people for profit anywhere in Arizona. As interpreted by then-county prosecutor Andrew Thomas, the law freed sheriff's deputies to round up undocumented immigrants—after all, hadn't these people conspired to smuggle themselves into Arizona?

So Arpaio began sending out posses of citizens and lawmen to conduct immigration sweeps. "I'm not going to turn these people over to federal authorities so they can have a free ride back to Mexico," he [told](#) the Washington Times. "I'll give them a free ride to my jail."

It was Arpaio's zeal that compelled me to spend five months on his home turf last year. I wanted to see firsthand how his tactics affected the Latino residents who make up 31 percent of the county's population. I heard story after story—from citizens, legal immigrants, and undocumented residents alike—about encounters with deputies and cops determined to play Border Patrol. It got to the point where I raced home in a panic one morning after heading out for a jog without ID—what if a deputy, seeing a Latina running down the street, decided to haul me in?

Native Americans told me they were targeted because deputies mistook them for Latinos. Latinos told me of being stopped randomly on the street and shouted at—or worse—by officers demanding identification. Alex, a third-generation US citizen, was at a Circle K buying water while his parents waited outside. He ran out when he heard a group of Arpaio's deputies yelling at them to produce their papers. Then, Alex said, they demanded to see his ID, too, explaining, "The law says everyone here has to be legal." (Fearing retaliation, Alex asked that we not use his real name.)

Then there was Celia Alejandra Álvarez, who told me deputies broke her jaw during a raid at the landscaping company she worked for. Álvarez said she was denied adequate medical care during her three-month detention—a common complaint that has been the subject of [hundreds of lawsuits](#) against Arpaio. Even after surgery, she added, her jaw still isn't back to normal—during our interview she paused periodically to readjust it. (In 2008, the National Commission on Correctional Health Care [yanked](#) (PDF) Maricopa County's accreditation, saying its jails failed to meet national standards.)

Maurilio (who also feared giving his real name) is a construction worker who has lived in the United States without papers for 21 years, raising two kids who are US citizens. He said his family was camping at a lake over the Fourth of July weekend in 2008, when a fellow camper started yelling something about "too many Mexicans" and called the sheriff's office. The deputies, Maurilio and his wife told me, threw him down in the presence of his six-year-old son and shoved his face into the ground. They then yanked his head up by his hair and pepper-sprayed him as they cuffed him. After a few weeks at Durango, he was deported—and immediately headed to the desert to walk back north.

To most anyone who even looks Latino in Maricopa County, the long arm of the sheriff seems inescapable. Indeed, Arpaio's tactics have put his agency at the center of an ongoing [civil rights investigation](#) (PDF) by the Department of Justice. Last fall, without explanation, the Department of Homeland Security [rescinded](#) Arpaio's authority to arrest people under section 287(g)—although deputies can still check the immigration status of people arriving at the jails. In anticipation of the crackdown, Arpaio held a press conference. "We have arrested 1,600 illegals that have not committed any crime other than being here illegally," he boasted. "The secret is, we're still going to do the same

thing—we have the state laws, and by the way, we'll still enforce the federal laws without the oversight, the policy, the restrictions that they put on us."

When David de la Fuente arrived at Durango, his friends and family say, deputies immediately began grilling him about his immigration status. One of his sisters visited twice, as did Salazar. Each told me that de la Fuente was deteriorating quickly. The guards, he told them, kept dragging him back and forth between the prison yard (where temperatures reached 107 degrees) and the frigid jail—leaving him queasy and disoriented. He also complained of severe chest pains, but fearing the guards might retaliate, told his family not to press the authorities about his condition. Eventually, de la Fuente was hauled before a judge, who fined him and put him on probation for giving an alias to the police. After three weeks in custody, he was turned over to federal immigration authorities, who delivered him the next day to Nogales, Mexico, about 700 miles north of his hometown. By that time, he was gravely ill.

He arrived in Colonia Emilio Carranza three days later, stumbling and barely able to speak. His family got him to the hospital, where he was diagnosed with acute pneumonia. Based on the stage of his illness, the doctors determined that de la Fuente had contracted it about 15 days earlier—roughly a week into his jail stay—according to medical paperwork and an interview with the hospital director. The doctors did what they could, but de la Fuente was too far gone. His cousins and a sister stood vigil as he dwindled and eventually fell into a coma. He was pronounced dead on June 23—exactly four weeks after the traffic stop.

We may never know what exactly happened to David de la Fuente inside Durango. To see his health records, family members would have to file a signed release and affidavit—something they are, not surprisingly, scared to do. What is clear is that Arpaio's flavor of law enforcement will spread around the state if the ACLU (which [filed suit](#) in May) fails to stop SB 1070 from taking effect. "The intent of the law was that it would be used disproportionately against people who have certain physical attributes," notes Michael Wishnie, a professor at Yale Law School. "Police on the ground understand that and will act accordingly."

This past September, during my visit to Colonia Emilio Carranza, Norberto Alvarado Santana said little as he showed me his cousin's grave, in a humble cemetery adorned with plastic flowers and Virgen de Guadalupe figurines. A stout, reserved man, he measured his words cautiously before finally breaking the silence. "There's a word for what happened to my cousin David," he said. "It's homicide."

This story was supported by the Investigative Fund at the Nation Institute.

Handout 4.5 - Mahmud's Story – A Family Torn Apart

From the Detention Watch Network website, June 2, 2008



Introduction - Mahmud is a Palestinian national who lawfully entered the United States in 1996. For the past six years he has been married to Ree—a U.S. citizen who works for a branch of the Department of Homeland Security—and has been stepfather to her five children. Mahmud was denied lawful permanent residency solely because he supported the Palestine Liberation Organization while a college student in Jordan twenty years ago. Though his support was limited to collecting donations and distributing leaflets, and he has had no involvement with the PLO since that time, Mahmud was deemed “inadmissible” to the U.S. for having “engaged in a terrorist activity” and ordered removed to Jordan.

Experience of Detention - Mahmud was imprisoned at the Rolling Plains Detention Center in Texas for twenty months while he sought federal court review of the decision. He posed no danger or flight risk and had repeatedly offered to submit to electronic monitoring or even house arrest so that he could be with and support his family while he litigated his case. The government refused to consider his release, never provided him with a bond hearing, and did not even conduct the in-person custody review required by their own regulations. Meanwhile, Mahmud's wife and stepchildren suffered enormously, both emotionally and financially, because of his absence. His wife was forced to declare bankruptcy, and his older stepchildren were forced to put aside their studies in order to help support the family.

Conditions in Detention - While Mahmud was in detention he was treated worse than American prisoners doing sentences for criminal activity. As an American prisoner he would have been guaranteed rights and been supplied with the internet, library, cable TV, decent food, and medical care. However in immigration detention none of these are provided. The food was horrible with very small portions. Many of the detainees suffered from stomach problems. The nurse at the center had never been to nursing school and the doctor who visited weekly was a veterinarian from town. Before being taken into custody, Mahmud was told by a dentist that he needed at least 2 root canals and crowns, yet the detention center doctor gave the diagnoses of "beautiful teeth" when he complained of pain in the teeth.

Conclusion - Mahmud served 2 more years in detention, but was eventually released with electronic monitoring to his family. After 2 months at home, he was asked by ICE to report to an office to repair his ankle bracelet but instead was taken into custody. Mahmud had lost his appeal to the 5th Circuit and faced a protracted legal fight with a slim chance of success or removal to Jordan. Tired of fighting the government, he and Ree chose to allow for his deportation. Mahmud now lives in the United Arab Emirates with family. His wife Ree misses him greatly but has been able to visit him. At the same time, she has 5 children in the United States, two of whom are older, and she knows that if she decides to move to the Middle East she will miss many important events in their lives.

Week Five

Who Benefits From A Broken System?

Goals

- Tying together what has been learned from the previous weeks
- Reframing the debate from one of citizenship to one of globalization and corporate power

Learning Objectives

- Understand how immigration does not necessarily hurt U.S. workers
- Understand how corporations benefit from cheap labor
- Understand how corporations benefit from the business of enforcement

Handouts for Week Five

- 5.1 Don't Be Fooled: Immigration is NOT the Real Problem
- 5.2 Does Globalization Help the Poor?
- 5.3 Migrants: Pawns in Mexico—U.S. Game
- 5.4 This Alien Life: Privatized Prisons for Immigrants
- 5.5 Prison Economics Help Drive Ariz. Immigration Law

Workshop-at-a-Glance

1. 5" Chalice Lighting and Opening Reading
2. 10" Check-in
3. 20" Activity 1: Cheap Labor for Cheap Goods
4. 20" Activity 2: Economic Development
5. 20" Activity 3: The Profitability of Prisons
6. 10" Debrief
7. 5" Closing

Chalice Lighting and Opening Reading

In order to address the issue of mass migration to the U.S., we must understand the root causes of this migration: poverty, conflict, oppression. Part of our responsibility is to study what effect U.S. foreign and economic policies may have on increasing poverty and oppression in the countries from which many immigrants come. As the Catholic Bishops of the US said. . . "We oppose efforts to stem migration that do not adequately address its root causes and that permit the continuation of the political, social, and economic inequalities that contribute to it.

—Statement of Principles on Immigration Issues, Interfaith Worker Justice Board of Directors

Check-in

Participants are invited to share where they are spiritually/emotionally with respect to the class.

Activity 1: Cheap Labor for Cheap Goods

Based on what we learned in session three about the economic pressures on immigration and handouts 5.1 and 5.3, who is it that benefits from this large pool of undocumented workers? Who is hurt? In what ways are we as U.S. consumers complicit?

Activity 2: Economic "Development"

Much of our economic/trade policies with "developing" countries is based on the assumption that free-trade and globalization are beneficial to the poor. Based on handout 5.2, are these assumptions valid. Who is it that benefits from "economic development" and "free trade"?

Tying in from session three, what is the effect on the workers as goods are shipped freely across borders?

Activity 3: The Profitability of Prisons

As we have learned from session one, being in the U.S. without proper documentation is a civil offense, not criminal. Yet in recent years there has been an increasing movement towards criminalizing undocumented immigration in order to "get tough" on those who come (or stay) without proper papers. Based on handouts 5.4 and 5.5, what other motivations are at work?

Regardless of one's feelings about undocumented immigration, how do people feel about our tax dollars being spent this way?

Debrief

Participants are invited to share anything that strongly moved them during the session.

Closing Reading and Extinguishing the Chalice

May God bless us with discomfort
at easy answers, half truths, and superficial relationships,
so that we may live deep within our hearts.

May God bless us with anger
at injustice, oppression, and exploitation of people,
so that we may work for economic justice for all people.

May God bless us with tears to shed for those who suffer
from pain, hunger, homelessness and rejection,
so that we may reach out our hand to comfort them
and to turn their pain into joy.

And may God bless us with enough foolishness
to believe that we can make a difference in the world
so that we can do what others claim cannot be done.

—Franciscan Prayer to End Poverty

Homework for Week Six

6.1 We Are One, by Unitarian Universalist Association (UUA) President, Rev. Peter Morales

6.2 Chronological Summary of UUA Statements on Immigration

6.3 Liberation Theology

6.4 Interfaith Platform on Humane Immigration Reform

6.5 Who is my Neighbor? (Research to be completed before session 6.)

Further Study

To explore the topics covered in this session, as well as related topics, see the resources listed in [section II.E \(PDF, 12 pages\)](#) of the study guide.

Handout 5.1 - Don't Be Fooled: Immigration is NOT the Real Problem

By Edith Rasell, Minister for Workplace Justice, Justice & Witness Ministries
United Church of Christ, November 19, 2007

Many Americans have a love-hate relationship with immigrant workers. We sometimes hate immigrants who take “our” jobs. At the same time we love low prices, prices that may depend on the very low wages paid immigrant workers. But when native-born workers are in conflict with immigrant workers, we all lose. A good society can only be built on justice for all – for immigrant workers and for workers born in the U.S.

Chiapas is one of the poorest states in Mexico and the former home of many immigrants. A typical coffee farmer in the highlands lives in a tiny house with a dirt floor and a single dangling light bulb. Everyone is well acquainted with poverty and hardship. But as a tidal wave of economic destruction has washed over the highland villages, people have been forced to travel north seeking work. Loved ones left behind experience the destruction of their family and community life. When asked to identify their greatest problem, the villagers name immigration.

Coffee farmers in Chiapas and many other workers around the world are losing their livelihoods and ways of life due to biased international agreements that favor corporations over workers. Skewed economic policies are forcing people to leave their homes to seek work and refuge from a tsunami of economic globalization.

Workers in the U.S. are also confronting this tidal wave of economic change and destruction. Globalization has brought stagnant or falling wages, a shift from well paid manufacturing jobs to lower paying ones, financial insecurity, and competition by immigrants for jobs. Immigration has become a hot-button issue. But the real problem is not immigrant workers. They are often victims of a system that serves neither native-born nor foreign-born workers.

A few years ago, the U.S. Department of Labor found that none of the poultry processing plants they examined paid employees for all the time they worked. In meat packing, more than one in every ten workers has a significant injury each year. Both these industries employ large numbers of immigrant workers. And immigrants from Mexico are killed on their jobs in the U.S. at a rate 75% higher than that of workers who were born here.

The problem for American workers is not immigration but weak and poorly enforced workplace protections. Most firms do not exploit workers, immigrant or native-born. But some do. If these companies can pay less than is required by law, violate safety standards, fire a worker or get him deported if he tries to form a union, and do so with minimal penalties or none at all, then we will see more firms exploiting workers. Wages will continue to fall, benefits will continue to disappear, union membership will continue to decline, and American workers will become more financially insecure. The rich will get richer and the poor, poorer.

The answer is not hostility to immigrants. Instead, we must demand that politicians strengthen and enforce workplace protections for all of us. And politicians must revise biased international agreements that benefit multinational corporations and harm workers here in the U.S. and around the world.

(<http://www.ucc.org/justice/immigration/immigrant-workers.html>)

Handout 5.2 - Does Globalization Help the Poor?

by Jerry Mander, Debi Baker and David Korten

IFG Bulletin, 2001, Volume 1, Issue 3, International Forum on Globalization



During the past few years, we have heard steady proclamations emanating from the advocates of economic globalization and leaders of the Bretton Woods institutions - the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Trade Organization (WTO), et. al. - that their deepest purpose in pushing economic globalization is to help the world's poor. More specifically, they contend that removing barriers to corporate trade and financial investments is the best path to growth, which they say offers the best chance to lift the poor from poverty.

They also assert that the millions of people who have visibly opposed the economic globalization model are harming the interests of the poor. Everyone should please back off and leave it to corporations, bankers and global bureaucracies to do the planning and solve the world's problems.

Such claims are routinely replayed in the media. One prominent national columnist, for example, says, "protesters are choking the only route out of poverty for the world's poor." In other words, if the protests would stop, the IMF, the World Bank, the WTO, Nike and Monsanto would save the day. Is this true? Are the interests of global corporations and bureaucracies really aimed at helping the poor? Or do these institutions have other primary motives?

WHO BENEFITS? So far, almost all of the evidence from the past three decades (1970-2000) - the period of economic globalization's most rapid ascendancy - shows that it is bringing exactly the opposite outcome that its advocates claim. The evidence now comes nearly as much from the proponents of globalization as its opposition.

Clearly, poverty and inequality are rapidly accelerating everywhere on earth. A 1999 report by the United Nations Development Program found that inequalities between rich and poor within and among countries are quickly expanding, and that the global trading and finance system is one of the primary causes.

Even the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) confirms the United Nations' (UN) conclusions, agreeing that globalization brings massive inequalities. The benefits of globalization do not reach the poor, says the CIA, and the process inevitably brings increased global protest and chaos.

Robert Wade of the London School of Economics, wrote in *The Economist* (2001), "Global inequality is worsening rapidly...Technological change and financial liberalization result in a disproportionately fast increase in the number of households at

the extreme rich end, without shrinking the distribution at the poor end...From 1988 to 1993, the share of the world income going to the poorest 10 percent of the world's population fell by over a quarter, whereas the share of the richest 10 percent rose by 8 percent."

The ideologies and rules of economic globalization - including free trade, deregulation, privatization, and structural adjustment - have destroyed the livelihoods of millions of people, often leaving them homeless, landless and hungry, while removing their access to even the most basic public services such as health and medical care, education, sanitation, fresh water, public transport, job training and the like. The record shows that economic globalization makes things worse for the poor, not better.

Economic globalization has only proved to be successful in making global corporations and a few elites wildly wealthy. For example, of the largest 100 economies in the world, 52 are now corporations. In what the UN describes as the "staggering concentration of wealth among the ultrawealthy," total wealth controlled by people with assets of at least \$1 million nearly quadrupled from 1986 to 2000, from \$7.2 trillion to \$27 trillion. Even with the dot-com crash and the current global financial slump, Merrill Lynch predicts that wealth controlled by millionaires will continue to increase by 8 percent a year, reaching \$40 trillion by 2005.

Contrary to its claims, wealth generated by globalization does not trickle down. Rather, the rules lock the wealth at the top, removing from governments and communities the very tools necessary to redistribute wealth, protect domestic industries, workers, social services, the environment, and sustainable livelihoods.

There are isolated instances where some improvement has been achieved among Third World countries, over short periods. The Bretton Woods institutions love to trumpet these examples. But the truth is that the benefits of this "growth" have been very short-lived. In any case, nearly all the benefits have gone to the elites in these countries, and the chief executives of the global corporations at the hub of the process; executives whose annual earnings are now astronomical, often in the tens or hundreds of millions of dollars. All figures show that these discrepancies between top executives and ordinary workers are rapidly growing.

Even among the so-called "poster children" of free trade, the "Asian Tigers" like Taiwan, South Korea, Singapore and Malaysia, improvement has not come by assiduously following the dictates of the Bretton Woods regimes - the IMF, World Bank, the WTO, etc. - but often by doing the opposite of what the institutions prescribe. By at first resisting the economic model pushed by Bretton Woods, some countries managed to stay free of the volatility of export markets. But when they finally succumbed to heavy pressures from the IMF and the World Bank, they found their glory days quickly disappearing into the infamous Asian financial crisis (1997-1998), rooted directly in the new rules of free trade for finance and global corporations.

Most poor countries, however, have not enjoyed much benefit from globalization. After three decades of heavy IMF and World Bank medicines and less than a decade of WTO

policies, they have understood that globalization is selling a false promise. The policies of the Bretton Woods institutions are not designed to benefit them, but to benefit rich industrial countries and their global corporations. The question is this Do these globalizing institutions know what they're doing? Or do they just blindly follow a failed ideological model?

The worst case conclusion, which many now believe, is that the institutions surely do know what they're doing and always have. They have an assignment to remove all impediments to the free flow of global capital as it seeks to pry open the world's last natural resource pools, markets, and cheap labor (and, to keep it cheap). To suggest they do all this to help the poor is high cynicism.

THE CREATION OF POVERTY

Economic globalization policies as enforced by the World Bank, IMF, and the WTO actually have far more to do with creating poverty than solving it. Free trade requires that all countries adopt the same economic model, thus eliminating variations that might slow down the smooth global operations of major corporations as they seek new resources, markets and cheap labor. It is not efficient for global corporations when individual nations are permitted their own expressions of what is best for their people via their own democratic laws. These laws might be designed to protect resources and the environment; or social services for the poor; or the rights of local workers; or they might help struggling small businesses; or require foreign investors to keep their investment in place for a time; or require that foreign investors include domestic partners. All such laws are viewed as pesky impediments to corporate freedom. They have got to go.

The specific role of the WTO is to set homogenized global rules for all countries-one size fits all-and to specifically challenge national environmental and social laws viewed as obstacles to corporate free trade. Given that it was granted draconian enforcement powers, the WTO can now impose harsh punishments on democratic nations that stray from its rules. A past president of the WTO, Renato Ruggiero put it bluntly in 1998 The WTO will be "the new constitution for a global economy." (Since Seattle, such statements have not been repeated.)

STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT PROGRAMS

The World Bank and the IMF have their own powerful and dangerous instrument Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs). The infamous SAPs of the IMF, and so-called "development" loans from the World Bank routinely come with harsh conditionalities that require developing nations to abandon important domestic programs that serve the population. These include education, health services and environmental programs, which don't produce revenues to repay IMF and World Bank loans or interest. As the IMF forces countries to downsize government agencies, the ranks of the unemployed grow faster than the private sector can absorb them. IMF policies raise interest rates, preventing small businesses from obtaining capital needed to expand or stay afloat, which leads to further unemployment. Meanwhile, removing barriers to foreign investment and

trade, insisted upon by the IMF and enforced by the WTO, makes it harder for local producers to compete against bigger, richer foreign businesses.

This system leaves countries utterly dependent upon market and pricing systems over which they have no control. Meanwhile, they have given up the ability to determine their own destinies. The greatest mystery of course is how any of the promoters of such rules and conditions (among others) could possibly argue that these rules could help nations rise from poverty. Clearly, this is a blueprint for dependency and poverty creation.

EXPORT-ORIENTED AGRICULTURE

Probably the most traumatic impacts of globalization policies - both in terms of poverty-creation, and environmental devastation - have come with the forced shift of local economies away from small-scale diversified agricultural models to the industrial export model, directed by global corporations.

Nearly half of the world population, even today, lives directly on the land, growing food for their families and communities. They emphasize growing staples and a mix of diverse crops, and they replant with indigenous seed varieties that their communities have developed over centuries. They have perfected their own fertilizers, crop rotations, and pesticide management, and their communities share all elements of the local commons, including seeds, water, and labor. Such systems have kept hundreds of millions of people going for millennia.

Local self-sufficiency systems are anathema to global corporations and the bureaucracies that serve them. In a global economic system, corporate profits primarily come from increased processing activity, and global trading. So now we find corporations including Archer Daniels Midland, Monsanto, and Cargill, among others, spending tens of millions of dollars in public relations and advertising campaigns arguing that small farmers are not "productive" enough to "feed the hungry world."

These campaigns run hand in hand with the investment and trade strategies and rules of the WTO, the IMF, the World Bank and the U. S. government. All of these strongly favor the entry of global corporations, which replaces local, diverse farming for self-reliance with monocultures run by corporations.

An export-oriented system of agriculture favors high priced, high margin luxury export items - flowers, potted plants, beef, shrimp, cotton, coffee, exotic vegetables - to be sent to the already overfed countries. As for the people who used to live on the lands, growing their own foods for their communities and for local markets, they are rapidly being driven off their lands. People who once fed themselves become landless, jobless, cashless, homeless, dependent and hungry. Self-sustaining communities disappear; still intact cultures are decimated. This is as true in the United States as in the Third World.

The situation is absurd. Dependency and starvation replace self-sufficient livelihoods and self-reliant nations; meanwhile global corporations get wealthy by shipping luxury foods thousands of miles. Clearly, these corporations are not concerned about feeding the hungry. That is only an advertising slogan. They are concerned about feeding themselves.

THE ROOT OF THE PROBLEM: A FAILED IDEOLOGY

The IMF, World Bank and the WTO are pursuing what some have labeled "market fundamentalism," an ideological commitment to two basic false principles:

- * Economic growth and increased trade achieved through deregulation and privatization automatically increases the wealth of communities and humanity, and contributes toward a better future for all. In other words, what benefits corporations benefits all.

- * Increased foreign investment in Third World countries increases productive capacities and development, adding to the well being of the poor. Neither of these has proved true. What is true is that the system has added to the well being of the corporations that have perpetuated it.

Most measures of "economic growth" such as Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and Gross National Product (GNP) tend only to measure increases in the market value of economic production, i. e., the rate at which resources are converted to commodities, and that other paid services and activities are performed. By such standards of measurement, expansion of military hardware, prisons, wars, crime (and its prevention), as well as the clear-cutting of forests, or building of toxic dumpsites are all made to seem positive as they increase GNP and GDP. Meanwhile, unpaid household labor, care for the sick and elderly, or self-sufficient food growing and distribution are not deemed positive results because they don't get counted.

Such standards also contribute to the depletion of social and natural capital (nature) which, as former World Bank economist Herman Daly has suggested, is the foundation of all real wealth. In fact, export-driven globalization is the greatest single contributor to the massive ecological crises of our time. Its emphasis on exponentially increased trade and transport activity requires corresponding expansion of infrastructures - airports, seaports, roads, rail-lines, pipelines, dams, electric grids; many of these in pristine places, often on indigenous lands. Increased transport also uses drastically increased fossil fuels adding to the problems of climate change, ozone depletion, and ocean and air pollution. And an ever expanding economy requires the depletion of the last resources on the planet; under free trade these are nearly always located in the global South. One of the greatest injustices against southern countries is that they are net resource exporters to the already rich North.

Indeed ecological degradation-forests, rivers, biodiversity-has the most devastating impact on the poor; and resource depletion reduces livelihoods and creates poverty. So economic growth is certainly not a measurement that benefits the poorest parts of the world. In any case, depleting nature cannot serve anyone for much longer, even the rich, who may be, as the late British financier James Goldsmith put it - "enjoying champagne on the deck of the Titanic."

One can only conclude from this that the present system is fundamentally flawed, and cannot be corrected by reforms at the margin. It must be changed to a very different

system, based on values and institutional relationships that place human beings and nature above percentage returns on investment.

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(http://www.thirdworldtraveler.com/Globalization/DoesGlobaliz_HelpPoor.html)

Handout 5.3 Migrants pawns in Mexico-U.S. game

By: John C. Wester

POLITICO May 19, 2010

Mexican President Felipe Calderon is scheduled to visit President Barack Obama at the White House on Wednesday, which is good news, considering the problems along the U.S.-Mexico border.

In fact, a strong relationship between Obama and Calderon may hold the key to the many problems affecting both the United States and Mexico domestically — drug-related violence, the economy and, of course, immigration.

One big misperception of the U.S. immigration debate is that if Congress could pass an immigration reform bill, it would be the magic bullet that kills illegal immigration.

Such a bill is indeed indispensable to a long-term solution and must be addressed — sooner rather than later. But it should be understood that the humane and lasting answer to this vexing social issue lies in regional, if not global, cooperation among nation-states.

Immigration is not just a domestic issue; it is keyed to foreign affairs.

If the world is a marketplace, then migrants and their labor help deliver the produce and stock the shelves. In other terms, while economically powerful nations hold the capital, migrants help fill the jobs needed to turn capital into profit. This important role in the world economic order should give migrant workers an honored place — with the appropriate legal and labor protections.

In North America, Europe and most places in the industrialized world, however, migrant workers are left without legal protection. They are characterized as criminals — as in Arizona — and blamed for myriad social ills.

The de facto migration relationship between the United States and Mexico is a prime example. Migrants from Mexico, unable to support their families at home, take a dangerous journey to the United States and fill menial but crucial jobs in the U.S. economy — dishwashers, farmworkers and day laborers, for example.

As a result, the United States receives the benefit of their toil and taxes without having to worry about protecting their rights — in either the courtroom or the workplace. When convenient, they are made political scapegoats and attacked — through both rhetoric and work-site raids — as if they were not human.

But Mexico also wins financially under this system. The country receives up to \$20 billion in remittances per year — perhaps down to \$15 billion during this recession — without having to pay attention to the lower rungs of its economy.

What is left is a “go north” policy that exposes Mexican citizens to the ravages of human smugglers, corrupt law enforcement officials and potential death in the desert.

The big losers in this globalization game are the migrants, of course. They have no political power and are unable to defend themselves from inevitable abuse and exploitation.

These migrants are pawns in a system that preys on their desperation and expropriates their work ethic. As in a chess match, they are expendable and at the service of the most valuable player, the king — in this case, the sovereign nations of the United States and Mexico.

As a moral matter, the United States and Mexico cannot have it both ways — accepting the labor and remittances of these immigrants without recognizing their basic human rights.

It is time for both nations to abandon this mutual “nod and wink” policy, not found in written law but still all too real.

In its place, they should reform their national immigration laws and enforce current labor and due-process protections, so that migrants can come out of the shadows and travel and work in a safe and controlled manner.

Over the long term, joint efforts could be pursued to promote development in communities now drained by the migrant outflow, so that Mexicans can remain at home to work and support their families.

At a minimum, both Obama and Calderon should strive to ensure that international economic agreements, like the North American Free Trade Agreement, do not devastate industries that hire low-skilled workers in their home countries.

Obama has indicated his support of U.S. immigration reforms and his interest in addressing the root causes of migration, like underdevelopment. Calderon has emphasized the need for job creation among Mexico’s poor, and he has acknowledged the continuing mistreatment of migrants within Mexico.

But neither leader has done enough to address these issues.

The state visit this week could be a good first step to help change that equation.

Together, the two leaders have the opportunity to reframe the immigration debate in a way that recognizes the effects of globalization on the movement of labor yet injects basic human rights principles into the system.

The world would take note.

They can also remind us — and the global community — that migrants, including those without legal status, are not goods to be traded but human beings to be protected.

John C. Wester is the bishop of Salt Lake City and chairman of the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops' Committee on Migration.

(<http://dyn.politico.com/printstory.cfm?uuid=AD83AE75-18FE-70B2-A825390B54A3367A>)

Handout 5.4 - This Alien Life: Privatized Prisons for Immigrants

by Deepa Fernandes, Special to CorpWatch

(<http://www.corpwatch.org/article.php?id=14333>)

February 5th, 2007

The small town of Florence, Arizona, sits at an epicenter of a new boom in private prisons for immigrants. The one-lane highway from Tucson to this desert prison town runs through cacti, red rock, and occasional mountains. Then out of nowhere, a roadside sign breaks the spell: "State Prison: Do Not Pick Up Hitchhikers."

Florence hosts Arizona's state prison, two privately run prison complexes, and one Department of Homeland Security (DHS) immigration jail.

Florence "has a prison economy and a prison consciousness," says Victoria López, an attorney who runs the town's only pro bono legal center that helps immigrant detainees fight their cases. "Florence is another world. Here most locals are people whose families have for generations worked in the prison system. Life revolves around the prisons."

As the government invokes national security to sweep up and jail an unprecedented number of immigrants, the private-prison industry is booming. In the aftermath of the September 11th attacks on New York, immigrants have become the fastest growing segment of the prison population in the U.S. today. In fiscal year 2005, more than 350,000 immigrants went through the courts. "A growing share of them committed no crimes while in the United States - 53 percent this year, up from 37 percent in 2001 - even though Bush administration officials repeatedly have said their priority is deporting criminals," the Denver Post reported.

From Mining to Prisons

Many locals have family roots in the mining industry that was the lifeblood of this rough and tumble town until the silver boom petered out. Around the turn of the 20th century, the territorial prison moved to town. But the town really came back to life after Tennessee-based Corrections Corporation of America (CCA) one of the nation's biggest prison companies, built two prisons in Florence, and the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) began renting bed space, and then built its own prison out of a town's old World War II prisoner-of-war camp. The influx of immigrant prisoners created jobs that drove the economy and sparked construction of

new housing complexes on the outskirts of town, followed by big retailers such as Wal-Mart.

In 2000, the industry was carrying more than \$1 billion in debt and was violating its existing credit agreements. CCA saw its stock plummet 93 percent and Business Week noted that the correction "industry's heyday may already be history."

At the time, the American Prospect, a national magazine, explained the decline:

"The private-prison industry is in trouble. For close to a decade, its business boomed and its stock prices soared because state legislators across the country thought they could look both tough on crime and fiscally conservative if they contracted with private companies to handle the growing multitudes being sent to prison under the new, more severe sentencing laws. But then reality set in: accumulating press reports about gross deficiencies and abuses at private prisons; lawsuits; million-dollar fines. By last year, not a single state was soliciting new private-prison contracts. Many existing contracts were rolled back or even rescinded. The companies' stock prices went through the floor."

Then came the September 11th attacks on New York in 2001. The government began to target non-citizens with mass arrests during sweeps through immigrant communities, increased prosecutions of undocumented border crossers, and the use of immigration law to hold people while looking for criminal or terrorist charges against them. The INS was subsumed into a new agency named the Department of Homeland Security.

The government claims that locking up people without legal status is the only way to ensure that they do not disappear into the country. A December 2004 DHS report from the Office of the Inspector General concluded that all the evidence proved the "importance of detention in relation to the eventual removal of an alien. Hence effective management of detention bed space can substantially contribute to immigration enforcement efforts."

The speed and scope of the Bush administration roundup and jailing of non-citizens created a dramatically increased need for immigrant detention space. And saved the flailing corrections industry.

The DHS-run Special Processing Center is a massive one-stop-shop,

where immigrants can be jailed, tried in an immigration court, appealed before an immigration judge, and ordered deported—all without leaving the self-contained complex. While DHS does not refer to its facilities as jails, the Special Processing Center in Florence is ringed by concertina wire, surrounded by chain-link fences, with inmates locked into cells. They face zealous prosecution and in many cases are left to languish for weeks and months without trial or sentencing.

The complex in Florence is part of a 300-facility-strong network of immigrant incarceration facilities. The average time an immigrant is detained is 42.5 days from arrest to deportation. At \$85 a day per detainee, that adds up to \$3,612.50 per person. In 2003, DHS was holding 231,500 detainees, and the budget to cover this was \$1.3 billion. Since 2001, the DHS budget for detention bed space has increased each fiscal year as has the number of beds. In 2003 there was more than \$50 million slated for the construction of immigrant jails.

Corrections Corporation of America

Contracts for these new jails flowed to the private prison industry despite the previous history of mismanagement and scandal. Yet the problems have not been solved – today detainee advocates still decry the treatment of immigrant inmates. They accuse prison companies of cutting corners in training guards and in providing basic services. The government has done little to regulate prison administration, but has sanctioned exploitive labor practices and rip-off telephone costs for inmates.

Philippe Louis-Jean, a veteran who saw combat in Iraq detailed some of abuse. A Haitian immigrant who had lived in the U.S. since he was five, the Marine had advanced quickly through the ranks. On return from Iraq, when he attempted to have his battlefield promotions honored, his superiors looked into his past and found an old military conviction for which he was served 37 days. The government used that record to begin deportation proceedings and threw Louis-Jean into CCA-run San Diego Correctional Facility (SDCF). He was appalled by conditions and treatment.

"The guards would scream and shout at us as if we were little kids. If we would ask them to stop, they would threaten to lock us down for a few days, which would happen constantly. Three people being locked in a two-man cell, in a 12 x 7 room. This happened a lot; sometimes as punishment for the actions of one or two inmates, the other 105–115 detainees would suffer."

"Other times, it seemed 'just because.' A lot of the detainees would be missing money on their accounts, which I was recently told by a detainee who keeps in contact with me was being stolen by the staff, according to [an] OIG investigation. We would get underserved during meal times. When we complained to the unit manager she would say that we were given the right amounts, which in my opinion is the appropriate portion for a ten or eleven year old. Some of the guards and staff would curse at us. They would purposely lower the televisions so we couldn't hear them, just to mess with us. During our free time they would take their time turning on the phones so we wouldn't be able to call our families. Just to be cruel."

One of his guards, an ex-marine, told Louis Jean "he was taught to not really pay attention to our complaining and to treat us like second-class citizens ... since we will be deported anyway."

A 2003 report by the DHS Inspector General forcefully condemned the treatment of immigrants inside various jails in its report, "The September 11 Detainees: A Review of the Treatment of Aliens Held on Immigration Charges in Connection with the Investigation of the September 11 Attacks." Infractions included routine abuse of basic prisoner rights, mental and physical abuse, denial of health care and medical treatment, prison overcrowding, and a lack of working showers, and toilets.

Despite a long record of problems, CCA continues to promote privatization and win contracts. "The private prison industry, to increase the demand for its services, exerts whatever pressure it can to encourage state legislators to privatize state prisons," wrote Sharon Dolovich in the Duke University Law Journal. "[T]he industry is adept at lobbying legislators and targeting campaign contributions to promote its privatization agenda."

Indeed, some critics charge that the company's success is related to its deep rooted ties to elected officials. In addition to CCA's record of campaign contributions to the Republican Party since 1997, there are significant connections between executives and government officials. J. Michael Quinlan, former head of the Federal Bureau of Prisons, has been an executive at CCA for the past decade. CCA's chief lobbyist in the state of Tennessee is married to the speaker of the house. And CCA is a member of the American Legislative Exchange Council, a conservative group that writes and pushes bills on policy such as sentencing guidelines.

For the second quarter of 2005, CCA announced that its revenue had increased three percent over last year, for a total of almost \$300 million. CCA calculates that its expenditure of \$28.89 per inmate, per day allows it

to make a daily profit of \$50.26 per inmate. Meanwhile, on July 1, 2005, the Bureau of Immigration and Customs Enforcement awarded CCA contracts to continue running the 300-bed Elizabeth Detention Center in New Jersey and the 1,216-bed San Diego Correctional Facility. Both of these contracts are for three years with five three-year renewal options. In 2005 CCA also secured new prison contracts with the Kentucky Department of Corrections, the state of Kansas, and the Florida Department of Management Services.

Business is good for CCA and the more people it stuffs into its prisons the better it becomes. "As you know, the first 100 inmates into a facility, we lose money, and the last 100 inmates into a facility we make a lot of money " CCA Chief Financial Officer Irving Lingo said on a 2006 company conference call.

Wackenhut

Florida-based Wackenhut, a major private security company, has also received a great boost in the years since the September 11th attacks on New York. Its poor record has not undermined its ability to reap lucrative government contracts. Before 2001, Wackenhut, like CCA, had been at the center of all manner of inmate-abuse scandals: Guards were caught having sex with underage inmates, there were routine reports of extreme mistreatment of inmates, and there was even a disproportionately high level of deaths in their facilities.

Wackenhut CEO George Zoley has been flippant about the cases of abuse. After a CBS Television report exposed the repeated rape of a 14-year-old girl at a Wackenhut juvenile jail and two guards were found guilty, Zoley said, "It's a tough business. The people in prison are not Sunday-school children." Still more worrying was Wackenhut's record with inmate-on-inmate killings, which, contrary to public perception, are not very common in America's prisons. In 1998–99 alone, Wackenhut's New Mexico facilities had a death rate of one murder for every 400 prisoners. For the same period in all U.S. prisons, the rate was about one in 22,000.

Wackenhut's most visible response was to change its name. Now as the GEO Group, it is still headed by George Zoley, and it continues to run the Wackenhut facilities and get new contracts. In 2005 the State of California Department of Corrections gave GEO the contract for the housing of minimum security adult male inmates at the 224-bed McFarland Community Correctional Facility estimated to generate \$4.1 million in annual revenues. On August 8, 2002, Immigration and Customs

Enforcement (ICE) awarded GEO a contract for the company's Broward Transitional Center in Miami. The contract has been extended through September 2008.

Under a 2005 ICE contract GEO also manages the Queens Private Correctional Facility, where it expects to reap \$10.5 million in annual revenues. The Mississippi Department of Corrections also renewed GEO's contract for the continued management and operation of the 1,000-bed Marshall County Correctional Facility. Meanwhile, also in 2005, GEO announced a merger with Correctional Services Corporation (CSC) that will add approximately \$100 million in revenue to GEO's coffers. GEO is especially excited about the earning potential from CSC's 1,000-bed expansion of its State Prison in Florence, Arizona.

GEO executives are overjoyed about the boom in business. In 1999, the feds farmed out less than 3 percent of beds; but seven years later, the number had reached almost one in five. "That's a remarkable turnaround," GEO Group CEO George Zoley told his fellow executives. "And it's continuing to lead in that direction, that for minimum-security beds by the BOP (Bureau of Prisons) to house criminal aliens and illegal aliens by either the U.S. Marshal Service or the BOP or immigration service, they are turning to private companies."

"I think we're in a new era that I could never predicted, really, this scale of acceptance by the federal government. We talked about it for many, many years, but we're finally on the verge of it..." added Zoley.

Cost Savings

The corrections industry has routinely argued that privatizing prisons dramatically lowers costs. A 1996 U.S. General Accounting Office report concluded, however, that there was no clear evidence supporting this contention.

Prison companies do have clear advantages over other corporations: They are able to save large amounts of money on labor practices that would be illegal under any other circumstances. Inmate jobs in all prisons pay a pittance, but immigrant prisons are even worse. Because DHS guidelines mandate that non-citizen prisoners cannot earn more than \$1 per day, the company gets janitors, maintenance workers, cleaners, launderers, kitchen staff, sewers and grounds keepers at almost no cost.

With the increase in prison beds for immigrants comes the pressure to fill

them-- a scenario that has immigrant advocates extremely worried. Isabel García, attorney and human rights activist in Tucson, sees the drive to jail immigrants as fueling the same prison-industrial complex that first flourished with the war on drugs.

"The war on drugs has conveniently become a war on immigrants," says García, "and there is a lot of money to be made in detaining immigrants." The grown industry of incarcerating immigrants is facilitated by the tight connections between the private-prison industry and the federal government and the extent of the industry's powerful and well-funded lobby. García worries that the profit motive behind detaining immigrants will promote the criminalization of immigrants.

In the name of national security, the Department of Homeland Security has let industry lead the way in implementing systems and procedures that purport to protect America from future terrorist attack. However, in many cases it is immigrants and non-citizens with no connections to terrorism who get tangled in the net.

Adapted from *Targeted*, by Deepa Fernandes (Seven Stories Press, 2007). Additional research by Terry Allen.

Immigration Prisons by the Numbers

"A record 26,500 undocumented aliens are held across the United States by federal authorities. The number will rise to 32,000 by year's end

"A \$65 million tent city in Texas holds 2,000 immigrants in windowless tents where they are locked down 23 hours a day, often with insufficient food, clothing, medical care and access to telephones.

"Some 1.6 million undocumented immigrants are being held in some stage of immigration proceedings. "ICE holds more inmates a night than Clarion hotels have guests, operates nearly as many vehicles as Greyhound has buses and flies more people each day than do many small U.S. airlines."

"An estimated 12 million undocumented immigrants live in the US.

"80 percent of ICE's beds are rented at 300 local and state jails nationwide, concentrated in the South and Southwest.

"The Border Patrol made 1.1 million arrests last year. The majority were Mexicans who immediately were sent back the border. A half million more

entered legally and overstayed visas.

"An additional 630,000 are at large, ignoring deportation orders, and 300,000 more who entered state and local prisons for committing crimes are to be deported but will probably slip through the cracks after completing their sentences."

Source: Washington Post, February 2, 2007

Handout 5.5 - Prison Economics Help Drive Ariz. Immigration Law

by Laura Sullivan. NPR, October 28, 2010

Last year, two men showed up in Benson, Ariz., a small desert town 60 miles from the Mexico border, offering a deal.

Glenn Nichols, the Benson city manager, remembers the pitch.

"The gentleman that's the main thrust of this thing has a huge turquoise ring on his finger," Nichols said. "He's a great big huge guy and I equated him to a car salesman."

What he was selling was a prison for women and children who were illegal immigrants.

"They talk [about] how positive this was going to be for the community," Nichols said, "the amount of money that we would realize from each prisoner on a daily rate."

But Nichols wasn't buying. He asked them how would they possibly keep a prison full for years — decades even — with illegal immigrants?

"They talked like they didn't have any doubt they could fill it," Nichols said.

That's because prison companies like this one had a plan — a new business model to lock up illegal immigrants. And the plan became Arizona's immigration law.

Behind-The-Scenes Effort To Draft, Pass The Law

The law is being challenged in the courts. But if it's upheld, it requires police to lock up anyone they stop who cannot show proof they entered the country legally.

When it was passed in April, it ignited a fire storm. Protesters chanted about racial profiling. Businesses threatened to boycott the state.

Supporters were equally passionate, calling it a bold positive step to curb illegal immigration.

But while the debate raged, few people were aware of how the law came about.

NPR spent the past several months analyzing hundreds of pages of campaign finance reports, lobbying documents and corporate records. What they show is a quiet, behind-the-scenes effort to help draft and pass Arizona Senate Bill 1070 by an industry that stands to benefit from it: the private prison industry.

The law could send hundreds of thousands of illegal immigrants to prison in a way never done before. And it could mean hundreds of millions of dollars in profits to private prison companies responsible for housing them.

Arizona state Sen. Russell Pearce says the bill was his idea. He says it's not about prisons. It's about what's best for the country.

"Enough is enough," Pearce said in his office, sitting under a banner reading "Let Freedom Reign." "People need to focus on the cost of not enforcing our laws and securing our border. It is the Trojan horse destroying our country and a republic cannot survive as a lawless nation."

But instead of taking his idea to the Arizona statehouse floor, Pearce first took it to a hotel conference room.

It was last December at the Grand Hyatt in Washington, D.C. Inside, there was a meeting of a secretive group called the American Legislative Exchange Council. Insiders call it ALEC.

It's a membership organization of state legislators and powerful corporations and associations, such as the tobacco company Reynolds American Inc., ExxonMobil and the National Rifle Association. Another member is the billion-dollar Corrections Corporation of America — the largest private prison company in the country.

It was there that Pearce's idea took shape.

"I did a presentation," Pearce said. "I went through the facts. I went through the impacts and they said, 'Yeah.'"

Drafting The Bill

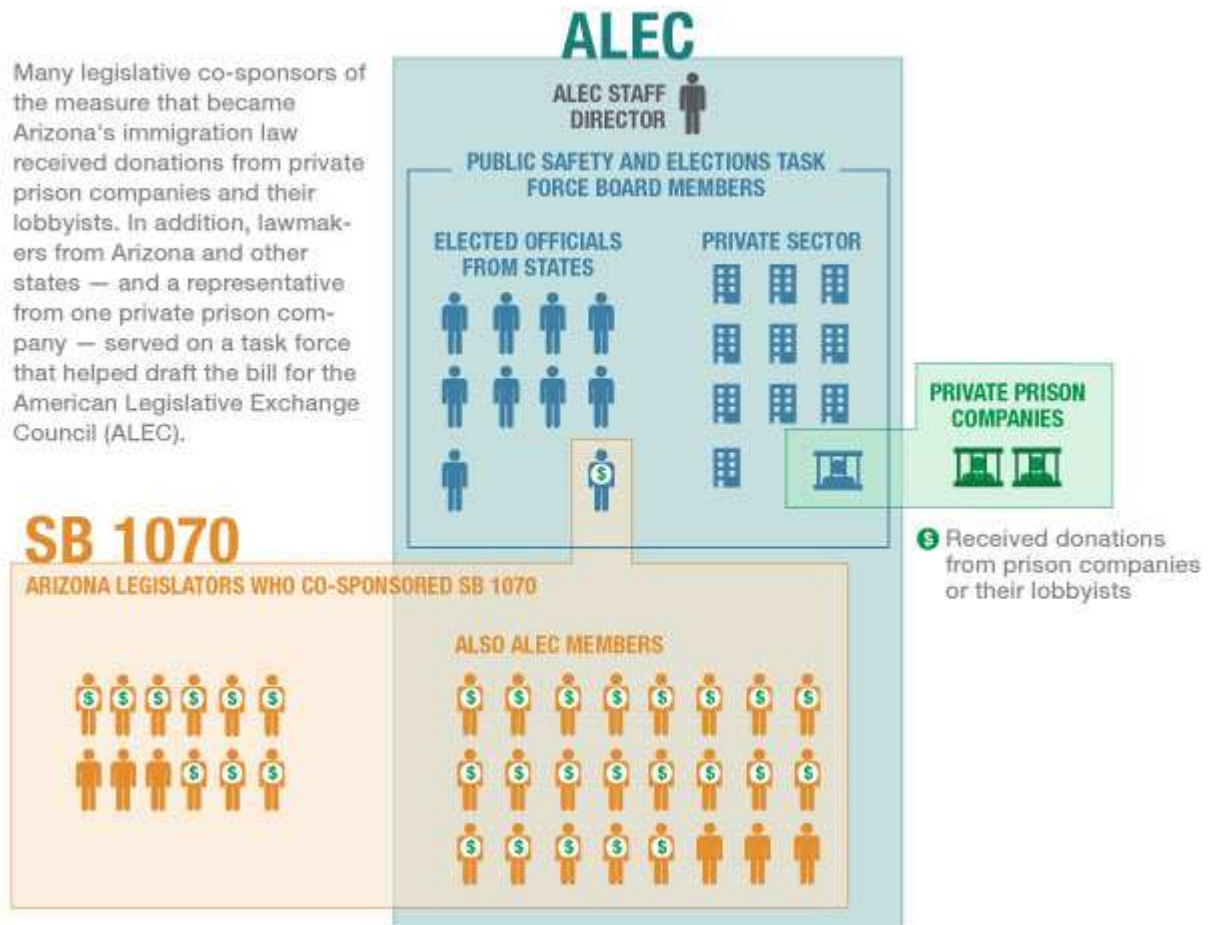
The 50 or so people in the room included officials of the Corrections Corporation of America, according to two sources who were there.

Pearce and the Corrections Corporation of America have been coming to these meetings for years. Both have seats on one of several of ALEC's boards.

And this bill was an important one for the company. According to Corrections Corporation of America reports reviewed by NPR, executives believe immigrant detention is their next big market. Last year, they wrote that they expect to bring in "a significant portion of our revenues" from Immigration and Customs Enforcement, the agency that detains illegal immigrants.

In the conference room, the group decided they would turn the immigration idea into a model bill. They discussed and debated language. Then, they voted on it.

Key Players That Helped Draft Arizona's Immigration Law



Source: NPR News Investigations

Credit: Stephanie D'Otreppe/NPR

"There were no 'no' votes," Pearce said. "I never had one person speak up in objection to this model legislation."

Four months later, that model legislation became, almost word for word, Arizona's immigration law.

They even named it. They called it the "Support Our Law Enforcement and Safe Neighborhoods Act."

"ALEC is the conservative, free-market orientated, limited-government group," said Michael Hough, who was staff director of the meeting.

Hough works for ALEC, but he's also running for state delegate in Maryland, and if elected says he plans to support a similar bill to Arizona's law.

Asked if the private companies usually get to write model bills for the legislators, Hough said, "Yeah, that's the way it's set up. It's a public-private partnership. We believe both sides, businesses and lawmakers should be at the same table, together."

Nothing about this is illegal. Pearce's immigration plan became a prospective bill and Pearce took it home to Arizona.

Campaign Donations

Pearce said he is not concerned that it could appear private prison companies have an opportunity to lobby for legislation at the ALEC meetings.

"I don't go there to meet with them," he said. "I go there to meet with other legislators."

Pearce may go there to meet with other legislators, but 200 private companies pay tens of thousands of dollars to meet with legislators like him.

As soon as Pearce's bill hit the Arizona statehouse floor in January, there were signs of ALEC's influence. Thirty-six co-sponsors jumped on, a number almost unheard of in the capitol. According to records obtained by NPR, two-thirds of them either went to that December meeting or are ALEC members.

That same week, the Corrections Corporation of America hired a powerful new lobbyist to work the capitol.

The prison company declined requests for an interview. In a statement, a spokesman said the Corrections Corporation of America, "unequivocally has not at any time lobbied — nor have we had any outside consultants lobby — on immigration law."

At the state Capitol, campaign donations started to appear.

Thirty of the 36 co-sponsors received donations over the next six months, from prison lobbyists or prison companies — Corrections Corporation of America, Management and Training Corporation and The Geo Group.

By April, the bill was on Gov. Jan Brewer's desk.

Brewer has her own connections to private prison companies. State lobbying records show two of her top advisers — her spokesman Paul Senseman and her campaign manager Chuck Coughlin — are former lobbyists for private prison companies. Brewer signed the bill — with the name of the legislation Pearce, the Corrections Corporation of America and the others in the Hyatt conference room came up with — in four days.

Brewer and her spokesman did not respond to requests for comment.

In May, The Geo Group had a conference call with investors. When asked about the bill, company executives made light of it, asking, "Did they have some legislation on immigration?"

After company officials laughed, the company's president, Wayne Calabrese, cut in.

"This is Wayne," he said. "I can only believe the opportunities at the federal level are going to continue apace as a result of what's happening. Those people coming across the border and getting caught are going to have to be detained and that for me, at least I think, there's going to be enhanced opportunities for what we do."

Opportunities that prison companies helped create.

(<http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=130833741>)

Week Six

Seeking Solutions

Goals

- To visualize what a just immigration policy would look like from a Unitarian Universalist (UU) perspective
- To plan next steps of participation in the social witness process

Learning Objectives

- Gain a broad understanding of immigration from a faith-based perspective, and from our UU tradition
- Consider ways in which we can achieve a policy on immigration that is in keeping with Unitarian Universalist principles

Handouts for Week Six

- 6.1 We Are One, by UUA President, Rev. Peter Morales
- 6.2 Chronological Summary of UUA Statements on Immigration
- 6.3 Liberation Theology
- 6.4 Interfaith Platform on Humane Immigration Reform
- 6.5 Who Is My Neighbor?

Workshop-at-a-Glance

1. 5" Chalice Lighting and Opening Reading
2. 10" Check-in
3. 15" Activity 1: Theology of Immigration
4. 15" Activity 2: Principles of Immigration Reform
5. 20" Activity 3: Who Are Our Neighbors?
6. 10" Next Steps
7. 10" Debrief
8. 5" Closing

Chalice Lighting and Opening Reading

Earth is the same
sky another.
Sky is the same
earth another.
From lake to lake,
Forest to forest"
Which tribe is mine?
—I ask myself—
Where's my place?
Perhaps I belong to the tribe
Of those who have none;
Or to the black sheep tribe;
Or to a tribe whose ancestors
come from the future:
A tribe on the horizon.
But if I have to belong to some
tribe
—I tell myself—
Make it a large tribe,
Make it a strong tribe,

One in which nobody
Is left out,
In which everybody,
For once and for all
Has a God-given place.
I'm not talking about a human
tribe.
I'm not talking about a planetary
tribe.
I'm not even talking about a
universal one.
I'm talking about a tribe you can't
talk about.
A tribe that's always been
But whose existence must yet be
proven.
A tribe that's always been
But whose existence
We can prove right now.

—Alberto Blanco (Translation by James Nolan), *Mi Tribu/ My Tribe*

Check-in

Participants are invited to share where they are spiritually/emotionally with respect to the class.

Facilitators should bring plenty of newsprint paper for all four exercises below:

Activity 1: Theology of Immigration

Based on the readings and one's own personal experiences/reflections, what are the theological/spiritual principles underlying a just approach to immigration? Do not go into specifics about policy here. We're talking about broad principles—for example, in the Jewish and Christian traditions adherents are called to welcome their neighbors.

Activity 2: Principles of Immigration Reform

Translating your theological/spiritual principles into public policy, what does the U.S. need to do with regards to immigration? If you need guidance, use the Interfaith Platform as a model, but feel free to adjust to better fit your principles from Activity 1.

Activity 3: Who Are Our Neighbors?

Participants share their research findings regarding immigrant communities in the area. If one or two groups come up repeatedly amongst the participants, that might indicate the group has a significant presence in the community.

Activity 4: Next Steps

This is the time to think about next steps. Is further study of some of the issue that have come up in order? Additional resources are available in Section II of the study guide that could help initiate another class or a covenant group. And/or perhaps people would like to pursue forming partnerships with an immigrant community in the neighborhood. And/or perhaps people would like to advocate for immigration reform. The UUA provides resources for advocacy, which are also in Section II of the study guide.

Debrief

Participants are invited to share anything that strongly moved them during the session.

Closing Reading and Extinguishing the Chalice

Go out into the highways and byways of America, your new country. Give the people . . . something of your new vision. You may possess only a small light, but uncover it, let it shine, use it in order to bring more light and understanding to the hearts and minds of men. Give them, not hell, but hope and courage. Do not push them deeper into their theological despair, but preach the kindness and everlasting love of God.

—John Murray, Universalist minister

Homework for the Weeks Beyond

To be determined by participants of this curriculum.

Further Study

To explore the topics covered in this session, as well as related topics, see the resources listed in [section II.F \(PDF, 7 pages\)](#) of the study guide.

Handout 6.1 - We Are One

by UUA President, Rev. Peter Morales

"We Are One" is excerpted from *A People So Bold*, a collection of essays on the future of Unitarian Universalist justice work published by Skinner House in December 2009.

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The hilly countryside of Chiapas is dotted everywhere with milpas, patches of corn. These milpas look nothing like the vast ocean of hybridized, fertilized, industrialized, subsidized corn that stretches from Nebraska to New York State. In Chiapas, the corn plants are farther apart, and the corn is mixed with beans and squash in an ancient, sustainable combination that produces a diet with all the essential amino acids. The corn is tended by hand, in little plots worked by individual families.

Chiapas is Mexico's southernmost state, bordering Guatemala. In both regions, impressive Mayan ruins dot the landscape and draw tourists. The descendants of that great civilization live today in abject poverty. The children are malnourished. Many cannot afford milk. Mayans are on the margins of society, living today, as they have for the past five hundred years, under an oppressive regime that denies their basic human rights.

My wife Phyllis and I traveled to Chiapas as part of a delegation sponsored by the Unitarian Universalist Service Committee. We met with people running nonprofit organizations, and we also met with Zapatista rebels struggling, with limited success, against centuries of oppression. They taught us about the intimate connections between the industrial corn of Iowa and the native corn in the milpas. Since the advent of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), U.S. corn has been changing the Mexican economy. The corn tortilla, the staple of the Mexican diet, especially among the poor, is now typically made with U.S. corn. As demand for ethanol for U.S. gas guzzlers inflates the price of U.S. corn, the price of tortillas has skyrocketed. A little-known part of those NAFTA agreements required Mexico to change its laws that permitted ejidos, large areas of land owned communally for generations. The moneyed classes can now buy up land long owned by peasant families.

The richest man in the world is a Mexican, Carlos Slim. Slim is in fat city, worth more than Bill Gates or Warren Buffett, and getting richer at an amazing rate. He enjoys his wealth in a country where millions of children have insufficient food, a woeful education system, and no health care. It is an old story, little different from that of Europe or the United States. With rural families living on small plots of land being forced to leave, Chiapas is now a leading exporter of people. As thousands of economic refugees flee Chiapas, others from Central America cross Chiapas on their way north. They are heading for jobs at luxurious beach resorts filled with Americans and Europeans, or for the slums of Mexico City. Some of the most adventurous risk takers head for la frontera, the newly militarized border that tries to separate desperate Mexicanos from jobs in the United States. Hundreds die trying to cross the desert, and now there are Anglo vigilantes

on the border attempting to “protect” America from the frightful prospect of more illegal immigrants. U.S. citizens are afraid, and their fear is stoked by reactionary ideologues and political opportunists in both major parties.

The illegal immigrants who are already here are afraid, too. There are about twelve million of them. They don’t know when a raid by federal authorities will break up their families. Children don’t know when their mother or father will be taken away. It happened not long ago in Greeley, Colorado. It is happening all over the country, and it is madness.

We live in a new America. My colleague Stan Perea calls it the America of the moo-shoo burrito and the Korean taco. California now has more people from minority populations than it has whites. Our country is now home to more Hispanics than African Americans. In most cities, the children entering the public schools speak more than seventy languages among them.

America was once defined by the movement of people who came to the east coast and moved westward. The new American story is of people moving north from countries to the south and moving to the west coast from countries in the Far East—such as Vietnam, Korea, and elsewhere.

In the case of the recent rapid increase in immigration from Mexico and Central America, most U.S. citizens tend to think we are somehow passive victims. These aliens are pouring over our border and must be stopped.

The truth is very different. Our economic policies, which disproportionately benefit the wealthy, are helping to create wrenching economic dislocations in Mexico, Guatemala, and Nicaragua. Many of the people trying to sneak into the United States were pushed out of their homes by U.S. policies.

I am not suggesting that our country does not need to control its borders, and I do not pretend to have all the policy answers. I do know this: We cannot pretend that we had nothing to do with the creation of this problem. I also know this: We are all connected. We are in this together.

~

Let us take a moment to get some historical perspective on our situation. Let us look at some major demographic events of the past five hundred years: The arrival of Europeans started a horrific pandemic in the Americas. It was worse than the plague in Europe and many times worse than AIDS. Native Americans had no resistance to the new diseases such as smallpox. Entire populations were wiped out. It was easy for Europeans to move west across North America because the Indian population had largely died off. The Native American population was a tiny fraction of what it had been in 1491.

Another major demographic move, of course, was the importation of African slaves. Slavery became the basis of an economy producing cotton and tobacco for an

international market. The legacy of slavery, racism, and oppression still casts its shadow across America.

A hundred and seventy years ago, the slave-based economy with huge plantations growing commodities for export expanded westward across the South, but then it hit a border. What is now southeast Texas is prime land for growing cotton. The trouble was that it was part of Mexico. The border was porous, though, and undocumented Anglos poured across, bringing their slaves. They encountered another problem: Slavery was illegal in Mexico. The Anglo immigrants soon fomented a rebellion aimed at legalizing slavery. This is not radical left-wing revisionist history; this is the standard account of academic historians, and the version told on the University of Texas website. The fact that the white Texan revolt against Mexico was founded on the desire to extend black slavery has somehow never filtered down to what we teach in elementary schools. After winning their quick little war of independence, Texas joined the union as a slave state. Sadly, James Bowie, Davy Crockett, and Sam Houston were not the freedom-loving heroes we were once led to believe.

We need to see our present situation in its historical context. The border between the United States and Mexico was created to make space for slavery. We are building fences and guard towers along that border to keep Mexicans from reentering land that was taken from them. Of course, the Mexican elite, mostly of European descent, were not exactly blameless: The land that undocumented Americans stole from them was land they had previously stolen from Native Americans. It is easy to determine who has a legal right to be here, but who has a moral right to be here?

As a religious people who affirm human compassion, advocate for human rights, and seek justice, we must never make the mistake of confusing a legal right with a moral right. The forced removal of Native Americans from their land and onto reservations was legal. The importation and sale of African slaves was legal. South African apartheid was legal. The confiscation of the property of Jews at the beginning of the Nazi regime was legal. The Spanish Inquisition was legal. Crucifying Jesus was legal. Burning Michael Servetus at the stake for his unitarian theology was legal. The fact that something is legal does not cut much ethical ice. The powerful have always used the legal system to oppress the powerless.

It is true that as citizens we should respect the rule of law. More importantly, though, our duty is to create laws founded on our highest sense of justice, equity, and compassion. Loud voices urge us to choose fear, denial, reactionary nationalism, and racism. We must resist and choose the better way urged by every major religious tradition. We must choose the path of compassion and hope. We must choose a path that is founded on the recognition that we are connected, that we are all in this together.

These are the teachings of every great tradition. At the core of the teachings of Jesus is the conviction that we are all one. We are all God's children, and we are all equal. We are supposed to care for one another. Jesus taught his followers that an act of kindness to the most humble human being was the equivalent of performing the same for Jesus.

The prophet Muhammad taught that the tribal divisions among the Arabian people were wrong. The symbols of those tribal divisions were the legion of tribal gods, and Muhammad told the people that these gods were false, that there is only one God. We are united, and we owe our allegiance to the one creator.

Buddhism teaches that if we stop and really pay attention, we will realize that the things we think separate us are an illusion. Our connections are ultimately real, not our divisions.

We find the same message in every tradition: We are one. We are connected. We are brothers and sisters. If we truly accept that we are all part of a greater whole, that what unites and transcends us is ultimately more important than our illusion of individuality, how might that guide us? If we accept that compassion (literally “to suffer with”) is the manifestation of realizing that we are one, what are the implications? What would our community and our state and our nation do if they were guided by the finest aspirations of humanity’s religions? What would you and I do if we were guided by these very same ideas, as expressed in our Unitarian Universalist Principles? What future might we build if we created policies guided by our notions of justice, equity, and compassion in human relations?

I do not have all the policy answers on immigration or the related issues of public education, health care, and the economy. I do know this: Breaking up poor working families who have lived among us for years does not feel like justice, equity, and compassion in action. Refusing minimal health services to young children does not feel like the way we should treat members of our human family. Having our police forces profile brown people does not feel like breaking down the walls of tribalism. Creating a huge wall, complete with barbed wire, across hundreds of miles of border does not feel neighborly.

There must be a better way, and you and I must help build it. Barbed wire is not the answer. More border guards and more deportations are not the answer. Paranoia and panic will solve nothing.

We must remember that we are all immigrant stock, every single one of us living on this continent. Even Native Americans at one time immigrated here from Asia.

We must also acknowledge that we helped to create the situation in which displaced people look to find a home here. America has already been transformed by the latest waves of immigration. Our children and grandchildren are going to live in a multicultural society—a society of moo-shoo burritos, egg roll tacos, and whole wheat tortillas. We need not be afraid of that multicultural society. Fear leads to violence and repression.

Instead, let us embrace the possibilities before us. Let us be guided by love and hope. Let our actions emerge from the deep conviction that people from Mexico and Korea and Canada and Vietnam are ultimately part of our extended family. Surely, religious people

who have learned to embrace the wisdom of Judaism, Christianity, humanism, Islam, and Eastern religions can lead the way. We are people who have always affirmed human diversity. We have always looked to the future and seen new possibilities. We must do so again. Let us be the people who break down the arbitrary barriers that divide us from them. We are one, and love and hope will guide us. Let us, together with all our brothers and sisters, build a new way.

Handout 6.2 – Chronological Summary of UUA Statements on Immigration

The following is a chronological summary of Social Justice Statements, democratically passed via our social witness process, that pertain to immigration, migratory workers, and foreign nationals. They represent the sum body of what our congregations have said about immigration since the inception of our association.

The 2000s

A 2004 Statement on Civil Liberties affirmed the Association's commitment to advocate for the right to due process of immigrants, refugees and foreign nationals. In 2006 and 2007, the General Assembly passed Actions of Immediate Witness to support immigrant communities, including a call for an immediate moratorium on federal raids and resulting deportations.

[Civil Liberties](#)

Statement of Conscience, 2004

[Support of the United Farm Workers' Boycott of Gallo Wines](#)

Action of Immediate Witness, 2005

[Support Immigrant Justice](#)

Action of Immediate Witness, 2006

[Support Immigrant Families—Stop the ICE \(Immigration and Customs Enforcement Raids\)](#)

Action of Immediate Witness, 2007

[End Present-day Slavery in the Fields](#)

Action of Immediate Witness, 2008

The 1990s

In 1992, the Association passed a General Resolution to promote the investigation and monitoring of the practices, standards, and care at facilities housing children detained by Immigration and Naturalization Services. A 1995 Resolution of Immediate Witness demanded a humane solution to the complex social issues related to the undocumented population, and urged individual Unitarian Universalists (UUs) to serve those directly harmed and others affected by any legislation which would deny human beings basic services.

[Children Held by the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service](#)

General Resolution, 1992

[A Call to Conscious, Humane Treatment of Immigrants](#)

Resolution of Immediate Witness, 1995

The 1980s

In the 1980s, many Unitarian Universalist congregations were actively involved in the Sanctuary movement. The 1980, 1984, 1985, and 1989 General Assemblies of the UUA endorsed sanctuary for refugees, and the UUA Board of Trustees established a fund to support individuals seeking sanctuary and to aid churches providing sanctuary.

[Refugee Assistance](#)

General Resolution, 1980

[Cease Support of Government in Violation of Human Rights in Central America and Elsewhere](#)

General Resolution, 1983

[Concerning Central American Refugees](#)

General Resolution, 1984

[Sanctuary and Government Surveillance](#)

General Resolution, 1985

[Sanctuary](#)

Business Resolution, 1985

[Sanctuary Fund](#)

General Resolution, 1986

[The Travel Rights of HIV-Infected People](#)

Resolution of Immediate Witness, 1989

[The Refugee Internment Camp at Harlingen, Texas](#)

Resolution of Immediate Witness, 1989

The 1970s

Throughout the 1970s the UUA supported immigrant farm worker campaigns.

[Support of UFW Boycott](#)

General Resolution, 1974

[UU Migrant Ministry](#)

Business Resolution, 1975

[Farm Worker Initiatives](#)

General Resolution, 1976

The 1960s

At the first General Assembly of the newly formed Unitarian Universalist Association in 1961, a General Resolution was passed in support of migratory workers. This was followed by resolutions in 1963 and 1966 on immigration reform and agricultural workers, respectively.

[Migratory Workers](#)

General Resolution, 1961

[Immigration](#)

General Resolution, 1963

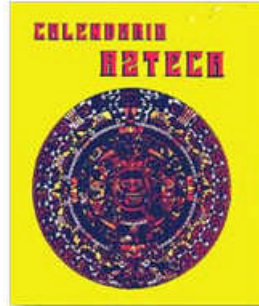
[Agricultural Employment](#)

General Resolution, 1966

(<http://www.uua.org/socialjustice/issues/immigration/reform/128803.shtml>)

CENTER FOR SOCINIAN STUDIES

BIO PHILOSOPHY HUMANISM SOCINIAN



LIBERATION THEOLOGY: RELIGIOUS RESPONSE TO SOCIAL PROBLEMS. A SURVEY

Published in Humanism and Social Issues. Anthology of Essays. M. Hillar and H.R. Leuchtag, eds., American Humanist Association, Houston, 1993, pp. 35-52.

Marian Hillar

INTRODUCTION

In the late 60s a new social and intellectual movement appeared on the Latin American continent. The movement is rooted in the Christian faith and Scriptures and seeks its ideological superstructure based on the religious reflection in close association with the Church organization(1). It is typical not only for Latin America but for the entire Third World and any social situation of oppression.

Members of the religious orders are committed to the vow of poverty and do not own property individually, nevertheless they enjoy a standard of living and security that separates them from the daily agony of the poor. The question then arose for some of them what is the ideal of poverty in a situation where most are suffering dehumanizing poverty, and what should the Church and Christians do about it?

Liberation theology thus emerged as a result of a systematic, disciplined reflection on Christian faith and its implications. The theologians who formulated liberation theology usually do not teach in universities and seminaries, they are a small group of Catholic or Protestant clergy and have direct contact with the grass-roots groups as advisors to priests, sisters or pastors. Since they spend at least some time working directly with the poor themselves(2), the questions they deal with arise out of their direct contact with the poor. Liberation theology interprets the Bible and the key Christian doctrines through the experiences of

the poor. It also helps the poor to interpret their own faith in a new way. It deals with Jesus's life and message. The poor learn to read the Scripture in a way that affirms their dignity and self worth and their right to struggle together for a more decent life. The poverty of people is largely a product of the way society is organized therefore liberation theology is a "critique of economic structures". Phillip Berryman described the liberation theology in the following terms:

"Liberation theology is:

1. An interpretation of Christian faith out of the suffering, struggle, and hope of the poor;
2. A critique of society and the ideologies sustaining it;
3. A critique of the activity of the church and of Christians from the angle of the poor".

NORTH AND SOUTH

Unlike in North America the Catholic Church was a major part of the machinery of conquest and colonization in Latin America. It all began with a decree from pope Alexander VI who, in 1492, divided the world not yet under the Christian rule between the Spanish and Portuguese monarchs and conferred to them the right and duty to propagate the Catholic faith. The conquest was done with unbelievable cruelty and complete disregard to any human decency to say nothing of the presumed ethical values of Christianity. There were only sporadic individual protests from some missionaries of conquest like Bartolomé de las Casas in Hispaniola (XVIth century) or from the bishop of Nicaragua, Antonio de Valdivieso (stabbed to death in 1550). The conquistadores imposed a model of Christendom where civil and religious authorities were connected - religious authority being a ruling one and the civil authority executing the orders of the religious one. Clergy remained predominantly in the cities and towns serving primarily the ruling class (e.g., in schools) and enjoyed all the comforts provided by a privileged status and the ownership of land. During the independence movement in the 19th century, bishops sided with the Spanish crown, and popes made pronouncements against the struggle for independence(3).

The social and political structure imposed on the continent had its roots in the ecclesial doctrines formulated by Thomas Aquinas. In such a religiously dominated society there was no room for innovation, for social mobility, for free and spontaneous thinking, for democracy and democratic institutions. Society represented a rigid, hierarchical, feudal structure fixed once for ever, resembling the ecclesiastical institution. All this was quite opposite to the society developed in the North.

SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS ROOTS OF LIBERATION THEOLOGY

The theology of liberation, though explicitly mentioned for the first time in 1968 in a speech by a Peruvian theologian delivered in the fishing port of Chimbote, has roots in religious and social movements that swept the Latin American continent in the 50s. Catholic bishops were concerned with the increasing influence of Protestant missionaries, the growing secularization of the population and the spreading of communist ideas (these were topics of the first plenary meeting of CELAM - Latin American Bishops' Conference - in 1955 in Rio de Janeiro). Church problems were aggravated by the lack of clergy to serve poor people in the country and the visible complicity of the Church with an unjust social order. The social situation in Latin American countries gave rise to revolutionary movements in Cuba, Venezuela, Guatemala, and Peru. In Brazil, peasants became militant and the radicalized middle-class people went to work directly with the poor. A Brazilian educator, Paulo Freire(4), developed a new method for teaching literacy to the masses of peasants through the process of "conscientização", consciousness-raising. All these movements and problems arose directly from the conditions of abject poverty, how 70% of the population lived. In a socio-economic analysis of the structure of Latin American society, some Christians and missionaries began to utilize Marxist tools (5) without, of course, embracing the philosophy of dialectical materialism.

The missionaries raised questions of the theological significance of a social revolution. On the religious plane, a strong impetus for changes and new vision of the world came from the documents of the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965)(6). Latin American bishops insisted that the final documents should deal

with the issues of development and human progress as a historical imperative. One statement of a Latin American bishop is especially significant: "Authentic socialism is Christianity lived to the full, in basic equality and with a fair distribution of goods" (7). Father Camilo Torres exemplifies this new attitude. He realized the need for a United Front linking together peasants, workers, slum dwellers, and professionals for basic changes. He expressed the need of revolution for implementing the fundamental changes in the economic, social and political structures. The essence of revolution was the removal of power from the privileged to the poor majorities. Revolution could be peaceful if the privileged elites did not put up a violent resistance, and the Christians should become involved. He sacrificed his own life in the struggle in 1966. On the international plane, social scientists emphasized that underdevelopment was structurally conditioned by the exploitation by foreign economic powers maintaining Latin America in a system of dependency on hegemonic centers. Such a system of oppression calls for ethical indignation. The encyclical of pope Paul VI "Populorum Progressio" (1967) (8) critiqued the international economic order, explicitly condemned the capitalistic system as presently known for the social evils and called for development through consensus rather than struggle:

"[It is a system] ... which considers profit as the key motive for economic progress, competition as the supreme law of economics, and private ownership of the means of production as an absolute right that has no limits and carries no corresponding social obligation".

"We know ... that revolutionary uprising - save where there is manifest long-standing tyranny which would do great damage to fundamental personal rights and dangerous harm to the common good of the country - produces new injustices, throws more elements out of balance and brings on new disasters".

The Magna Charta of the new pastoral approach to social problems became the documents of the second plenary meeting of CELAM convened in Medellín (9), Colombia (1968). They called for the Christians to be involved in the transformation of society; denounced institutionalized violence and named it a "situation of sin"; called for renovating societal changes; called for the defense of human rights; called for consciousness-raising evangelization and spoke of "comunidades de base" - lay-led groups of Christians as basic organic units of society and pastoral activity. The documents often used the term liberation and spoke of the interrelationship between liberation and evangelization:

"The Church ... has the duty to proclaim the liberation of millions of human beings, many of whom are her own children ... This is not foreign to evangelization "

The general assumption was that basic changes would come through a conversion on the part of the privileged and powerful. Revolutionaries were defined as those who sought radical changes and who believed that people should chart their own course and not as those who were using violence.

BASIC PRINCIPLES OF THEOLOGY OF LIBERATION

Facing enormous problems in the society, some theologians realized that the traditional theology concerned with religious dogmas and abstract religious concepts lost any relevance. It became an abstract speculation removed from the original spirit of the Gospel message and out of touch with real life. On the social level it served the rich. They realized that if one really cared for and believed in the Christian ideals, one had to answer the question: how to be a Christian in a concrete historical situation? The basic concerns in Latin America shifted thus from "whether one can believe what Christianity affirms to what relevance Christianity has in the struggle for a more just world." (10) Out of such considerations was born "liberation theology," outlined for the first time by a Peruvian theologian Gustavo Gutierrez a few weeks before the Medellín conference. Gutierrez (11) defined theology as a "critical reflection on praxis in the light of the word of God." Liberation theology has two basic principles: first, it recognizes a need for liberation from any kind of oppression - political, economic, social, sexual, racial, religious; second, it asserts that the theology must grow out of the basic Christian communities and should not be imposed from above, that is, from the infallible source book or from the magisterium of an infallible Church. It explores the theological meaning of human activities:

1. It interprets Christian faith out of the suffering, struggle, and hope of the poor;

2. It critiques society and ideologies sustaining it, pretends not to lay down specific rules for how to struggle for justice, but stresses that a responsible commitment with class conflict is an expression of love for one's neighbor. Through solidarity with the poor theologians of liberation advocate the transcendence from class division to a new type of society;

3. It critiques the activity of the Church from the angle of the poor.

The main theme, liberation, is considered at three levels of meaning which are interconnected. At the social and political level liberation is an expression of aspirations of the oppressed classes and peoples. This liberation emphasizes the conflict in the economical, social and political process between the oppressed and the oppressors. At the human level the liberation is conceived as a historical process in which people develop consciously their own destiny through the social changes. At the religious, salvific level the liberation means liberation from sin, the ultimate source of all deviation from fraternity, of all injustice and oppression. It brings man back into communion with God and fellow men, which is the radical, total liberation. These three processes cannot be separated, they form a unique, complex process ("proceso unico y complejo"). For the first time sin was formulated in social terms as a concrete social act and not in traditional way as an abstract, and even an allegoric personification in the person of satan, or at best, a personal act. For the first time the religious, salvific plan was explicitly linked to the human experience in a society.

PRIORITY OF PRAXIS OVER THEORY

Direct source of liberation theology was the personal experience of many priests, pastoral workers and sisters who in the 60s made an effort and came close to the poor. It grew out of their reflections. E.g. Brazilian theologian Clodovis Boff spends half a year working among the poor in the state of Acre.(12) Theologians of liberation are thus "organic intellectuals" who can bridge the sharp class barrier in Latin American society. Gutierrez and other liberation theologians (13) insist that theology is a secondary reflection, the first commitment being the work among the poor. The shift is from the abstract speculation to living one's faith. This emphasis on the primacy of praxis over the abstract contrasts with the Catholic orthodoxy. Traditionally, priests preached resignation to "God's will" in a way that it reinforced the belief that the present distribution of wealth and power comes from God. Peasant society indoctrinated this way tended to internalize a fixed and even fatalistic view of the universe with symbols and rationalizations.

Gutierrez (14) found three meanings of poverty: the dehumanizing lack of material goods, the openness to God and commitment to solidarity. The Bible understands material poverty as an evil resulting from the oppression of some people by others. Therefore the Medellín document (15) suggests that a poor Church denounces the unjust lack of goods in this world and the sin that causes it, preaches and lives spiritual poverty as an attitude of spiritual openness to God and commits itself to poverty. Voluntary poverty is considered an act of love and liberation, of solidarity with the poor and those who suffer injustice. This commitment calls for giving up the relatively comfortable life and going to a barrio or a rural area to live with the people. By this act the clergy still would not become poor themselves. Next they have to develop a model of activities based on the work of Paulo Freire. The encyclical "Redemptor Hominis" (16) is pervaded by the perspective of liberation:

"Injustice, the exploitation of some human beings by others, the exploitation of the human being by the state, institutions, and mechanisms of economic systems, must be called by their name."

"... liberation must be inserted into the entire contemporary reality of human life."

"... liberation is a faith reality, one of the basic biblical themes, deeply inscribed in the salvific mission of Christ, in the work of redemption, and in his teaching."

The praxis of liberation theology finds its embodiment in the Christian ecclesial base communities. They are small, lay-led groups of Christians that see themselves as part of the Church and work together to improve their lot and establish a more just society. Base communities were a result of pastoral problems related to the lack of clergy in the country. They had their antecedents in the activity of Catholic Action in

Belgium and in "cursillos de Cristianidad" - a kind of weekend retreats - in Spain. In Latin America they combined the social and educational function with the pastoral activity. Their primary motivation is religious based on popular religiosity embodying the cults of the saints and Virgin Mary. (This popular religiosity may be an uncorrupted illustration of Karl Barth's definition of religion: all religions in history represent human effort to reach God and in fact are forms of idolatry). They were modeled on the work of Paulo Freire. They include several activities like teaching peasants to read and write, organize self-help, and raising their self-consciousness(17). Slowly some clergy adopted this method for "reevangelization of adults" meaning by this term spreading of the message of Christ to its fullness. Such evangelization covered the topics like sources of poverty and social injustice, community questions in human relations, religious tenets and assertions etc., all this in close connection with the Bible. Base communities have an enormous impact on society. They constitute the initial step in raising the consciousness of the people by giving them a broad perspective on their role and place in the society, they help people to project their vision of life and motivate them for involvement. Such communities develop a sense of solidarity within the group; generate mutual aid and support; they serve as a training ground for the experience of democracy and direct their social and political actions.

As a whole, these communities do not fit into the traditional vertical, hierarchical authority system of the Catholic Church. At some point the powerful and the Church hierarchy itself saw the community as a threat to its domination (18) and used intimidation and violence against them. However, there is no way now to turn the clock back, therefore some bishops opted to include base communities in the overall ecclesial structure and subordinate them to their rule and control as a cell in their organization. The conclusions of the Medellín conference were confirmed by CELAM meeting in Puebla (1979) (19):

"We see the growing gap between rich and poor as a scandal and a contradiction to Christian existence. The luxury of a few becomes an insult to the wretched poverty of the vast masses".

"Analyzing this situation more deeply, we discover that this poverty is not a passing phase. Instead it is the product of economic, social, and political situations and structures, though there are also other causes for the state of misery. In many instances this state of poverty within our countries finds its origin and support in mechanisms which, because they are impregnated with materialism rather than any authentic humanism, create a situation on the international level where the rich get richer at the expense of the poor who get ever poorer".

It was a great victory for the theologians of liberation when the Puebla conference adopted the vocabulary and the themes of liberation theology.

HISTORY AS A FOCUS OF THEOLOGY

The liberating message of the Gospel does not identify any social form as just. It permeates the total historical realization and places it in a broader perspective of the radical salvation. Only when the Gospel message is not implemented in life then it becomes inevitable to search for an ideology that would justify a determined social situation. For believers, therefore, the evangelization is liberating since it announces the radical liberation that includes the transformation of historical and political conditions in which they live. But without considering the social and political reality, the analysis would lack the depth and would fall into another extreme of spiritual reductionism equally erroneous, according to the theologians of the liberation theology. For many theologians appeals to eschatological "beyond" have no relevance, they must be rooted in the historical present or rejected.

In the theological literature one can find frequent references and allusions to Marxism and Marx, in the social and economical analysis. It does not mean the acceptance of marxism, and especially, of course, the concept of life, its philosophy to the exclusion of the Christian faith. Some go so far as to affirm that there is no systematic theology in North America today without the analysis of Marx.

In the realm of international relations the theologians of liberation adopt, in a somewhat naïve and simplistic way, the dependence theory which maintains that the underdeveloped countries were set up as main producers of raw materials and agricultural products by an international division of labor (20). It entails also the political dependence. Medellín Conference (1968) and Secretariat General of Celam (1973) accepted the dependence as a fact. "Nos referimos aquí, particularmente, a las consecuencias que

entreña para nuestros países su dependencia de un centro de poder económico, en torno al cual gravitan. De allí resulta que nuestras naciones, con frecuencia, no son dueñas de sus bienes ni de sus decisiones económicas. Como es obvio, esto no deja de tener sus incidencias en lo político, dada la interdependencia que existe entre ambos campos." And: "... la dependencia parece como un hecho ... sobre ese hecho se elabora una teoría que esta en búsqueda, que se critica a sí misma ... La teología de la liberación tiene en cuenta la teoría de la dependencia y es imposible, al mismo tiempo, no tener en cuenta la teoría de la dependencia. Y la tiene en cuenta con su sentido crítico, sin embargo, la teología de la liberación debe ser más atenta a estas variaciones y a estas críticas en la teoría de la dependencia, evitar generalización, enriquecerse con otro tipo de análisis y de niveles." (21)

READING THE BIBLE

Reading the Bible and interpreting it from the viewpoint of the poor is an essential element in the theology of liberation (22). Without that religious aspect, the theology of liberation would be just an extension of social analysis. A few examples will give a clear idea of what is involved in here. In the story of Genesis, creationism is not an issue. The peasant masses are able to appreciate the poetical account of creation better than anyone else since it deals with the objects of their everyday experience. Liberation theology stresses the goodness of creation, the dignity of the poor as God's image and their dominion over the earth and their rights to its fruits (it cannot escape in this analysis that only few own the land - "tierra"). Sin assumes social dimensions in the story of Cain and Abel and is not rooted in the story of Adam and Eve (the traditional basis of the abstract and mythical concept of the sin). The story of Exodus becomes a prototype of liberation constituting a basic paradigm of God's saving action. Little attention is given to the miraculous, the emphasis being put on the oppressive rule and liberation. Prophets and prophecies are seen as conscientizers of the people. Christ is a figure representing struggle, death, and vindication - in short - liberation:

"The spirit of the Lord is upon me; therefore, he has anointed me. He has sent me to bring glad tidings to the poor, to proclaim liberty to captives, recovery of sight to the blind and release to prisoners, to announce a year of favor from the Lord." (Luke 4:18-19)

No doubt this reads like a social manifesto! Jesus himself lived like a poor, in real material poverty, not a spiritual one. His criterion of a just life was practical material aid for one's neighbor! Jesus made enemies by denouncing the organized and ritualized religion of his time that was not committed to the love of one's neighbor. He was executed by the order of the Church authority that felt threatened in its organization and power. The New Testamental communities of the faithful are seen as the first "comunidades de base". How revealing this reading of the Bible is in the light of the fact that the Catholic Church also felt that its power was threatened by the base communities and objected to that aspect of the theology of liberation. It did not hesitate to use intimidation and silencing on the most prominent expounder of liberation theology, Leonardo Boff (23). Also as an excuse for persecution of the theologians of liberation the Church hierarchy used their presumed espousal of the Marxist doctrines. Liberation theology is thus based on the Bible. However, Bible is not taken literally, but symbolically as a sign.

METHODOLOGY

From the discussion presented we deduce three basic planes of operation or mediation of liberation theology (24):

1. The socio-analytical i.e., the perception of social reality. In this context it is the condemnation of the capitalistic system as the source of evils (explicitly expressed in the quoted fragment of "Populorum Progressio");
2. The hermeneutic i.e., the theological reading of social reality in the light of faith based on the Bible. Leonardo and Clodovis Boff (25) succinctly formulated it in this way:

"... Faith helps the Christian endorse and support those historical movements that have a greater affinity with the ideals of the gospel. Today, for example, we perceive that the Christian ideal is closer to socialism than to capitalism. It is not a matter of creating a Christian socialism. It is a matter of being

able to say that the socialist system, when actually carried out in reality, enables Christians better to live the humanitarian and divine ideals of their faith";

3. The pastoral service, the praxis i.e. search for the viable avenues for the praxis and embodiment of the theology of liberation in pastoral activity. Again we find a formulation of it in the Boffs' work:

"... Church has the duty to act as agent of liberation. It must attempt to articulate its words, its catechesis, its liturgy, its community action, and its interventions with established authority, in the direction of liberation."

CONCLUSIONS

The analysis of the social situation by concerned Church workers leads to the formulation of a social theory and provides a tool for liberation theology. The social theory becomes dialectical if it envisions the possibility of a systematic change. Liberation theology too opts for the social changes. Often the Marxist analysis is selected as the best suited tool to describe the socio-economic situation.

The Church hierarchy itself has a difficulty in choosing either the socialist or the capitalistic system, both with their advantages and limitations, as the model to be propagated for current economic structures.

Interesting is that throughout all the deliberations and sincerity of the theologians of liberation, not a single word was said about the disparity between the overgrowth of population and the economic growth in countries with endemic poverty.

In the realm of international relations the theology of liberation adopts, not with a certain naïveté, after certain Church pronouncements, the dependence theory which maintains that the underdeveloped countries were set up as main producers of raw materials and agricultural products by an international division of labor.

The main theme of the theology of liberation - liberation - is understood as a break with the present order, an integral development, and an embracing of its three levels of meaning (Gutierrez) (26):

1. an aspiration of the poor and liberation from oppression;
2. gradual expansion of freedom and actualization of the ability of human beings to take charge of their own destiny;
3. on the religious level, attainment of freedom of Christ as a communion with God and with other human beings.

The liberation thus is a complex process and for a liberation theologian it has human, historical and political dimensions of salvation. For an atheist, agnostic or Marxist, the liberation process has a purely historical sense and nothing else. Salvation is the artificial transcendent dimension of liberation. The traditional Catholic view was that our earthly life was a transitory phase to the way of heaven, treated as a trial. This tradition is reversed by the theology of liberation which asserts that there is a continuity between the temporal process and ultimate transcendence. The Church and Christians should be involved in human history - the one human history where people are shaping their destiny! The theology of liberation says that politics is the most important dominant dimension today. After the Medellín meeting, the reactionary forces mounted an offensive against the new way of thinking. The attack came from the CIA and conservative, traditional circles of the Church. Bishop Alfonso Trujillo and Belgian Jesuit Roger Vekemans organized a campaign and eventually bishop Trujillo became elected the secretary of the CELAM. The encyclical of Paul VI "Octogesima Adveniens" (27) (1971) suggested caution and restraint. At the same time repression against progressive clergy and archbishop Helder Camara, later also against Gustavo Gutierrez, Leonardo Boff, and others (28), was instigated by the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith. During the preparation for the CELAM conference in Puebla, the preparatory document was rejected by the conservative bishops. However, the final document was accepted upon the insistence of the Latin American bishops. The document is rather inconclusive, and tries to replace the liberation

theology terminology. In 1973, Trilateral Commission was instituted in the U.S., primarily as a means to making imperial domination function more smoothly under the cover of the advocacy of human rights and the ideology of national security (29). The Church hierarchy shows essentially a devious character. It claims not to be involved in politics, however, it sides explicitly with one side only depending on the convenience of the situation. In a new situation in the modern world and the new Church-State relationship, the Church is losing control over societies. This new situation is sometimes defined as the end of Christendom understood as the unity of Church and State. The Church therefore feels threatened and some members of its hierarchy are searching for a new justification of its existence.

Liberation theology may be the solution. It happens that the Marxist analysis serves heuristically to discern the evil of the social injustice and pose the questions. Some see the convergence between the Marxist analysis and the original Christian ideals. Both ideologies are striving for a utopia, one for a classless society, the other for a Kingdom of God. Thus Marxist socio-economical analysis is fully vindicated in liberation theology. Traditionally, the Church claimed to be the Kingdom of God. Liberation theology redresses the errors of the Church, reminding it to serve the Kingdom of God, but understood as an earthly affair. Its service should consist of the ongoing humanization of the human realm at every level and in every situation.

The theology of liberation is not unique to Central and South America. Parallel movements exist in Africa and Asia and in various cultures with various religions or ideologies. They represent a reaction against the European and North American theological establishment. In Asian cultures, people talk about "liberation both human and cosmic" which represents a struggle for a full humanity. The foundation is cosmic religion - the attitude of all human beings vis-à-vis Nature. Non-Christian religions do not envision the ultimate reality as a "personal being", therefore are metatheistic or nontheistic. The starting point for collaboration between the Christians and non-Christians is liberation. (30)

As the Protestant Reformation began as a revolt against corrupt practices in the Roman Catholic Church stressing the personal convictions and was more in tune with the modern age than Roman Catholicism, so the liberation theology is also a manifestation of a new worldwide movement for human emancipation. It constitutes a new, timely phenomenon and strives to implement the full realization of a human being in harmony with the Nature and for the believer, in harmony with the original Christian message.

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Interfaith Platform on Humane Immigration Reform

As our diverse faith traditions teach us to welcome our brothers and sisters with love and compassion—regardless of their place of birth—we call on the new Administration and 111th Congress to enact humane and equitable immigration reform in 2009.

We call for immigration reform because each day in our congregations, service programs, health-care facilities, and schools we witness the human consequences of a broken and outdated system. We see the exploitation of undocumented workers and the plight of separated families, as well as the escalation of community fear due to indiscriminate raids and local police acting as federal immigration agents. Humane immigration reform would help put an end to this suffering, which offends the dignity of all human beings.

The Hebrew Bible tells us: "The strangers who sojourn with you shall be to you as the natives among you, and you shall love them as yourself; for you were strangers in the land of Egypt" (Leviticus 19:33-34). In the New Testament, Jesus tells us to welcome the stranger, for "what you do to the least of my brethren, you do unto me" (Matthew 25:40). The Qur'an tells us that we should "do good to...those in need, neighbors who are near, neighbors who are strangers, the companion by your side, the wayfarer that you meet" (4:36). The Hindu Taittiriya Upanishad tells us: "The guest is a representative of God" (1.11.2).

Therefore, we call on the new Administration and 111th Congress to commit to:

Uphold family unity as a priority of all immigration policies

Recognizing the importance of families to the creation of healthy individuals and strong communities, we call on the new Administration and Congress to 1) expeditiously reunite immigrant families separated due to lengthy visa backlogs; 2) revise family preference categories and per-country caps to prioritize family unity; and 3) remove bars to reentry and adjustment of status for individuals seeking to reunite with their family members. Attempts to devalue the family, such as denying birthright citizenship to the children of immigrants or placing family-based and employment-based visa applicants in competition with each other on a point-based or other system, must be rejected in order to maintain and promote family unity.

Create a process for undocumented immigrants to earn their legal status and eventual citizenship

We urge the Administration and Congress to enact immigration reform that allows undocumented immigrants and their families to earn lawful permanent residency upon the satisfaction of reasonable criteria, with a pathway to citizenship. The workability of such a program should not be hindered by overly punitive criteria, such as mandating that immigrants leave the country or pay exorbitant fees, or by making the process conditional upon the implementation of enforcement measures. Communities and congregations around the country are prepared to provide legal services to those eligible, as people of faith are committed to an effective and humane system that keeps families together and values the dignity of our friends and neighbors.

Protect workers and provide efficient channels of entry for new migrant workers

We call for an expansion of legal avenues for workers who seek to migrate to the United States to work in a safe, legal, and orderly manner. Their rights must be fully protected, including the ability to bring their families with them, travel as needed, change their place of employment, and apply for lawful permanent residency and eventually citizenship. As currently structured, electronic employment verification programs have proven detrimental to both employers and employees due to increased discrimination and unfair hiring and firing practices. All workers benefit, however, from the enforcement of health, safety, wage, and hour laws, as well as the right to peacefully organize.

Facilitate immigrant integration

Many immigrants desire to naturalize but lack the necessary tools. The U.S. immigration system should empower them to this end by providing financial support to state and local governments and community organizations that offer language and civics education, outreach, and naturalization application assistance. Citizenship should be made more affordable by reducing naturalization fees and making fee waivers more easily accessible. Moreover, the processing of application backlogs and security checks should be streamlined to reduce waiting times. Counterproductive laws prohibiting immigrants from accessing social services and mandating that local police act as immigration officials should be revoked. These barriers to integration decrease community safety and discourage immigrants from pursuing education and community involvement. Faith based organizations and congregations around the country will continue to assist in integration efforts by providing social services and helping immigrants learn English, find jobs, and thrive in the United States.

Restore due process protections and reform detention policies

Immigration policies should respect human rights and ensure due process for all persons. We have witnessed how indiscriminate immigration raids have caused trauma and hardship for thousands of individuals. Such raids separate families, destroy communities, and threaten the basic rights of immigrants and U.S. citizens alike. The suffering caused by the increase and severity of Immigration and Customs Enforcement raids in homes and workplaces underscores the problems with current U.S. immigration policies and the urgent need for reform. Many faith organizations administer services to those impacted by raids, as well as to immigrants in detention facilities. Witnessing the toll of incarceration on detainees, their families and our communities, we urge the new Administration and Congress to reduce the use of detention for immigrants and improve detention conditions by enacting clear, enforceable reforms that include rigorous medical treatment standards and increased access to pastoral care, legal counsel and legal orientation programs. Furthermore, the government should expedite the release of individuals who pose no risk to the community and expand the use of community-based alternatives to detention, which are more humane and cost effective.

Align the enforcement of immigration laws with humanitarian values

For the past twenty years, the federal government has dramatically increased fence construction, border patrol presence, and the deportation of immigrants, which have proven ineffective at decreasing undocumented immigration. During this time, we have witnessed the desecration of sacred sites and the violation of environmental and religious freedom laws, as well as the unnecessary suffering of community members whose loved ones have suffered or died seeking entry into the United States. Currently, vast resources are being used for fence construction and the mass arrests, detention, and deportation of immigrants who contribute to the U.S. economy and culture. To truly decrease undocumented immigration, the United States should improve access to the legal immigration system by increasing the number of ports of entry, expanding visa availability, and eliminating application backlogs to increase processing efficiency. Border policies must be consistent with humanitarian values and with the need to treat all individuals with respect, while allowing the United States to implement its immigration laws and identify and prevent the entry of persons who commit dangerous crimes. All immigration laws must respect the dignity of all persons, prioritize the cohesiveness of families and communities, recognize the economic contributions of immigrants, and uphold our moral obligations to provide refuge and welcome the stranger.

Immigration: A matter of human rights

As people of faith, we call attention to the moral dimensions of public policy and recommend reforms that uphold the God-given dignity and rights of every person, each of whom are made in the image of God. We are dedicated to immigration reform because we value family unity, justice, equity, compassion, love, and the humane treatment of all persons. It is our collective prayer that the new Administration and 111th Congress enact just immigration reform based on these tenets.

National Organizations and Denominations:

American Friends Service Committee
American Jewish Committee
American Society for Muslim Advancement
Anti-Defamation League
Blauvelt Dominican Sisters Justice Ministry
B'nai B'rith International
Catholic Charities USA
Catholic Relief Services
Catholic Scholars for Worker Justice
Center of Concern
Christian Church (Disciples of Christ), Refugee and Immigration Ministries
Christian Reformed Church in North America, Office of Social Justice
Church Communities International
Church of the Brethren
Church of the Brethren Witness
Church World Service, Immigration and Refugee Program (CWS/IRP)
Catholic Legal Immigration Network, Inc. (CLINIC)
Conference of Major Superiors of Men (CMSM)
Congregation of the Holy Spirit, USA-E
Daughters of Wisdom, U.S. Province
Disciples Justice Action Network (Disciples of Christ)
Dominican Leadership Conference, Executive Committee
Franciscan Action Network
Friends Committee on National Legislation (FCNL)
Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society (HIAS)
Hindu American Foundation
Hispanic Coalition for Comprehensive Immigration Reform
Interfaith Worker Justice
Irish Apostolate USA
Islamic Circle of North America
Jewish Council for Public Affairs
Jewish Reconstructionist Federation
Jubilee Campaign USA
Leadership Conference of Women Religious
Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service
Marianist Province of the US, Office of Peace and Justice
Maryknoll Office for Global Concerns
Mennonite Central Committee, Washington Office
Mennonite Church USA
Methodist Federation for Social Action
National Advocacy Center of the Sisters of the Good Shepherd
National Council of Jewish Women
National Council of the Churches of Christ in the USA (NCC)
National Hispanic Christian Leadership Conference
National Ministries, American Baptist Churches USA
NETWORK, A National Catholic Social Justice Lobby
North American Dominican Justice Promoters

Pax Christi USA: National Catholic Peace Movement
Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.)
Progressive Jewish Alliance
Rabbis for Human Rights, North America
School Sisters of Notre Dame Global Justice & Peace Commission
School Sisters of Notre Dame, Office of Justice, Peace & Integrity of Creation
Sikh Council on Religion and Education
Sisters of Mercy of the Americas
Sisters of Providence, Mother Joseph Province
Sisters of the Holy Names of Jesus and Mary, U.S.-Ontario Province Leadership Team
Sisters of the Sorrowful Mother, U.S./Caribbean Province
Standing For Truth Foundation
The Episcopal Church
The Workmen's Circle/Arbeter Ring
U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops
Union for Reform Judaism
Unitarian Universalist Association of Congregations
United Jewish Communities
United Methodist Church, General Board of Church and Society
United Methodist Church, General Commission on Religion and Race
Uri L'Tzedek: Awaken To Justice
Ursuline Sisters of the Eastern Province, USA, Leadership Council
Ursuline Sisters of the Roman Union, Western Province
Women of Reform Judaism
World Relief

Local Organizations, Congregations, Diocese, and Religious Orders:

Adrian Dominican Sisters, Adrian, MI
Andrea Likovich, O.S.F., Aston, PA
Arbeter Ring (Workmen's Circle) Southern California District, CA
Arlington Street Church, Boston, MA
Beatitudes Society of Episcopal Divinity School, Cambridge MA
Benedictine Sisters of Mount St. Scholastica, Atchison, KS
Benedictine Sisters of Mt. Angel, OR
Benedictine Sisters of Yankton, SD
Benedictine Women of Madison, WI. at Holy Wisdom Monastery, WI
Bernardine Franciscan Sisters, Reading, PA
Bethany United Church of Christ, Chicago, IL
Brooklyn Council of Churches, Brooklyn, NY
California Council of Churches IMPACT, CA
Catholic Charities, Archdiocese of Galveston-Houston, TX
Central Presbyterian Church, Eugene, OR
Church World Service, Immigration and Refugee Program, Lancaster, PA Office
Colorado Council of Churches
Community of St. Francis, Episcopal Diocese of California, San Francisco CA
Congregation Chaverim, Tucson, AZ
Congregation Justice Committee, Sisters of the Holy Cross, Notre Dame, IN

Congregation of the Sisters of the Holy Faith, Downey, CA
Dominican Sisters of Great Bend, KS
Dominican Sisters of Houston, TX
Dominican Sisters of Mission San Jose, CA
Dominican Sisters of Sparkill, NY
Dominican Sisters, Grand Rapids, MI
Dominicans of Sinsinawa, WI
East Bay Sanctuary Covenant, Berkeley, CA
Ecumenical Ministries of Oregon
El Buen Pastor Episcopal Church, Redwood City, CA
Episcopal Church of Our Saviour, Silver Spring, MD
Episcopal Diocese of New Hampshire, NH
Episcopal Divinity School, Cambridge, MA
Executive Committee of the Racine Dominicans, WI
Faith Mennonite Church, Minneapolis, MN
First Christian Church (Disciples of Christ), Daytona Beach, FL
First Unitarian Church, Los Angeles, CA
Fort Collins Mennonite Fellowship, Fort Collins, CO
Franciscan Sisters of Little Falls, MN
Gloria Dei Step Up Center, Providence, RI
Indiantown Education Coalition, Indiantown, FL
Indiantown Neighborhood Association, Indiantown, FL
InDios Inc. Indiantown, FL
Interchurch Ministries of Nebraska, NE
Irish Pastoral Centre, Quincy, MA
Jewish Community Action, St. Paul, MN
Jewish Community Relations Council of Greater Washington, WA
Jewish Community Relations Council of the Jewish Federation of Southern Arizona, AZ
Jewish Family & Career Services of Atlanta, GA
Jewish Family & Children's Service of Pittsburgh, PA
Jewish Family and Children's Service of Minneapolis, MN
Jewish Family Services of Greater Charlotte, Inc., NC
Jewish Family Services of Silicon Valley, CA
Judson Memorial Church, New York, NY
Justice and Peace Committee of St. Norbert Abbey, De Pere, WI
La Iglesia Episcopal de Nuestra Senora de las Americas, Chicago, IL
Lane Center for Catholic Studies and Social Thought, University of San Francisco, CA
Leadership Team of the Sisters of St. Francis of the Holy Cross, Green Bay, WI
Leadership Team, Sisters of the Most Precious Blood, O'Fallon, MO
Let Justice Roll Lead Team of the West Ohio United Methodist Conference, OH
Little White Chapel Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) in Burbank, CA
Logan Square Neighborhood Association, Chicago, IL
Lutheran Advocacy Ministry, Colorado
Lutheran Advocacy Ministry, New Mexico
Lutheran Advocacy, Illinois
Lutheran Community Services Northwest
Lutheran Office of Governmental Ministry in New Jersey
Lutheran Social Services of Illinois

Lutheran Social Services of New England
Lutheran Social Services of the National Capital Area
Lutheran Statewide Advocacy, New York, NY
Marycrest Franciscans, Denver CO
Methodist Federation for Social Action, New York Chapter
Miami Baptist Association, Miami, FL
Migration and Immigration Task Force, Episcopal Diocese of California
Mount St. Scholastica, Atchison, KS
New Jersey Synod, Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, Immigration Task Group
New York State Council of Churches
Oblate Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament, Marty, SD
Pennsylvania Council of Churches
Presentation Sisters, New York, New England
Refugee Immigration Ministry, Malden, MA
Religious of Jesus and Mary, Washington, DC Province Offices
River Road Unitarian Universalist Congregation, Bethesda, MD, Latin America Taskforce Network
River Road Unitarian Universalist Congregation, Bethesda, MD, Social Justice Council
San Andres Episcopal Church, Yonkers, NY
School Sisters of St. Francis, International Leadership Team, Milwaukee, WI
Servants of Mary (Servite Sisters), Ladysmith, WI
Shir Tikvah Congregation, Minneapolis, MN
Sisters of Charity of Nazareth Congregational Leadership, Roman Catholic, Nazareth, KY
Sisters of Charity of Nazareth in the Western Province
Sisters of Charity of New York, Leadership Team
Sisters of Mercy U.S. Province, Redlands, CA
Sisters of Mercy, South Central Community, Baltimore, Cincinnati, North Carolina, St. Louis
Sisters of Providence, Mother Joseph Province, Renton WA – Inland Northwest, Idaho and
Montana, West Coast – Washington, Oregon, Montana
Sisters of Social Service of Buffalo, NY
Sisters of St Francis of Assisi, St. Francis, WI
Sisters of St. Anne, St. Marie Province
Sisters of St. Francis of Philadelphia
Sisters of St. Francis, Congregation of Our Lady of Lourdes, Rochester, MN
Sisters of St. Francis, Leadership Team, Clinton, Iowa
Sisters of St. Francis, Savannah, MO
Sisters of St. Joseph of Carondelet and Associates, St. Louis Province, MO
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Sisters of St. Joseph of Orange, CA
Sisters of St. Joseph of Peace, Western Province
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Skagit Unitarian Universalist Fellowship, Mount Vernon, WA
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Social Action Committee, Unitarian Universalist Fellowship of Laguna Beach, CA

Social Justice Outreach Committee, Saint Jude's Episcopal Church, Cupertino, Ca
 Society of St. Ursula, Rhinebeck, NY
 St. Louis Inter-Faith Committee on Latin America
 St. Mark's Episcopal Church, Lyons, KS
 St. Pius V Parish, Chicago, IL
 The Board of Directors of the First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles, CA
 The Clinton, Iowa Associates of the Sisters of St. Francis
 The Congregation of Sisters of St. Agnes, Fond du Lac, WI
 The Dominican Sisters of Great Bend Kansas
 The Episcopal Church of the Advent, Chicago, IL
 The Episcopal Church of the Advent; La Iglesia Episcopal de Nuestra Senora de las Americas, Chicago, IL
 The Episcopal Diocese of Los Angeles Interfaith Refugee and Immigration Service (IRIS)
 The Episcopal Diocese of Southeast Florida, Immigration and Social Justice Ministries
 The General Council of the Adrian Dominican Sisters
 The Interfaith Council on Religion, Race, Economic and Social Justice of Silicon Valley, CA
 The Leadership Council of the IHM Sisters of Monroe, Michigan
 The Leadership Team, Sisters of Providence, St. Mary-of-the-Woods, IN
 The New Mexico Conference of Churches
 The Provincial Council of the Daughters of Charity of the Evansville Province, Evansville, IN
 The Provincial Council of the School Sisters of Notre Dame, Mankato Province, MN
 The Sisters of Saint Benedict of Crookston, MN
 The Sisters of the Holy Family, Fremont, CA
 The Workmen's Circle/Arbeter Ring, New Jersey Region
 Unitarian Universalist Congregation of Danbury, CT
 Unitarian Universalist Fellowship of Las Vegas, NV
 United in Faith Lutheran Church, Chicago, IL
 United in Faith Lutheran Church, Justice Ministry, Chicago, IL
 West Region of the Sisters of Charity, B.V.M.
 Wonder Lake Neighbors Food Pantry, Wonder Lake, IL
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 Bishop Paul Stumme-Diers, Greater Milwaukee Synod, Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, WI
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 C Jean Hayen, B.V.M.(Sisters of Charity of the Blessed Virgin Mary), Dubuque, Iowa
 Cara Lynn Johnson, Lutheran Social Services of Illinois
 Carolyn A. Doughty, Chicago, IL
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Jean C. Murray, O.P., Professor Emerita, Dominican University, River Forest, IL
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Jeri Cashman, Sinsinawa Dominican, WI

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Jo Anne Leo, O.P., Sinsinawa Dominican, WI
Joanne Otte, Program Director, Lutheran Volunteer Corps, Chicago, IL
Joe Zimmerman, O.F.M., Holy Cross Friary, Quincy, IL
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Josephine Breen, Sisters of Mercy, San Diego, CA
Joyce Leibly, O.P., Sinsinawan Dominican, Fergus Falls, MN
Judith Coreil, M.S.C., Roman Catholic Diocese of Lafayette, Louisiana
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Louise Goos, Holy Trinity Lutheran Church, Chicago
Lydia Olson, Trinity Lutheran, Des Plaines, IL
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Marilyn Lorenz-Weinkauff and David Weinkauff, Catholic, St. Louis, MO
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Mary Ellen Rains, O.P., Hazel Green, WI
Mary Lou Sullivan, Catholic, Plainfield, Illinois
Mary Schlehuber, O.P. Santa Monica, CA
Mary Sharon Sullivan, Milwaukee WI
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Pastor Mathew Swora, Emmanuel Mennonite Church, St. Paul, MN
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Rabbi Bernard H. Mehlman, Senior Scholar, Temple Israel, Boston, MA
Rabbi David Holtz, Temple Beth Abraham, Tarrytown, NY
Rabbi David Saperstein, Director, Religious Action Center of Reform Judaism
Rabbi Elias J. Lieberman, Falmouth Jewish Congregation, Falmouth, MA
Rabbi Eric M. Solomon, Beth Meyer Synagogue, Raleigh, NC
Rabbi Gerald Serotta, Chair, Rabbis for Human Rights-North America
Rabbi Helaine Ettinger, Jewish Congregation of Kinnelon, Kinnelon, NJ

Rabbi Joel N. Abraham, Temple Sholom of Scotch Plains/Fanwood, NJ, and President, New Jersey-West Hudson Valley Association of Reform Rabbis
Rabbi Joshua M. Davidson, Chappaqua, New York
Rabbi Lewis H. Kamrass, Cincinnati, Ohio
Rabbi Lisa J. Grushcow, D.Phil., Congregation Rodeph Sholom, New York, NY
Rabbi Mark Kiel, Congregation B'nai Israel, Emerson NJ
Rabbi Martin Weiner, San Francisco, CA
Rabbi Neal Katz, Tyler, TX
Rabbi Richard J. Shapiro, Temple Beth-El of Great Neck
Rabbi Robert Levine, D.D., Congregation Rodeph Sholom, New York, NY
Rabbi Sharon Stiefel, Shir Tikvah, A Reform Congregation serving the Twin Cities, Minneapolis, MN
Rabbi Shelley Kovar Becker, Temple Sholom, Floral Park, NY
Rabbi Shoshana M. Perry, Congregation Shalom, Chelmsford, MA
Rabbi Steven B. Jacobs, Founder Progressive Faith Foundation, Los Angeles CA
Rev Dana Reardon, St. Paul Lutheran Church, Warwick, RI
Rev. Amy R. Stapleton, National Organizer, Methodist Federation for Social Action
Rev. Bryce Miller, Pastor, Shalom Mennonite Fellowship, Tucson, AZ
Rev. Canon Raymond P. Dugan Trinity Episcopal Cathedral (ret.), Valley Interfaith Project
Rev. Carol Rose, Co-Director, Christian Peacemaker Teams
Rev. David B Bell, Christian Church (Disciples of Christ), Toppenish, WA
Rev. Denver Bitner, Zion Lutheran Church, Rockford, IL
Rev. Dr. Alan Cutter, General Presbyter, Presbytery of South Louisiana
Rev. Dr. James F. Karpen, Senior Pastor, Church of St. Paul & St. Andrew, New York, NY
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Rev. Dr. Rick Schlosser, Executive Director, CCCI
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Rev. Elyse Nelson Winger, St. John's Lutheran Church, Bloomington, IL
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Rev. Mark Sundberg, Peace Lutheran Church, Lake Zurich IL
Rev. Marlin H. Otte, Marion, IL
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Rev. Michael J. Dodds, O.P., Dominican School of Philosophy and Theology, Berkeley, CA
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Rev. Mike Cole, Houston, TX
Rev. Richard H. Kremer, Gloria Dei Lutheran Church, Providence, RI
Rev. Roger E. Timm, Ascension Lutheran Church, Riverside, IL
Rev. Ross I. Carmichael, Calvary Evangelical Lutheran Church, Chicago, IL
Rev. Sarah J. Stumme, Gloria Dei Lutheran Church, Northbrook, IL
Rev. Steven Yoder, First Mennonite Church, Bluffton, Ohio

Rev. Susan Frederick-Gray, Minister, Unitarian Universalist Congregation of Phoenix, AZ
 Rev. William G. Sinkford, President of the Unitarian Universalist Association of Congregations
 Rita McCloskey, OP, Sinsinawa Dominicans, Redwood City, CA
 Robert M Rothstein, President Shir Tikvah Congregation, Minneapolis, MN
 Rod Patterson, Executive Director, Mosaic at Pontiac & Dwight, Pontiac, IL
 Rodney A. Brown, Vice President, Family Services, Lutheran Social Service of Minnesota
 Ronald W. Henning, Crystal Lake, IL
 Rt Rev Bavi E Rivera, Bishop Suffragan, Episcopal Diocese of Olympia
 Rt. Rev. Mark Beckwith, Bishop, Diocese of Newark, NJ
 Ruth M. Coleman, Sinsinawa, O.P., WI
 (The Very Reverend) Scott Richardson, Dean, Saint Paul's Episcopal Cathedral, San Diego, CA
 Sister Ann Marie Slavin, OSF, Springfield, PA
 Sister Anne Shepard, O.S.B., Prioress, Mount St. Scholastica, Atchison, KS
 Sister Arlene Woelfel, School Sisters of St. Francis, Milwaukee WI
 Sister Carol Snyder O.S.F., Leadership Team of Sisters of St. Francis of Penance and Christian
 Charity, Redwood City, CA
 Sister Carol Weaver, Pilgrim Lutheran Church, Warwick, Rhode Island
 Sister Cathy Mueller, S.L., President, Loretto Community
 Sister Deborah Ann Surgot, Catholic, Bernardine Franciscan Sister
 Sister Dominica Lo Bianco, a Roman Catholic of the Sisters of St. Francis of Philadelphia, Aston, PA
 Sister Elizabeth E. Kane, Sisters of St. Francis of Philadelphia, Aston, PA
 Sister Esther Anderson, O.S.F., Congregational Minister, Aston, PA
 Sister Gemma Doll O.P., Diocese of Dodge City
 Sister Guadalupe Medina, O.S.F., Portland, OR
 Sister Helen Glynn, O.P., Sinsinawa Dominican, WI
 Sister Hilda Mc Donagh R.S.M.
 Sister Jean Verber, O.P., Justice Outreach Office Coordinator, Racine Dominican Sisters
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 Sister Marianna Bauder, Sisters of Charity of Leavenworth, KS
 Sister Marilynn Mechtenberg, I.H.M.
 Sister Mary Kay Dum, B.V.M., Dubuque, Iowa
 Sister Mary Paynter, O.P., Madison, Wisconsin
 Sister Mary Walsh, O.S.F., Aston, PA
 Sister Nancy Bauman, Sister of Charity of Leavenworth, KS
 Sister Rene Weeks, OP, Dominican Sisters of Great Bend, Kansas
 Sr. Margery Race, O.P., Austin, TX
 Sr. Mary Lucy Scheffler, Franciscan Sisters of St. Paul, St. Paul, MN
 Sr. Suellen Tennyson, M.S.C., New Orleans, Louisiana
 Sr. Virginia Ripp, O.P., Whitefish Bay, WI
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 The Rev. Anna B. Lange-Soto, Missioner, El Buen Pastor Episcopal Church, Redwood City, CA
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 The Rev. Floyd M. Schoenhals, Bishop, Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, Arkansas-Oklahoma Synod
 The Rev. Gerald L. Mansholt, Bishop, Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, Central States Synod
 The Rev. H. Gerard Knoche, Bishop, Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, Delaware-Maryland Synod
 The Rev. Jeffrey Gill, Christ Church (Episcopal), Andover, Massachusetts
 The Rev. John David Schleicher, Bishop, Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, North/West Lower Michigan Synod
 The Rev. John L. Kater, Episcopal Church, Walnut Creek, CA
 The Rev. Jonathan F. Harris, Diocese of Southwestern Virginia, Roanoke, VA
 The Rev. Josefina Beecher, La Iglesia Episcopal de la Resurreccion, Mount Vernon, WA
 The Rev. Julian Gordy, Bishop, Evangelical Lutheran Church in America
 The Rev. Margaret Payne, Bishop, Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, New England Synod
 The Rev. Michael D. Rasicci, SSC - Calvary Episcopal Church - Batavia, IL
 The Rev. Michael Rinehart, Bishop, Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, Texas-Louisiana Gulf Coast Synod
 The Rev. Murray Finck, Bishop, Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, Pacifica Synod
 The Rev. Pamela H. Tyler, Episcopal Diocese of Los Angeles
 The Rev. Peter Rogness, Bishop of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, Saint Paul-Area Synod
 The Rev. Peter Schell, Assistant Rector, Episcopal Church of Our Saviour, Silver Spring, MD
 The Rev. Richard H. Graham, Bishop, Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, Metropolitan DC Synod
 The Rev. Robert Alan Rimbo, Bishop, Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, Metropolitan New York Synod
 The Rev. Robert Harvey, Rector, Episcopal Church of Our Saviour, Silver Spring, MD
 The Rev. Ronald Neustadt, Pastor, St. Mark Lutheran Church, Belleville, IL
 The Rev. Rondesia Jarrett, The Episcopal Church, Diocese of Spokane
 The Rev. Sandra Castillo, The Episcopal Church of the Advent; La Iglesia Episcopal de Nuestra Señora de las Americas, Chicago, IL
 The Rev. Santiago Rodriguez, Pastor of Gloria Dei Lutheran Church, Providence, RI
 The Rev. Sarabeth Goodwin, Latino Missioner, St. Stephen and the Incarnation Episcopal Church, Washington, DC
 The Rev. Seth Polley, Border Missioner, the Episcopal Diocese of Arizona
 The Rev. Steve Talmage, Bishop, Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, Grand Canyon Synod
 The Rev. Sue Thompson, Vicar, St Edmund's Episcopal Church, Pacifica, California
 The Rev. Susan C. Armer, Rector, St. Matthew/San Mateo Episcopal Church, Auburn, WA
 The Rev. Susan Schneider, United in Faith Lutheran Church, Chicago, IL
 The Rev. Suzanne R. Spencer, Interim Minister, Unitarian Universalist Congregation of Danbury, CT
 The Rev. Wm Chris Boerger, Bishop, Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, Northwest Washington Synod
 The Rev. Yamily Bass Choate, San Andres Episcopal Church, Yonkers, NY

The Rev'd Jo Ann Weeks, Grace Episcopal Church, Episcopal Diocese of Los Angeles
The Reverend Horace Choate, Zion Episcopal Church, Wappingers Falls, NY
The Reverend Tom Callard, Rector, All Saints Episcopal Church, Los Angeles, CA
The Right Reverend James E. Curry, Bishop Suffragan, Episcopal Diocese of Connecticut
The Rt. Rev. A. C. Marble Jr, Episcopal Church, Assisting Bishop, Diocese of North Carolina
The Rt. Rev. F. Neff Powell, Episcopal Bishop of Southwestern Virginia
The Rt. Rev. Gregory Rickel, Bishop Diocesan, Episcopal Diocese of Olympia
The Rt. Rev. M. Thomas Shaw, SSJE, Episcopal Diocese of Massachusetts, Boston
The Rt. Rev. Mark S. Sisk, Diocese of New York, NY
The Rt. Rev. Roy F. (Bud) Cederholm, Jr., Bishop Suffragan, Episcopal Diocese of Massachusetts
The Rt. Rev. Steven Charleston, Assistant Bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of California
The Rt. Rev. V. Gene Robinson, Episcopal Bishop of New Hampshire
The Rt. Rev. William D. Persell, Assisting Bishop, Episcopal Diocese of Ohio
Theresa Caluori, B.V.M., Portland, Oregon
Victoria Arthofer, Our Saviour's Lutheran Church, Naperville, IL
Virginia M. Richardson, River Road Unitarian Universalist Congregation, Bethesda, MD

Handout 6.5 – Who Is My Neighbor?

For the next and final week, each participant (including the facilitators) should do some investigating around your neighborhood(s) – by internet or the phone directory or walking around or all of the above. Who are the immigrants in your communities? Even if you live in a community that seems homogenous, do not assume that there are no immigrants there. Often times people are unaware of the diversity that exists in our own towns and neighborhoods because we tend only see those with whom we normally come into contact.

Suggestions to help get you started:

Restaurants – Do you have Chinese or Mexican or Indian or Ethiopian, etc... restaurants in your neighborhood? Who owns and works in them?

Stores – How about independently owned shops? Ethnic foods markets, botanicas, beauty shops...

Houses of worship – Are there churches that do Spanish-speaking services? Or maybe Korean or another language? What about mosques and temples? Which groups do they serve?

Services – Many organizations exist to help immigrant communities. They would likely be able to tell you about the demographics of these communities (after you've explained that your church group is trying to make connections with immigrant communities in your area).