

Economic Refugees: Immigration and the Growing Divide

Trainer's Guide



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Economic Refugees: Immigration and the Growing Divide

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Workshop Goals:

- To uncover the root causes of the migration of workers and families around the world, with a focus on immigration to the United States
- To examine the economic rules that historically have boosted some groups and blocked others
- To review historic immigration trends and immigrants' experience through race and gender lenses
- To separate myth from fact about immigration and identify how the myths are used as a wedge to divide workers and communities
- To explore strategies that build solidarity and power among immigrant and native-born workers



UFE's Popular Education Approach to Training

We strive to make our approach to training as consistent as possible with the principles and practices of Popular Education.

Popular education:

- Draws on the experience of learners
- Poses problems to encourage dialogue and reflection
- Stimulates action

Unlike the “banking” approach to education where the teacher/expert “deposits” information into the “empty head” of the student, popular education takes the pressure off the trainer to be an all-knowing “expert” and instead emphasizes facilitating dialogue and a more experiential approach to learning.

Challenge by Choice: Recognizing that people learn in diverse ways, this workshop strives to provide a variety of activities. Some of these methods may be quite challenging and requiring participants to move out of their comfort zone. While we challenge people to engage as fully as possible, we also recognize that the choice to participate remains theirs.

There is more information in this guide than can be presented in one hour. Your challenge is to choose the materials you think will most powerfully communicate the essence of the situation with a particular group of participants. It is not the flood of information that is most significant, but what meaning the learners make of it and what they do with it.

AGENDA

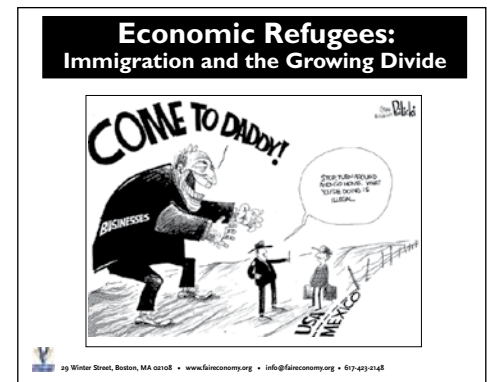
I. Workshop Introduction (10 minutes)

Facilitator Goals:

- *Review* the workshop goals & agenda
- *Facilitate* introductions among group members
- *Identify* participants' connection to the topic and expectations
- *Establish* rules of participation

In the opening activity, the facilitator welcomes the participants, conducts brief introductions, reviews the workshop goals and agenda, and gets a sense of the participants' expectations and connection to the issue of immigration.

- Instructions:*
1. Welcome all participants, introduce yourself, and name the goals of the workshop (see p. 3).
 2. Ask all participants to introduce themselves by saying their name, their ethnicity or nation of origin ("Where are you from?", and a sentence or two about what they hope to take away from this workshop).
 3. Outline the agenda and ask participants if they have any questions.
 4. OPTIONAL: Ask participants to review the groundrules. [Prior to the workshop, write the 5 rules on the next page on a sheet of flip chart paper.] Post the list and ask the participants if there are other rules to add and if they can abide by these rules.



Suggested Ground Rules

- 1) Respect others' opinions.
- 2) Personally control your own participation time (step up if you are usually quiet, step back if you typically take up a lot of "air" space).
- 3) All questions and comments are valid and important to the discussion.
- 4) Xenophobic and stereotypical comments and discriminatory actions will be confronted and called out.
- 5) Venture out of your comfort zone.



II. Warming up to Immigration (15-20 minutes)

Facilitator Goals:

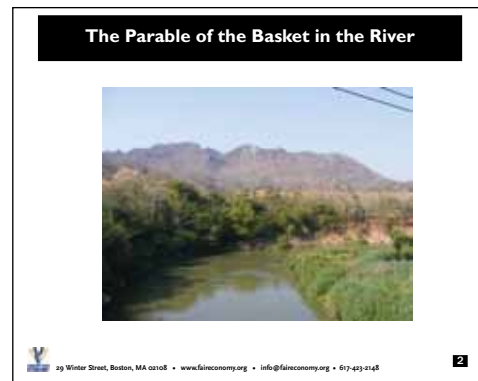
- *Create* a non-threatening space for participants to share their family's migration stories.
- *Introduce* participants to the importance of getting beyond the headlines to look at root causes.
- *Provide* participants with an opportunity to self-examine their knowledge of and connections to immigration to the U.S.

Select one or more of the following warm-up activities, depending on the participants (e.g., who they are and how many) and the time available.

OPTION A: The Parable of the Baby in the River

This activity is designed to get participants to think beyond the symptoms of problems and the importance of uncovering and examining root causes that underlie issues such as immigration.

- Instructions:*
1. Tell (or have a volunteer participant read) the story in the box below:
 2. Ask the group, "What would you do in these circumstances?"



Once upon a time there was a small village on the edge of a river. The people there were good and life in the village was good. One day a villager noticed a basket floating down the river. The villager quickly swam out to the basket and saw that there was a baby in it. He called for help, and the baby was rescued from the swift waters. The following day two baskets with babies were seen floating down the river and they were rescued. And the next day more baskets with babies were discovered and pulled from the river.

The villagers organized themselves quickly, setting up watchtowers and training teams of swimmers who could resist the swift waters and rescue babies. Rescue squads were soon working 24 hours a day. And each day more and more helpless babies were floating down the river. The villagers organized themselves efficiently. The rescue squads were now snatching many children each day. The villagers felt they were saving as many as they could each day but the babies just kept coming.

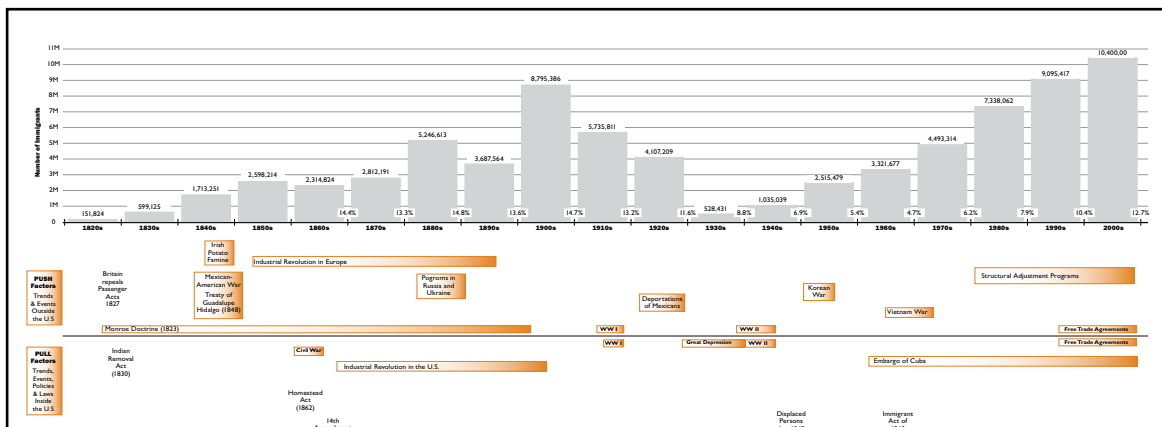
See **Talking Points** on the next page.

- Talking Points:**
- Looking up the river to find where the problem is coming from is just plain “common sense.” Concentrating on the symptoms of problems (babies floating down the river, in this story), despite good intentions, hard work, and creative solutions, becomes frustrating and overwhelming. In fact, that is exactly the case with most of our toughest social and economic problems — poverty, unemployment, homelessness, substance abuse, crime, etc.
 - The responses to the issue of immigration have ranged from providing sanctuary and “don’t ask, don’t tell” services for undocumented workers and their families to exclusion laws; from quotas, and guest worker or *Bracero* programs to building walls along the borders and deportations. While we support humanitarian and human rights projects, we believe that neither charity nor punishment responses help us “look up river” to the root causes of migration. And that is what we must do to build a more equitable economy.

OPTION B: Sharing Our Stories (10-15 minutes)

This activity is designed to have participants share stories of when and why their family originally came to the U.S. Their stories will personalize subsequent workshop activities that use the *timeline* of economic and social rules, policies, and trends affecting the flow of immigrants to the U.S. (*push* and *pull* factors).

Preparation: Post the large format timeline on a wall at eye level. You will also need several packages of small sticky notes and fine point felt-tip markers.



- Instructions:*
1. Except for Native Americans whose ancestors came from Asia more than 10,000 years ago, everyone living in the U.S. now, or their ancestors, migrated here. In small groups or pairs, participants briefly (1-3 minutes each) share their stories — as best they know it — of the first person(s) in their family to live in the U.S. Explain *why* they came to the U.S., if they know.
 2. When everyone in the small groups has had a chance to tell their story, have each person write on the sticky note their name, their country of origin, and the year their ancestor (or the participant if he/she is an immigrant) came to the U.S. Then each person goes up to the timeline and places the sticky note in the appropriate section of the timeline.
 3. If there is time, the trainer can ask one or two participants from each small group to share their stories. The trainer lets the group know that we will return to the timeline later in the workshop and may use people's stories to illustrate the laws, policies, and trends.

OPTION C: They Steal Our Jobs: An Immigration Quiz (5 minutes)

This activity allows participants to review what they already know about immigration and what information may be missing or incorrect. It is important that participants are not made to feel stupid or ill-informed for not knowing all or most or even any of the correct answers but to illustrate that despite all the talk about immigration in the media and elsewhere there is a great deal of basic information that most folks do not have.

- Instructions:*
1. Ask participants to look at the quiz in their handout packets (also on p. 38 of this Guide) and, on their own, answer the questions. They will NOT be asked how they answered.
 2. Depending on the amount of time for the workshop and/or the participants' needs and interests, the trainer can provide the correct answers after a few minutes or can come back to the quiz toward the end of the workshop. It is also likely that many of the questions and answers will come up in the course of the workshop.

Common Beliefs About Immigration - A Quiz	
	True False
• Immigrants don't pay taxes.	___ ___
• Immigrants send all their money out of the country.	___ ___
• Most immigrants cross the border illegally.	___ ___
• Immigrants don't want to learn English.	___ ___
• Immigrants take our jobs.	___ ___
• Restricting immigration will prevent terrorism.	___ ___
• Immigrants come here to take welfare.	___ ___
• Immigrants are a drain on the economy.	___ ___

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OPTION D: Attitudes About Immigrants: A Matching Game (5 minutes)

This activity asks participants to match four quotes with the immigrant group about which the statement refers (see p. xx of this Guide). The object of this activity is to demonstrate that similar attitudes of xenophobia and scapegoating of immigrants is a common theme throughout the history of the U.S.

- Instructions:*
1. Ask participants to read the quotes about immigrants in their handout packets and, in pairs, try to match the quotes with the immigrant group to which the quotes refer. Participants will NOT be asked how they answered.
 2. After 3 minutes, review each quote, provide the correct response, and cite the source.
 3. Ask, "What conclusions do you draw from this exercise?"



III. Our Family Histories of Immigration to the U.S. (15-20 minutes)

Facilitator Goals:

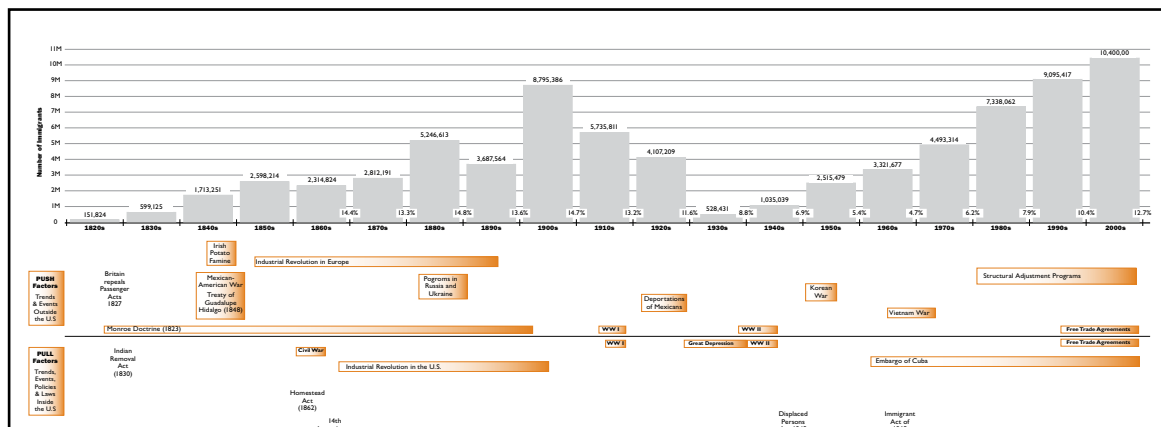
- **Establish** what we have in common, as well as the differences, in our own family histories of immigration.
- **Connect** participants' personal stories to historical policies and trends.

Choose **one** of the following options depending on the diversity of the participants. If the group is somewhat diverse, including people of color and/or immigrants, we recommend using **Option A**. If the group is primarily native born and heterogeneous, you may want to use **Option B**. With either option, the facilitator should become familiar with the items on the timeline (see Appendix) and the demographic data in the charts.

Important Note: Some participants may not know their family history. It is important for the trainer to acknowledge this and remind participants of the **Challenge by Choice** principle (see page 6). For others, recalling their family stories of coming to this country may be exceedingly painful. It is just as important to acknowledge this as well.

OPTION A: Our Stories and the Timeline

- Instructions:**
1. If the group did **Warm-up OPTION A: Sharing Our Stories** then ask participants to look again at the timeline in their packets and address these questions:
 - What connections would you make between your story and the *push* and *pull* factors on the timeline?
 - What strikes you about our collective stories?



If the group did *NOT* do **Warm-up Option A: Sharing Our Stories** then ask participants in pairs to briefly (1-3 minutes each) share the story—as best they know it—of the first person(s) in their family to come to the U.S. Participants should also explain *why* they came to the U.S.

2. When the pairs have had a chance to tell their stories to each other, have each person write on the sticky note the name of their ancestor and their country of origin. Then each person goes up to the timeline and places the sticky note in the appropriate section of the timeline.
3. The trainer asks a sample of participants to share their stories. The trainer lets the group know that we will return to the timeline in the next section of the workshop and may use people's stories to illustrate the laws, policies, and trends affecting immigration.

- Talking Points:**
- Our ancestors may have come (or been brought) here from Asia, Africa, Europe, South America or from somewhere else in North America. You may have moved with your family from another country, from one state to another, from the country to the city, or from a city to a suburb. Other than Native Americans, everyone now living in the U.S., or their ancestors, came from somewhere else.
 - When people move from one place to another to live, we call it a *migration*. We call a person moving *into* a place an *immigrant*. A person moving *out* of a place is an *emigrant*.
 - While every story of immigration is an individual one, the flows of migration have systemic roots. As Avi Chomsky points out in her book *They Take Our Jobs and 20 Other Myths About Immigration*, current, as well as past migration streams are the result of long-standing social and economic relationships created by colonialism.
 - Historians use the words “push” and “pull” when they study migration. Something “pushes” workers and families away from their original homes. Often, there is also something “pulling” them to their new home.

See more **Talking Points** on the following pages.

- Talking Points:**
- **Push:** Deciding to leave - If everything is going well at home, most people don't want to leave. Something must push them to make such a big change, leaving family, customs, and traditions they love. Most often people are pushed by not having enough money or land to feed and clothe their families. Others leave home because they are not free to practice their religion. Some immigrants are refugees from war; others migrate because repressive conditions make it unsafe for them to stay in their home country.
 - **Pull:** Deciding where to go - How do immigrants decide where to move? Something about a place must attract them. Most migrants choose a place where they know they can find work. They also look for a place where they can afford to live.
 - It is not easy to decide to leave home. Even though there may be strong reasons to leave, there are still some good reasons to stay. People must decide if what they gain is worth what they must give up.
 - The chance to be free to practice their religion pulls some migrants. Others want to live in a democracy where they can vote for their leaders. They want to be free to express their opinions. Sometimes, immigrants are pulled to a place because someone they know already lives there. Often, people migrate for more than one reason.

See more **Talking Points** on the following pages under **OPTION B**.



OPTION B: Stories of Immigration: A Roleplay

Important Note: Some participants may not know their family history. It is important for the trainer to acknowledge this and remind participants of the *Challenge by Choice* principle (see page 6). For others, recalling their family stories of coming to this country may be exceedingly painful. It is just as important to acknowledge this as well.

Preparation: To demonstrate the diversity among migration stories with *primarily native-born, heterogeneous groups, particularly young people*, prepare placards for volunteers to read and then display during the role play (see pps. 40-41 in this Guide).

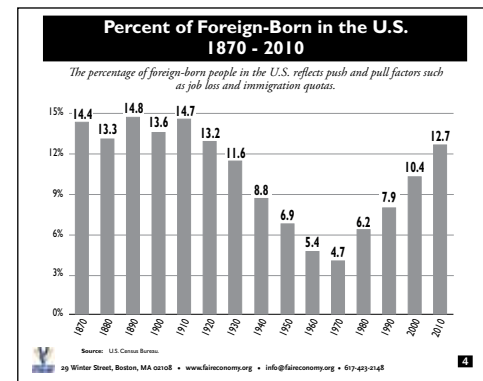
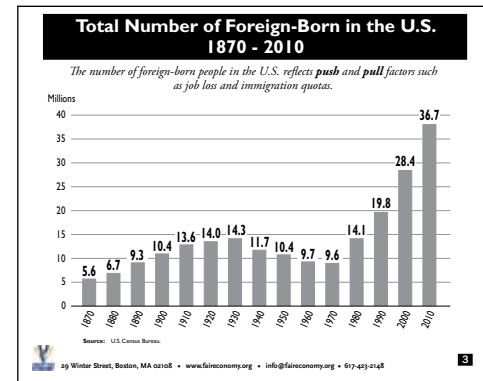
- Instructions:*
1. Ask for five to seven volunteers who will role play typical stories of immigration. In turn, each volunteer holds up their identifying placard and tells the whole group the family story that's on the reverse side of the placard. Volunteers can embellish as much of the story as they feel comfortable doing.
 2. Ask the whole group:
 - What connections would you make between these stories and the *push* and *pull* factors on the timeline?
 - What do these stories have in common? What are the differences?

- Talking Points:**
- In 1492, colonization began with Christopher Columbus' arrival in the Americas. From 1600-1865, the practice of slavery became entrenched and grew. The slave trade forcibly brought hundreds of thousands of Africans to North America, the majority of whom worked in plantations in the southern part of the U.S.
 - The Indian Removal Act of 1830 forced tens of thousands of Native Americans to relocate to free up valuable land for European settlers. The Mexican-American War began in 1848. As a result of their victory, the U.S. government acquired the states of Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, California, Colorado, Nevada and Utah. All Mexican people who live in these areas lost their citizenship status. Also, during this time, Mexico prohibited the migration of European settlers into Texas and outlawed the transfer of slaves, allowing many African Americans to find freedom in Mexico where they were received as free men and women.

See more **Talking Points** on the next page.

Talking Points:

- From the 1880s through 1914, the U.S. experienced a wave of emigration from Southern and Eastern European countries (e.g., Italy, Poland, Russia, Bohemia, Hungary, and Slovakia). Unlike their earlier counterparts from Western Europe, many of these immigrants never intended to stay in America permanently — instead, they wanted to save money to build a better life back home in Europe. Often men came alone, planning to return after earning enough, or hoping to establish themselves here before sending for their families. Nationally, about one-third of these later immigrants did return home, but most stayed in the U.S. permanently, working in the farms, factories, meat processing plants, and coal mines of the mid-West.



- From 1919-1921, the Palmer Raids, named after the U.S. Attorney General appointed by President Wilson, consisted of massive deportations and roundups of foreigners, anarchists, and communists, most of whom came from southern Europe and Latin America and had central roles in organizing labor unions in the U.S. Ten thousand labor movement and immigration rights activists were deported.
- The Bracero Program was implemented between 1942-1964 when millions of contracted Mexican, Jamaican, Honduran, British, and Barbadian workers were brought to the U.S. to fill the worker gap created by WWII. To this day, these workers continue to fight for the fair salary and benefits, like social security, they were promised but never received. In 1954, the implementation of Operation Wetback led to massive deportations of more than 1.1 million Mexican nationals.

See more **Talking Points** on the next page.

- Talking Points:**
- In 1986, the Immigration Control and Reform Act allowed many immigrants, especially those from Asia, to receive amnesty and become permanent residents. This legislation also established sanctions against employers who knowingly hired undocumented immigrants.
 - There are many more stories of immigration and many push and pull factors, policies, and laws that contributed to and affected immigration to the U.S. The Johnstown Heritage Discovery Center has an interesting web site with lots of resources <<http://www.jaha.org/DiscoveryCenter/virtualtour.html>> about the history of immigration to Johnstown, PA.



IV. The Push and the Pull of Recent Immigration

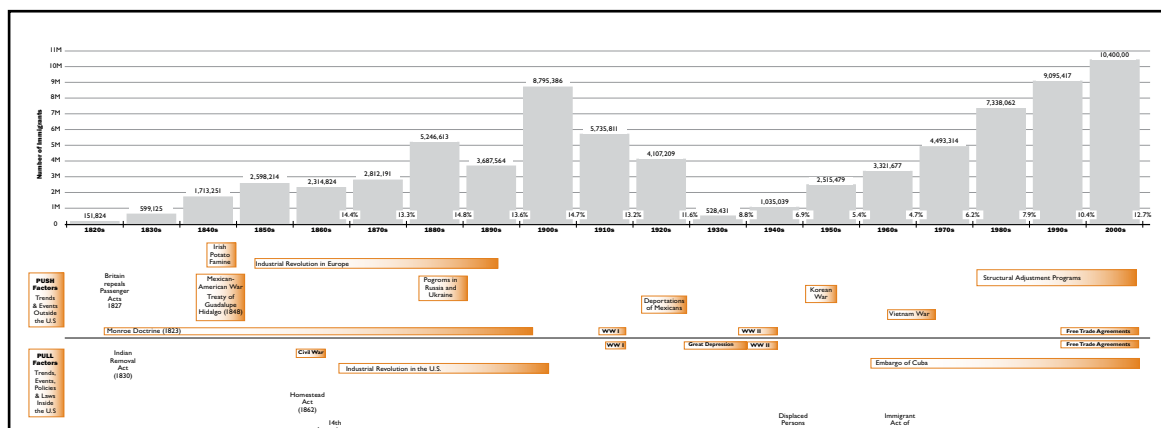
Facilitator Goals:

- **Identify** the economic and political forces and policies that underlie recent flows of migration into the United States.
- **Highlight** participants' experiences as immigrants or with immigration.

There are two activities in this section from which to choose, depending on the amount of time for the workshop and the particular circumstances of the participants. The first option continues using the timeline, referring to the handouts which provide lots of examples of push and pull factors, as well as additional rules (e.g., immigration laws and policies) that effect the migration of workers and their families. The second option involves the screening of one section (approx 20 mins) or more of the film *Uprooted - Refugees of the Global Economy* (55 mins).

OPTION A: Why do they come?

- Instructions:**
1. If the group is small — 15 or less — ask the participants who are immigrants their reasons for coming to the United States. Ask the native-born participants why they think people are migrating to the U.S., or why they think their parents or ancestors left their country of origin. [This can be also done in pairs and then the whole group can hear a sample of responses.] Put the responses on a sheet of flip chart paper.
 2. Ask the group what policies and circumstances (e.g., international immigration agreements, trade laws, militarization) contributed to immigration to the U.S. Participants can refer to the timeline in their packets.



See **Talking Points** on the next page.

Talking Points:

- Although international trade has occurred since the creation of nation states, the scope and speed with which goods, services, and capital move back and forth across borders dramatically increased in the second half of the twentieth century. After the end World War II, a number of international financial institutions, including the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the World Trade Organization (WTO), were established by the leading western powers, to encourage and support development and regulate international trade. To a great extent, the rules and policies put in place by these institutions, continued the flow of resources from the underdeveloped countries of the Global South to the U.S., Europe, and Japan, maintaining the colonial relationships of the past.
- In the 1980s, the U.S. and England led the “developed” world in establishing “free market” economic policies which sought to remove barriers to trade and investment such as worker protections, environmental regulations, tariffs, etc. Called “neoliberalism,” this economic strategy transfers control of the economy from the state to the private sector, particularly the financial sector. Neoliberal economists believe that as nations develop, growing wealth will eventually trickle down and reduce poverty.



See more **Talking Points** on the next page.

Talking Points:

- International financial institutions, such as the IMF and the World Bank, require the debtor nations to adhere to neoliberal program. These “structural adjustment” policies may include converting their agricultural sector from multi-crop subsistence farming to mono-culture crops for export, privatizing publicly-owned assets such as utilities, and reducing public expenditures for social services, all to gain cash to pay back the debt.

- The undeniable results of these policies has been to make economies much more susceptible to the vagaries of international finance, and an overall flow of wealth, raw materials, and people out of the global south into the swelling bank accounts of wealthy investors and multi-national corporations.

Structural Adjustment

- **Restricts credit**
- no loans to small farmers
- **Lowens tariffs & opens markets**
- cheap imports flood the marketplace
- **Reduces government spending to pay back foreign debt**
- cuts welfare, education, health care, etc.
- but continues support for the military
- **Lowens wages & cuts price subsidies**
- **Privatizes state industries**
- **Deregulates financial markets**

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Financing the Global Economy

From 2001 to 2004 . . .

... the “South” received **\$1.2 trillion** in aid, grants, loans, debt reorganization, trade credits, and direct foreign investment ...



The results: in 2004, the “South” was **6.6% deeper in debt** than it was in 2001!

... the “South” paid out **\$2.2 trillion** in interest and principal (not including royalties, dividends, repatriated capital, and under-priced raw materials).



Sources: UN Dept. of Economic and Social Affairs, World Economic and Social Survey 2005; Financing for Development; OECD Development Cooperation Report 2005; Statistical Annex, and CRI (Creative Reporting System) online database; World Bank, Global Development Finance 2005.

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OPTION B: Film screening: “Uprooted - Refugees of the Global Economy”

Instructions:

1. Show the documentary movie *Uprooted: Refugees of the Global Economy**, which presents three different stories of immigration. [The film can be shown in its entirety or just one segment (about 20 minutes) can be screened, depending on available time. Choose the segment most appropriate to the workshop participants.]

(*Uprooted* is available from the National Network for Immigrant and Refugee Rights <www.nnirr.org/get/get_video.html> or 510-465-1984.)



2. After screening the video, facilitate participants' reactions by asking questions that generate discussion, making sure that each participant is given the opportunity to share their thoughts with the entire group.
 - "What did you see happening?"
 - "How does it make you feel?"
 - "Why do you think this happens?"
 - "What similarities or differences do you see in your own situation?"

- Talking Points:**
- The policies of the U.S. are designed to protect domestic interests—particularly for the owning and investor class—and have a long history of hurting the economies and workers of other countries. Thomas Friedman, in his book *The Lexus and the Olive Tree* said "The hidden hand of the market will never work without a hidden fist. McDonald's cannot flourish without McDonnell Douglas, the designer of the U.S. Air Force F-15. And the hidden fist that keeps the world safe for Silicon Valley's technologies to flourish is called the U.S. Army, Air Force, Navy and Marine Corps."
 - Specifically, economic and military policies hurt the quality of life (repression, job and income security; cost and quality of housing, education, health care; and the environment; etc.) in developing nations, which plays the key role in pushing people to immigrate to the United States.
 - Since the 1980s, the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank (the two principle international financial institutions) have intensified their lending practices and debt refinancing with countries of the global South, such as Mexico, who are often unable to pay the interest on the loans. Skyrocketing debt and the strict loan requirements, called *Structural Adjustment Policies* (SAPs), force developing countries to cut domestic spending and prepare their economies for product exploitation. Foreign exports flood into the country, undercut local economies and make it even more difficult to pay back the loans. National funds for health care, education, and social services are reduced; publicly run services, such as water and electric utilities, are privatized; and small farming operations are replaced by large agribusiness operations. Workers thrown out of work and farmers forced from their land or living have little choice but to seek a livelihood elsewhere.

More **Talking Points** on next page

- Talking Points:**
- When American policies pit domestic workers against workers in other countries, salaries decrease and all workers lose. Since the North American Free Trade Agreement went into effect in 1994, Mexico lost one million manufacturing jobs while an additional million workers left jobs that paid less than their families needed for survival.
 - The same NAFTA provisions that permit the free flow of capital into Mexico also allowed investors to quickly withdraw capital from Mexico. In 1994, investors began to withdraw billions of dollars from Mexico. Unable to stabilize the economy, the Mexican government devalued the peso leading to an economic crisis. For the Mexican people, this led to a large rise in interest rates, the bankruptcy of many businesses, and a decrease of 39% in acquisition power.
 - Although foreign investment in Mexican manufacturing increased due to NAFTA, workers have not benefited from the trade agreement. Manufacturing salaries decreased by 23%. Complaints against NAFTA have documented a systematic repression of workers who demanded salary increases or joined labor unions.



V. Myth and Reality of Immigrants in the U.S.

Facilitator Goals:

- *Explore* commonly held myths about immigrants.
- *Review* demographic information about immigrants in the U.S.

Below are activities that explore commonly held myths about immigrants in the U.S. and contrasts this with various data. This may also be a place to return to the Immigration Quiz in Section II (see p. 11), or if that activity hasn't been used, it can be substituted for one or more of the activities below. Basic demographic data is also reviewed so that participants can get an accurate picture of immigrants in the U.S.

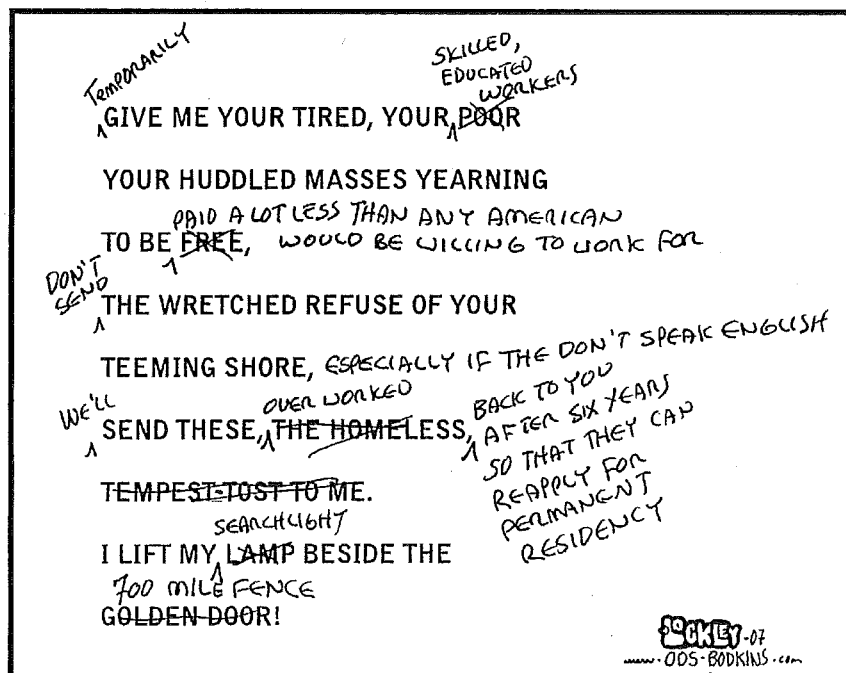
OPTION A: Myths and Realities about Immigrants and Taxes

- Instructions:*
1. Ask the participants to name myths and/or stereotypes about immigrants and taxes. For example, immigrants do not pay taxes yet they receive public benefits. Write responses on a sheet of flip chart paper.
 2. Choose one or two myths for discussion. Divide the large group into smaller groups of 3 - 5 people each. Ask each group to select a myth and discuss what they think about it.
 3. Each group can briefly summarize the results of their discussion to the whole group.

- Talking Points:**
- No matter if immigrant workers are documented or not they pay the same taxes that citizens do: sales taxes, real estate taxes, gas taxes, cigarette and liquor taxes. Immigrants who work in the informal economy and are paid "under the table" in cash do not pay payroll taxes. The same is true for some citizens who work in the informal economy.
 - According to a joint study by the Urban Institute and the Pew Hispanic Center, 50 to 60 percent of undocumented immigrants work for employers who withhold income taxes and social security. Many of these workers present fake papers to employers, so tax payments are deducted from their pay. However, this still means that 40 to 50 percent are paid "under the table."

More **Talking Points** on next page

- Talking Points:**
- Because immigrants earn substantially less than citizens, coupled with under the table paychecks, a lower percentage of their total income goes to taxes than citizens (based on the Urban Institute study conducted in Washington DC).
 - According to the *NYTimes* ("Illegal Immigrants Are Bolstering Social Security With Billions" by Eduardo Porter, 4/5/05), undocumented immigrants have paid billions of dollars into the Social Security system (SS) that they will never get back. Starting in the late 1980s, the Social Security Administration began tracking W-2 forms with incorrect or fictitious SS numbers and holding the SS payments in an "Earnings Suspense file" waiting for someone to claim the funds. In 2002 for example, 9 million W-2's with incorrect SS Numbers were added to the Suspense file, accounting for \$56 billion in earnings, about 1.5% of total reported wages. While there is no way of knowing how many W-2 forms in the suspense file belong to undocumented immigrants, Social Security officials suspect about three quarters of undocumented immigrants pay payroll taxes. Through the 1990s, \$189 billion worth of SS payments have ended up in this file. **This generates \$6 to \$7 billion in Social Security tax revenue each year and about \$1.5 billion in Medicare taxes.** And it is likely that these funds will never be claimed.



OPTION B: Myths and Realities about Immigration, the Media & Public Opinion

Preparation: • Prior to the workshop, the facilitator needs to select several newspaper articles that cover the immigration issue. Alternatively, if the facilitator has access to a radio or TV clip of an immigration story (and can arrange to have the equipment necessary to play the clip for the group), that can be substituted for newspaper articles.

Instructions:

1. In small groups, participants analyze specific news articles about immigrants. Their task is to create a list of statements about immigrants contained in the articles.
2. Each groups shares the statements with the whole group. Using these statements, the facilitator leads the group in creating a character description of “THE IMMIGRANT” as seen by the mainstream media.
3. The whole group then identifies the statements that they believe are myths. The facilitator asks, how can we dispel those myths?
4. The group reads and discusses the handout on the 10 myths.

Talking Points: • One commonly held and much reported belief about immigrants is that they put stress on our social service system. For example, the annual cost to U.S. hospitals of uncompensated care (charity care plus bad debt) has been rising. And some claim that this is due to immigrants although the fraction of total hospital expenses represented by such care has remained relatively constant at about 5 to 6% since 1980. The number of unauthorized immigrants present in the United States has also been increasing, although the estimates are uncertain. Treatment of unauthorized immigrants contributes to uncompensated care costs, but the main reason such costs are increasing is the rise in the number of people who lack health insurance. Immigrants represent only about 20% of the uninsured. Data on uncompensated care are from the American Hospital Association; data on unauthorized immigrants are from the Pew Hispanic Center; data on the uninsured are from the U.S. Census Bureau.

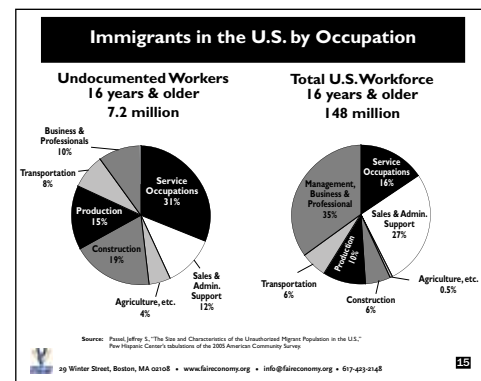
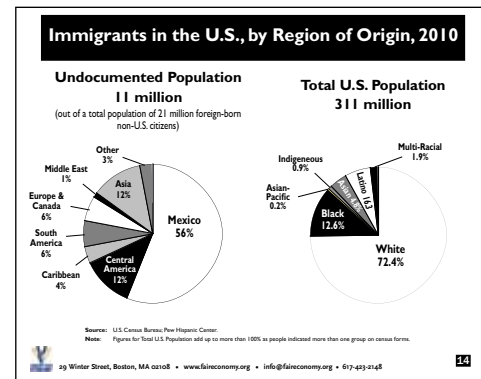
OPTION C: Immigrants in the United States: Who are they?

- Instructions:*
- Ask participants to look at Charts 14 - 16. Then ask one or more of the following questions:
 - What strikes you about this demographic and economic information?
 - What surprised you?
 - Why do you think this is the case?
 - How does this information make you feel?
 - Summarize participants' responses on a sheet of flip chart paper.

Talking Points:

- According to the U.S. Census Bureau, *Hispanic* or *Latino* is considered an origin, not a race. Essentially, any race can come from a Hispanic or Latino origin.

- The 1996 welfare reform bill, introduced by President Clinton, disqualified undocumented immigrants from nearly all means-tested government programs including food stamps, housing assistance, Medicaid and Medicare-funded hospitalization. The only services that undocumented can still get are emergency medical care and K-12 education.
- In December 2005, the U.S. House of Representatives passed the HR4437, sponsored by Congressmen James Sensenbrenner (R-WI) and Peter King (R-NY), both Republicans. The bill criminalized undocumented immigrants *and* those who help them and included plans to build a wall along the US-Mexico border. The bill required local police to act as immigration agents and also established English as the national language.



VI. Pitting Workers Against Workers

Activity A: Wealth, Race & Migration in the U.S.

Facilitator Goals:

- *Illustrate* the changing demographics of race and immigration in the community
- *Examine* inequalities in the distribution of wealth in the U.S
- *Explore* the issue of Black-Brown unity.

Preparation:

- Assemble the following materials prior to the workshop:
 - 40 sheets of paper for “Immigration and Race” signs (best if 4 different colors of paper, 10 sheets each, are used). For the first set write: “1900: White” on nine sheets of paper; and “1900 Black” on one sheet of paper. For the second set, write: “1960: White” on nine sheets of paper; and “1960: Black” on one sheet of paper. For the third set, write: “1980: White” on eight sheets of paper; “1980: Black” on one sheet of paper. On the last sheet of paper, write: “1980: Hispanic, Asian/Pacific Islander/Native American.” For the fourth set write: “2000: White” on seven sheets of papers; “2000: Black” on one sheet of paper, “2000: Hispanic” on one sheet of paper. On the last sheet of paper, write: “2000: Asian, Pacific Islander, Native American, Other.”
- Read the “Immigration and Race Fact Sheet” fact sheet (on p. 30 of this Guide).
- Copy “where do immigrants come from?” statistics onto easel paper.

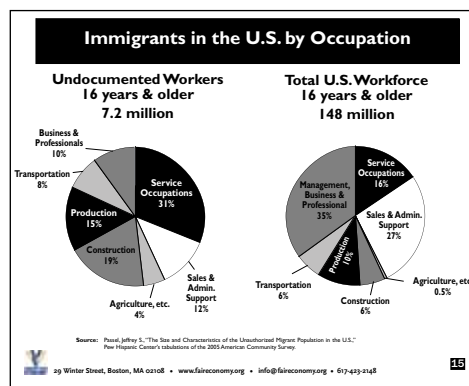
Instructions:

1. Explain that this is an exercise to look at how the demographics of race and immigration have changed during the last forty years, and also to examine the distribution of wealth in the U.S. today.
2. Ask for ten volunteers and have them come up and sit in the chairs, arranged in a straight line at the front of the room. Explain that each person will represent one tenth of the total population in the U.S., at a certain period in time, and together the group will illustrate the racial makeup of the U.S. Also explain that this is a very rough illustration of the U.S. population, and that not all communities will be visible in this exercise.

3. Announce to the group that they will look at racial demographics in the year 1900. You can refer to the statistics in this Guide (see below). Hand out the first set of “immigration and race” signs to the 10 participants sitting in the chairs, and have participants look around: this is roughly what the U.S. racial makeup looked like in 1900. Use “Immigration and Race Statistics” and “Where Do Immigrants Come From?” for the year 1900.
4. Repeat step 3: hand out “immigration and race” signs and read the statistics for the years 1960, 1980 and 2010.
5. Briefly discuss with the large group:
 - What strikes or surprises you about this activity?
 - Why do you think the racial demographics have changed? How have government policies affected these demographics?
 - The “numbers” that we dramatized were based on U.S. Census figures. What questions/comments do you have about the ways the U.S. Census gives a picture of racial demographics in our communities?

Talking Point:

- Tensions between newer immigrant communities and other communities take place within a framework of historical economic inequality and institutionalized racism.



VII. Building a Movement for Comprehensive Immigration Reform

Facilitator Goals:

- *Review* lessons learned by past struggles for economic justice.
- *Identify* specific policy reforms and concrete action steps that people can take.

Preparation:

- Prepare handouts of the descriptions (see p. 34-35 of this Guide) of the movement for **Women's Suffrage**, the struggle for **Civil Rights** in the 1950s and 1960s, and the struggle of the **Farm Workers** to unionize. The facilitator may also wish to prepare additional background information on these movements. The groups, however, are free to choose a different social movement to discuss (Populist movement, Environmental movement, Gay Rights movement, etc.).

- Instructions:*
1. Depending on the size of the whole group, ask participants to divide up into groups of 3 - 6 people and discuss one of the past social movements in the U.S. [Give each group one of the movement descriptions from the Appendix.] Ask each group to choose someone to report back to the larger group.
 2. Ask each group to discuss one or more of the following questions:
 - What do you know about the people who participated in this movement of the past?
 - How would you describe their goals?
 - What do you know about the targets of the movement's campaigns? What do you know about the allies?
 - How would you describe the strategies to achieve their goals?
 - What do you know about the movement's achievements?
 - How have you benefitted from these social justice movements?



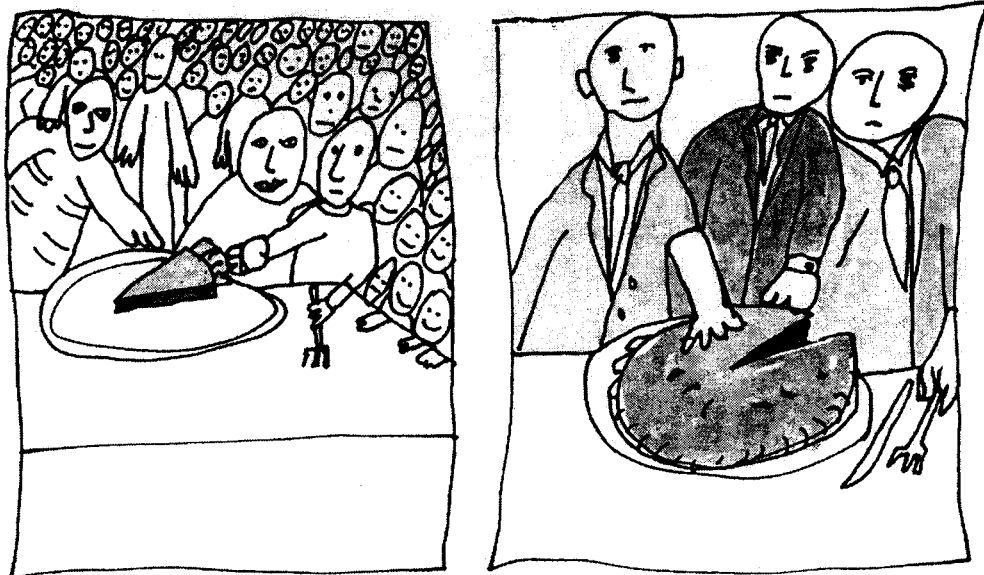
3. Ask each group to highlight one or two key insights from their discussions, for the whole group.

- Talking Points:**
- Some “conclusions” about successful movements include:
 - Movements are based on a common vision and broadly-shared goals (e.g., Women’s Suffrage movement: equality for women and the right to vote).
 - Movements require a long-term perspective (e.g., the Civil Rights movement was at an intense level for two decades: 1950s and 1960s).
 - Movements involve organizing and mobilizing large numbers of people, including allies, and attention to developing leaders (e.g., the United Farm Workers union and the Grape boycott).
 - Movements are about building power to redistribute resources equitably (e.g., the Labor movement in the 1930s and the New Deal).
 - Movements involve campaigns that seek rule changes in public policy that will move us toward our ultimate goal and vision (e.g., the Environmental Movement and the establishment of the EPA, the Clean Water Act).
 - Movements need infrastructure: grassroots groups and institutional allies that organize and mobilize a mass base of support, research capacity, communications, leadership development, and funding.
 - Movements move through stages, through ebbs and flows, and must adapt to both internal and external conditions that change over time.
 - To be successful, mass movements must “speak to people’s deepest aspirations and link daily tactics and challenges to those dreams,” according to Ricardo Levins Morales (*Tecumseh’s Fist*, 2009). The vision expressed by progressive social movements share a common set of values or ideals: democracy and justice; peace and freedom; democracy and equality; solidarity; community; dignity and respect for work and workers; compassion and care for children, the elderly, and the infirm; stewardship of the planet. Demands for reforms and structural changes flow from the vision. Strategies and tactics — a plan of action — is necessary to attain specific goals and objectives.

More **Talking Points** on next page

- Talking Points:**
- *The Populists* were unique in the ways in which they united rural farmers and urban workers. In the 1880s, the Populists began a campaign for the first income taxes. However, some Populists succumbed to racial and anti-Semitic views that contributed to their demise. But we do have a lot to learn about their commitment to creating real economic democracy.
 - In the 1930s, New Deal legislation, and other laws and policies passed as a result of mass movements for economic justice, benefited working people across the board. Unfortunately, employers often found ways to circumvent the rules, discriminating against women and people of color, and driving wedges between natural allies.
 - Although some unions and labor organizing efforts maintained overt racist and sexist practices, several progressive unions fought for the inclusion of people of color and women in their ranks and fought for rule changes that would benefit all workers regardless of race or gender.

4. Ask participants to look at the list on *Chart 17: What Can We Do?* Ask participants which one or more of the items on this list can they commit to doing? What would they add to this list?
5. Thank the participants for coming.



Appendix

- 1. Immigration & Race Fact Sheet**
- 2. Social Movements Description**
- 3. Perspectives on Immigrant Groups in U.S. History**
- 4. Answers to the Immigration Quiz**
- 5. Common Beliefs About Immigration**
- 6. Placards for Immigration Role Play**
- 7. Resources for Further Study**

Immigration and Race Fact Sheet

Shifting Categories in U.S. Census Racial Classifications

The history of census taking has always been a politically biased process. Different groups have been put into different categories at different times. From 1790 until 1970, the U.S. Census identified race by the following categories: White, Black, American Indian, Eskimo and Aleut; Asian and Pacific Islander and Other race. The population of Hispanic origin was first identified comprehensively in the 1970 census. Prior to this, the “Mexican” category was used once as a separate racial category (in the 1930 Census). This category was later eliminated in 1940 when “Mexican” was revised and included with the “White” population. The 2000 Census also marked change: Asians and Pacific Islanders were counted in separate categories, and for the first time, the Census tracked figures for people who considered themselves of multiple racial background.

Immigration and Race Statistics:

The statistics are based on U.S. Census figures for 1900, 1960, 1980, and 2000. We have chosen these dates because they provide a good gauge of demographic change due to changes in immigration policy. 1900 marks a period where European immigration to the U.S. was at a high point (before the passage of restrictive immigration legislation in the 1920s.) 1960 provides a good benchmark to compare demographic changes after the passage of the 1965 Immigration Act, which eliminated racial quotas to immigration. 1980 and 2000 show the growing demographic change within the U.S. also reflecting changes in the way that the U.S. Census Bureau determined racial categories, particularly for “Hispanics.”

1900

- 87.9% of the U.S. population was considered White
- 11.6% of the U.S. population was considered Black
- 0.3% of the U.S. population was considered Native American/Indigenous
- 0.1% of the U.S. population was considered Asian/Pacific Islander

1960

- 88.6% of the U.S. population was considered White
- 10.5% of the U.S. population was considered Black
- 0.3% of the U.S. population was considered Native American/Indigenous
- 0.5% of the U.S. population was considered Asian/Pacific Islander

1980

- 79.6% of the U.S. population was considered White and not Hispanic
- 11.7% of the U.S. population was considered Black
- 0.6% of the U.S. population was considered Native American/Indigenous
- 1.5% of the U.S. population was considered Asian/Pacific Islander
- 6.4% of the U.S. population was considered Hispanic

2010

- 72.4% of the U.S. population was White, not Hispanic
- 12.6% of the U.S. population was Black
- 0.9% of the U.S. population was considered Native American/Indigenous
- 4.8% of the U.S. population was considered Asian
- 0.2% of the U.S. population was considered Pacific Islander/Native Hawaiian
- 16.3% of the U.S. population was considered Latino
- 1.9% of the U.S. population was considered Multi-Racial

Social Movement Descriptions

Women's Suffrage Movement

In the second half of the 19th century, the suffrage (the right to vote) movement in the U.S., led by Susan Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, both dedicated abolitionists, focused on a strategy of long-term education driven by persistent agitation.* Their efforts included local direct actions, mass mobilizations, and law suits based on the notion that the vote was a fundamental human right. This demand for universal suffrage helped develop a rights-based women's movement, and in 1920, the 19th amendment to the US constitution was ratified, giving women the right to vote, and culminating more than one hundred years of struggle led by women.

In the 1960s, the National Voting Rights Act, an outcome of the Civil Rights movement, struck down local laws and practices that prevented African Americans, including Black women, from voting.

* Lobel, Jules, *Success Without Victory* (NYU Press, 2003)

The Farm Workers Movement

In 1962, Cesar Chavez in partnership with Dolores Huerta formed the National Farm Workers Association, which would later become the United Farm Workers of America (UFW) in 1966. The UFW demanded water breaks during long stretches of work, general work breaks, higher wages and benefits, and improved living conditions. This struggle united field workers, grape pickers, students, faith communities, civil rights activists, and sympathetic labor unions. Rich farmers, the politicians who supported them, and corrupt unions (Teamsters), among others, made up the farm workers' opposition. The struggle was long and intense, using protest marches in both fields and city streets, consumer-supported boycotts, strikes, and fasts. The UFW achieved recognition, fair contracts, and improved working conditions from many growers, and the national "Grape Boycott" became a model tactic used in subsequent struggles.

The Civil Rights Movement

From the very beginning of the European colonization of North America, enslaved Africans and people of African descent fought against their oppression. The modern movement for Black freedom began after World War II and picked up steam after the 1954 Supreme Court ruling (*Brown vs. Topeka Board of Education*) prohibited racial segregation in public schools. In 1955, a boycott of segregated busses in Montgomery, Alabama, was sparked by the refusal of Rosa Parks to give up her seat to a white man and go to the back of a bus. Bus boycotts, campaigns to integrate lunch counters and public swimming pools, and many other efforts to dismantle the “Jim Crow” policies in the Deep South, brought tens of thousands of people into protracted struggle. In the late 1950s and throughout the 1960s, organizations and coalitions led by people of color such as Dr. Martin Luther King, Malcolm X, Ella Baker, Fannie Lou Hamer, Septima Clark, E.D. Nixon, Stokely Carmichael, John Lewis, Bob Moses, and many others demanded the right to vote; the desegregation of schools, libraries, public transportation, and recreation areas; better working conditions; and other rights afforded to whites. Broad-based coalitions of civil rights groups, progressive unions, college students, and faith communities grew and focused on changing government policies (from the elimination of local poll taxes to the passage of the federal Voting Rights Act of 1964). Tactics included protest marches, strikes, boycotts, voter registration drives, and in some cases, armed self defense.

The achievements of the Civil Rights Movement are many and include the removal of Jim Crow laws and regulations at the local and state levels and a measure of political power for African Americans, although many would argue that fundamental changes in the distribution of wealth and power did not occur or were short-lived.

Perspectives on Immigrant Groups in U.S. History

Match the quote on the left column with the immigrant group on the right column.

- | | |
|--|---|
| A. [Immigrants of this group threaten] ... nothing less than the possibility of a great and perilous change in the very fabric of our [Anglo-Saxon] race.... If a lower race mixes with a higher in sufficient numbers, history teaches us that the lower race will prevail. | 1. Italian immigrants in New York City at the beginning of the 20th century. |
| B. [With respect to this wave of immigrants] [W] are committing cultural suicide. The barbarians at the gate will only need to give us a slight push, and the emancipated body of Western Civilization will collapse in a heap. | 2. Russians, Hungarians, Poles, Bohemians, Italians, Greeks, and even Asians, at the beginning of the 20th century. |
| C. [Immigrants of this nationality] are a riffraff of desperate scoundrels, ex-convicts, and jailbirds. | 3. The current wave of immigrants, most of whom are from Mexico and other parts of Latin America and the Caribbean. |
| D. [The immigrants of this nationality] are nothing but 'imported beggars' and 'animals', a mongrel mass of ignorance and crime and superstition, as utterly unfit for society's duties as they are for the common courtesies and decencies of civilized life. | 4. Irish immigrants in the mid 19th century. |

**Answers to Matching Activity:
Perspectives on Immigrant Groups in U.S. History**

- A. 2. Senator Henry Cabor Lodge (1909)
- B. 3. Congressman Tom Tancredo, *In Mortal Danger - The Battle for America's Borders and Security* (2006)
- C. 1. NYC Police Commissioner Theodore Bingham (1908)
- D. 4. Editorial in the *American Standard*, a New Jersey newspaper (1859)

Common Beliefs About Immigration - A Quiz

	True	False
• Immigrants don't pay taxes.	___	___
• Immigrants send all their money out of the country.	___	___
• Most immigrants cross the border illegally.	___	___
• Immigrants don't want to learn English.	___	___
• Immigrants take our jobs.	___	___
• Restricting immigration will prevent terrorism.	___	___
• Immigrants come here to take welfare.	___	___
• Immigrants are a drain on the economy.	___	___

- **Immigrants don't pay taxes.**

False: Whether immigrants have documentation or not, they pay the same taxes as every one else: sales taxes, real estate taxes (if they rent or own a home), gasoline taxes, cigarette and alcohol taxes. Workers — documented or not, citizens or not — who work in the informal economy and are paid “under the table” in cash don't pay federal and state income or social security taxes. The U.S. Social Security Administration has estimated that three quarters of undocumented immigrants pay payroll taxes, and that they contribute \$6-7 billion in Social Security funds that they will be unable to claim.

- **Immigrants send all their money out of the country.**

False: Migrants remit on average about 10% of their household income. The World Bank estimated that remittances totaled \$318 billion worldwide in 2007. The U.S. is the largest source country with more than \$60 billion in remittance outflows, 40% of which is going to Latin America. The flow of remittances to Latin America and the Caribbean doubled in the last 20 years but has slowed considerably with the current economic crisis. Remittances provide between 50% and 80% of the household income for those at home in Latin America. Local banks and transfer companies charge about 10% of the remittance to process the transactions.

- **Most immigrants cross the border illegally.**

False: According to the Pew Hispanic Center, there were 37 million foreign-born resident in the U.S. in 2005. Of these, 11.5 million were naturalized, 10.5 million were legal permanent residents, and 11.1 million were unauthorized (without papers or with expired documents), 2.6 million were refugees, and 1.2 million were temporary legal residents (tourists and students).

- **Immigrants don't want to learn English.**

False: Similar to immigrants from earlier generations, older immigrants find learning a new language difficult, while the younger generation becomes fluent rapidly. Long waiting lists for English as a Second Language (ESL) classes are an indication that immigrant demand for learning English exceeds the formal opportunities. The pattern of adoption of English has remained fairly consistent over time: the longer the length of stay, the more extensive the adoption of the English language. While Spanish-speaking immigrants appear to be learning English at about the same rate as previous generations of European immigrants, they also seem to be retaining their native language at higher rates than did the Europeans. The relationship of a dominant power (the U.S.) over conquered, subjugated, or colonized people (much of Latin American, the Caribbean, and the Philippines) may be a contributing factor, as people seek to resist cultural as well as economic exploitation.

- **Immigrants take our jobs.**

False: The loss of jobs with decent wages and benefits is the result of two major structural developments in the U.S. economy over the last 40 years: deindustrialization and deregulation, and a global economic restructuring that has produced a new international division of labor. Prior to WWII, low-paid workers in the Global South produced and exported raw materials that significantly contributed to the prosperity of the expanding industries in the U.S. and Europe. As Aviva Chomsky points out in her book *They Take Our Jobs and 20 Other Myths About Immigration*, “in the post-war restructuring, the industries started to move to the south to take advantage of the low wages there. People in the south still produced items for export—but now they exported manufactured goods as well as raw materials.” Increasingly, U.S. businesses sought to reduce the costs of labor by outsourcing, downsizing, and replacing higher-wage unionized employment with low-paid, no-benefit jobs. By undermining and destabilizing the economies of Latin America, the Caribbean, Asia and Africa through “free market” trade and lending policies, the U.S. and Europe helped create a “race to the bottom” where workers and governments compete with each other to offer businesses lower wages, lower taxes, fewer environmental regulations, and a more business-friendly environment. One of the key results is a mobile, low-wage labor force.

- **Restricting immigration will prevent terrorism.**

False: Terrorist acts in the U.S. have been committed by both native-born citizens and by immigrants. Restricting immigration is less likely to reduce the threat of terrorism than seeking to reduce global tensions rather than exacerbating them through military intervention, occupation, and aggression.

- **Immigrants come here to take welfare.**

False: Immigrants who are here legally are prohibited from receiving most federal government benefits for at least five years after they arrive in the U.S. Immigrants without papers can get emergency medical care and immunizations (a public health issue). They are not eligible for federal programs such as Social Security, Supplemental Security Income (SSI), Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF), health care (Medicaid and Medicare), or food stamps. Refugees receive limited benefits for limited periods of time. However, they don't get more than a U.S. citizen who is similarly qualified. And they have time limits on all the benefits they receive.

- **Immigrants are a drain on the economy.**

False: The fact is that the majority of immigrants are workers who contribute more to the public sector than they actually use because so many are ineligible for most public services. However, similar to native-born workers, immigrant workers also tend to use more in local services than they pay in local taxes.

Placards for Immigration Role Play Activity

Prepare a separate placard for each role. Put the title on one side in large letters and the description on the other side for the volunteer to read.

Northern European Descent (1870)

Your grandfather, a farmer, migrated to the US from Germany due to several seasons of crop failures. He was able to obtain a plot of land for free under the Homestead Act. This land was on territory formerly lived on by Native Americans. He built a house with his own hands, cultivated the land, married, and eventually passed the land to his heirs.

African American Descent (1780s-1790s)

Your ancestors were brought to the US sometime after the American War of Independence. There is no record of the specific region of origin (most likely West Africa) or the year. It is known that a descendant of this ancestor escaped from slavery, with the help of freed men and white sympathizers, just before the American Civil War and fought with the Union Army. He settled in South Carolina after the war but was not able to keep the land promised by law (40 acres and a mule). In the 1940s, descendants moved to the North (Detroit) for jobs in the growing auto industry.

Latin American Descent (pre-Colonial period)

This volunteer's ancestor came to the "New World" on a ship with the Conquistador Hernan Cortes in 1519. He eventually settled in an area now known as Arizona, establishing a large and successful farm (hacienda). As a result of the Treaty of Guadalupe, which ended the Mexican-American War, the area became part of the US and the family lost ownership of the land.

Asian American Descent (1850)

This volunteer's great, great, great grandfather came to California, seeking his fortune in the great American Gold Rush, after experiencing economic hardship due to growing British dominance, after the defeat of China in the Opium War of 1839-1842. As a result of California tax laws on miners enforced mainly on Asians, he abandoned mining and sought work as a laborer, eventually working on the construction of the transcontinental railroad in 1865.

Native American Descent (10,000 BCE)

This volunteer's ancestors arrived in the east coast of North America after thousands of years of migration that began in Asia. After waves of colonizers entered the Americas after Columbus, their ancestors were forced further and further west, eventually settling on a reservation in Oklahoma.

Asian American Descent (1850)

This volunteer's great, great, great grandfather came to California, seeking his fortune in the great American Gold Rush, after experiencing economic hardship due to growing British dominance, after the defeat of China in the Opium War of 1839-1842. As a result of California tax laws on miners enforced mainly on Asians, he abandoned mining and sought work as a laborer, eventually working on the construction of the transcontinental railroad in 1865.

Eastern European Descent (1910)

Your grandparents came to the U.S. through the Ellis Island Immigration Center in NYC. They left Russia due to Tsar Nicholas II's anti-Semitic pogroms (A pogrom is a form of riot directed against a particular group, whether ethnic, religious, or other, and characterized by the killing and destruction of their homes, businesses, and religious centers. The term was originally used to denote extensive violence against Jews – either spontaneous or premeditated – but in English it is also applied to similar incidents against other minority groups).

Resources About Migration

Books and Reports

- **The Accidental American – Immigration and Citizenship in the Age of Globalization** by Rinku Sen with Fekkak Mamdouh, (Berrett-Koehler, 2008).
- **Bad Samaritans – The Myth of Free Trade and the Secret History of Capitalism** by Ha-Joon Chang (Bloomsbury Press, 2008). An account of “people in the rich countries who preach free markets and free trade to the poor countries in order to capture larger shares of the latter’s markets and preempt the emergence of possible competitors. They are saying ‘do as we say, not as we did’ and act as Bad Samaritans, taking advantage of others who are in trouble.” Many of Chang’s examples are taken from his own experiences as a South Korean born in 1963.
- **BAJI Reader – Black Perspectives on Race, Globalization, and Immigration** published by the Black Alliance for Just Immigration (PO Box 2528, Berkeley, CA 94702, 2009).
- **Illegal People – How Globalization Creates Migration and Criminalizes Immigrants** by David Bacon (Beacon Press, 2008).
- **Immigrants and the American Dream** by William A.V. Clark (Guilford Press, 2003). The United States has absorbed nearly 10 million immigrants in the past decade. This book examines who the new immigrants are, where they live, and who among them are gaining entry into the American middle class. Discussed are the complex factors that promote or hinder immigrant success, as well as the varying opportunities and constraints met by those living in particular regions. Extensive data are synthesized on key dimensions of immigrant achievement: income level, professional status, and rates of homeownership and political participation. Also provided is a balanced analysis of the effects of immigration on broader socioeconomic, geographic, and political trends. Examining the extent to which contemporary immigrants are realizing the American dream, this book explores crucial policy questions and challenges that face our diversifying society.
- **The Shock Doctrine – The Rise of Disaster Capitalism** by Naomi Klein (Metropolitan Books, 2007).
- **They Take Our Jobs! and 20 Other Myths About Immigration** by Aviva Chomsky (Beacon Press, 2007).

Films

- **Refugees of the Global Economy.** 26 minutes (2001). National Network for Immigrant and Refugee Rights <<http://www.nnirr.org/shop/video.php>>. Three stories of immigrants who left their homes in Bolivia, Haiti, and the Philippines after global economic powers devastated their countries, only to face new challenges in the United States. These powerful stories raise critical questions about U.S. immigration policy in an era when corporations cross borders at will.
- **Morristown.** 60 minutes (2007). Available from Appalshop <<http://www.appalshop.org>>. Director Ann Lewis chronicles nearly a decade of change in Morristown, Tennessee, through interviews with displaced or low-wage Southern workers, Mexican immigrants, and workers and families impacted by globalization.
- **Unnatural Causes – Episode 3: Becoming American.** 29 minutes (2008). Available from California Newsreel <<http://www.unnaturalcauses.org/>>. Recent Mexican immigrants tend to be healthier than the average American. But those health advantages erode the longer they’re here. What causes health to worsen as immigrants become American? What can we all learn about improved well-being from new immigrant communities.

Web Sites

- **AFL-CIO** - <<http://www.aflcio.org/issues/civilrights/immigration/>>
- **Global Labor Strategies Blog** - <http://laborstrategies.blogs.com/global_labor_strategies/2007/12/labor-and-immig.html>
- **Global Trade Watch** - <www.citizen.org/trade>
- **Immigrant Solidarity Network** - <www.immigrantsolidarity.org>
- **Immigrant Rights** - <<http://immigration.change.org/>>
- **National Network for Immigrant & Refugee Rights** - <www.nnirr.org>