



# ADVANCING AN ASIAN AGENDA FOR IMMIGRATION REFORM

CONFERENCE SUMMARY  
AND RECOMMENDATIONS

# 2002



# **“ADVANCING AN ASIAN AGENDA FOR IMMIGRATION REFORM”**

## **Conference Summary and Recommendations**

**Center for Labor Research and Education – Institute of Industrial Relations**

University of California

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*Thanks to Xiaojing Wang and Mary Purcell for their excellent research assistance.*

Cover Photography © David Bacon

*An immigrant worker from India feeds napkins into an ironing machine in an industrial laundry in Oakland, California.*

Backcover Photography © Robert Gumpert

*Many elderly garment workers are employed in garment factories located within New York and San Francisco's Chinatowns as a way of supplementing their meager Social Security retirement benefits.*

Design by Xiaoqing Wang

# FOREWORD

Before the tragic attacks of September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001 a national movement for immigration reform was gaining support. At the top of the agenda were proposals to legalize undocumented workers and revisit expanded guest worker programs. Significantly, the new President of Mexico also directly engaged support for legalization and other U.S. immigration reforms with the Bush administration. Popular opinion was that some form of legalization might pass Congress by the end of 2001.

During the months prior to September 11<sup>th</sup>, advocates for immigrant rights held several national meetings to develop strategies that would advance a legalization agenda. However, there was scant Asian Pacific Islander (API) participation in these national discussions. In spite of the fact that Asians constitute nearly 50% of all immigrants entering the U.S., the most critical issues for Asian communities, such as eliminating backlogs in family reunification, ranked low on their national agenda. This omission reflected a long-standing gap between Asian immigration-related concerns and the central issues of the national immigrant rights movement.

At the local organizing level, inserting API issues into immigration reform agendas had also been a struggle. When the Labor Immigrant Organizing Network organized a January 2001 march and rally in Oakland for immigration reform, it took much discussion to get family reunification included among the five points of unity. At another group's national strategy meeting in March of 2001, when participants were asked to rank top priorities for immigration reform, family reunification did not make the list.

At this point, we realized that promoting API immigration issues in the national discourse would require organizing a stronger voice. This would mean educating both the Asian community and the broader public about the diverse immigration issues our communities face. And it would mean becoming much better organized to advocate for these issues, as well as being better connected to research opportunities. Largely, it was up to us to launch that effort, so we decided to organize the conference summarized in this document.

Through the generosity of the Center for Labor Research and Education at UC Berkeley and other contributors like the Ford Foundation, the East Bay Community Foundation, and the Service Employees International Union, we were able to sponsor a day-long conference to jump-start discussion about API immigration policy issues. Our intent was to define API immigration policy issues and link them to the broader movement for a just immigration agenda. Both in the past and the present, immigration policy has lacked overall coherency, and was formulated largely in response to periodic changes in economic conditions, political situations, and racial attitudes. Our goal was to situate API immigration policy issues in the broader context of the international migration of labor and human rights. From this perspective, we believe that all immigrants, no matter what their country of origin, have a common interest in establishing a system of immigration that is fair to all.

Furthermore, we are convinced that the movement for immigrant workers' rights is an extension of movements for labor rights and civil rights. An important step in recognizing this unity of interests is the AFL-CIO position on immigrants adopted in February 2000 aimed at reaching out to immigrant workers and including them as part of the American labor movement. This unity of interests has yet to be fully addressed by the civil rights movement, where race and ethnic issues affecting immigrant workers are not a high priority for all people of color, even after the egregious backlash following September 11<sup>th</sup>. It will also take much effort among immigrant rights activists to understand that immigrant concerns are also civil rights issues, and that any attack on people of color represents an attack on immigrants as well.

Conference deliberations were by no means comprehensive, but they did bring to light important elements of an immigration policy agenda for the API community. We hope that these ideas will generate action, increase API participation in the national debate on immigration policy, and be a catalyst for much needed research. It is our hope that Asian advocacy for a just immigration policy will be integrated into the movements for labor rights, civil rights, and human rights.

*Lillian Galedo (Filipinos for Affirmative Action)*

*Katie Quan (Center for Labor Research and Education, UC Berkeley)*

*Cathi Tactaquin (National Network for Immigrant and Refugee Rights)*

Oakland, CA 2002



## **CONFERENCE CO-SPONSORS:**

Asian Community Immigration Clinic  
Asian Pacific American Labor Alliance (APALA), Alameda Chapter  
Center for Labor Research and Education (CLRE), UC Berkeley  
Chinese Progressive Association (CPA)  
Filipino Civil Rights Advocates (FilCRA)  
Filipinos for Affirmative Action  
Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees Union (HERE), Local 2  
Labor Immigrant Organizing Network (LION)  
National Network for Immigrant and Refugee Rights (NNIRR)  
Northern California Citizenship Project (NCCP)  
Services, Immigrant Rights and Education Network (SIREN)  
Sweatshop Watch

## **CONFERENCE BENEFACTORS:**

East Bay Community Foundation  
Ford Foundation  
Institute for Labor and Employment (ILE), University of California  
Service Employees International Union (SEIU)  
Service Employees International Union (SEIU), Local 250  
Service Employees International Union (SEIU), Local 535

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# INTRODUCTION

Immigration policy is one of the most volatile topics of our times. Prior to September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001, the Bush Administration was on the verge of agreeing to a path-breaking proposal for legalizing undocumented immigrants. However, just after September 11<sup>th</sup> that momentum halted, and immigration policies have instead become more restrictive and punitive, as evidenced in the secrecy provisions of the PATRIOT Act, the citizenship requirements of the Aviation and Transportation Security Act, and lowering of entry allotments for refugees.

Although many post September 11<sup>th</sup> policies are targeted directly at Asian immigrants from Central Asia, South Asia, and Southeast Asia, little has been heard from Asian Pacific Islander (API) communities about their views on these matters. Even prior to September 11<sup>th</sup>, their voices on national immigration policy issues such as legalization were not well known, despite the fact that Asian Pacific Islanders account for 31% of immigration to the U.S. between 1991 and 2000 (U.S. INS 2002: Statistical Yearbook 2000). Moreover, other concerns particular to API communities have not been heard at all. *For an historical overview of API immigration, see Appendix A.*

To begin a dialogue on the immigration policy concerns of Asian Pacific Islander workers, the Center for Labor Research and Education (Labor Center) at UC Berkeley joined with community and union partners to sponsor a conference entitled “Advancing an Asian Agenda for Immigration Reform” in March 2002. The conference was attended by 130 representatives of community and labor organizations, primarily from Northern California, but also including representatives from New York, Washington, D.C., and Los Angeles. Sponsors included the Asian Community Immigration Clinic, Asian Pacific American Labor Alliance Alameda Chapter, UC Berkeley Center for Labor Research and Education, Chinese Progressive Association, Filipino Civil Rights Advocates, Filipinos for Affirmative Action, Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees Union Local 2, Labor Immigrant Organizing Network, National Network for Immigrant and Refugee Rights, Northern California Citizenship Project, Services, Immigrant Rights and Education Network, and Sweatshop Watch.

Planning the focus of the conference was the first challenge, as the Asian Pacific Islander community is made up of people from diverse countries with different issues. Planning committee member Lillian Galedo of Filipinos for Affirmative Action observed in her opening remarks,

*“...we are extremely diverse—Chinese with 2.7 million, Filipino with 2.4 million, and Indian, the fastest growing Asian group who doubled in the last decade are at 1.9 million. Fourth are Vietnamese at 1.2 million, and Koreans at 1.08 million are 5th.*

*But, today the Asian community also encompasses Taiwanese, Pakistani, Afghans, Bangladeshi and Sri Lankans, Tai, Hmong, Indonesians, Malays, Mien, Cambodians, Laotians, Maldivians, Burmese, Okinawans, Nepalese, Singaporeans, Bhutanese, and Iwo Jimans... Different Asian communities have organized on their ethnic specific issues, but few of us were working comprehensively on issues impacting our combined communities."*

Over the months prior to the conference, the Labor Center along with the National Network for Immigrant and Refugee Rights, Filipinos for Affirmative Action and the Labor Immigrant Organization Network convened San Francisco Bay Area Asian community advocates in a series of meetings to discuss the most pressing immigration policy issues facing their communities. On the basis of these discussions, eight key issues were identified for the conference to address: impact of September 11<sup>th</sup>, citizenship requirements for airport baggage screeners, backlogs for family reunification, legalization, sex trafficking, labor smuggling, contract labor, and refugee programs. Each discussion session was designed to produce recommendations for policymakers, researchers, and advocates. *For Conference agenda, see Appendix B.*

The conference was by all accounts an important beginning. Participants were buoyed by a sense of historical significance; this was the first time in recent decades that API advocates had come together to discuss immigration policy. They took seriously the responsibility towards their constituencies, as stated in Galedo's keynote speech,

*"Today we need to view ourselves as leaders in the national discourse that shapes immigration reform. We need to be our own advocates, be our own messengers to Congress where these reforms are made."*

This paper provides an overview of these eight issues and highlights some recommendations that emerged from Conference discussions. *For a list of Conference participants, see Appendix C.* Where historical background and general context is not clear, the labor center has supplemented conference transcripts with researched information. It is not meant to be an exhaustive review of the many complexities of U.S. immigration policy, nor does it even fully reflect every idea raised at the Conference. This paper does, however, provide us with a framework for addressing a number of immigration issues of concern to API communities that have not been given adequate attention in the national debate on immigration reform.

This Conference was designed to integrate API voices into the broader immigration agenda. To achieve this, API organizations need to educate their constituencies about immigration policies and their impact on the Asian community. Moreover, the community's concerns surrounding immigration matters must be heard and heeded by legislators. Their voices can be strengthened by quantitative data as well as qualitative research that humanize the debate around immigration reform.

Following each topic section are three sets of recommendations tackling these issues. The recommendations emerged from the conference and are aimed at organizers, policymakers, and researchers. Implicit throughout these recommendations is the understanding that in order to generate more substantive API influence on immigration policy, organizers, researchers, and policymakers need to build stronger multiethnic and multiracial networks. Additionally, as Congress debates INS restructuring, conference participants stressed that the agency's reforms must address current family reunification and refugee backlogs, its substandard quality of service, and its suspect enforcement practices.



## SEPTEMBER 11<sup>TH</sup> IMPACTS: DISCRIMINATION

### The PATRIOT Act

The USA PATRIOT Act passed one month after September 11<sup>th</sup> in October 2001, and gave the government sweeping new powers to detain and deport immigrants without hearings or access to attorneys. This contributed to a sense of fear and anxiety in API communities across the country, putting immigrants on notice that they were no longer safe from arbitrary suspicion. According to Ai-jen Poo, plenary speaker from the Coalition Against Anti-Asian Violence in New York:

*“Starting in October, South Asian neighborhoods were invaded by FBI personnel, going door to door to gain information on residents, or searching through everything from a crumpled up brown paper bag in the street to young people walking to the corner store.”*

Thousands of Central Asian and South Asian men have been detained and deported, and one person has died in detention. According to the Council on American-Islamic Relations, bias incidents against Muslims soared after September 11<sup>th</sup>, and 57 percent of all Muslims reported bias or discrimination during that period (Seattle Times 2002). Those who have not been detained, even if they hold green cards or are naturalized citizens, fear that they might be. In light of this treatment, some Arab and South Asian immigrants have chosen to go underground to escape the arbitrary detention and “military trials” that the PATRIOT Act allows. This is indeed an ironic twist, since many of them came to the United States precisely to escape lack of democratic due process and political repression that they faced in their home countries (Poo 2002).

Unfortunately, Asian immigrants are only too familiar with discrimination based upon arbitrary suspicion. Sixty years ago during World War II, based upon suspicion that Japanese immigrants and their American born children were aiding the Japanese government, our wartime enemy, the U.S. government rounded up all Japanese immigrants and U.S. citizens of Japanese descent on the West Coast and forced them into internment camps for the duration of the war. No Japanese American was ever found to be aiding the enemy, and today the Supreme Court has ruled that Japanese Americans are entitled to redress and reparations for the property loss and mental suffering that they

endured (Yamamoto, et al 2001). Yet the PATRIOT Act now gives the government authority to repeat the same type discriminatory actions towards Arab and South Asian immigrant Americans.

As Ai-jen Poo noted:

*"As immigrant communities our histories, present and futures are deeply connected to the fates of our people in the Third World who are faced with the ongoing war against terror. U.S. foreign policy has in many ways determined the character of immigrant communities in the United States. The process of U.S. military intervention has compelled the migration of generations: our mothers, our cousins, our sisters and brothers, ourselves. The memories of these wars are fresh in the minds of many in our communities. Let us also learn from these memories as we begin these discussions about immigration, what our communities need, and what is possible in this new context after September 11<sup>th</sup>."*

**Conference participants called for the repeal of the USA PATRIOT Act.**

## The Aviation and Transportation Security Act

Another example of the erosion of immigrant civil rights since September 11<sup>th</sup> can be found in the Aviation and Transportation Security Act of 2001 (ATSA). Passed by Congress just two months after September 11<sup>th</sup> in an attempt to target one source of security breach, the ATSA requires that all airport baggage screeners be U.S. citizens. This legislation also mandates that screeners who were formerly employed by private companies now become federal government employees. Federalization of screeners took place in November 2002, and only those who were U.S. citizens could re-apply.

Nationally, an estimated 25% of the country's 28,000 screeners were immigrants. However in the San Francisco Bay Area, some 75% of screeners at the three major airports were immigrants, mostly from the Philippines (Bay Area Organizing Committee 2002). At the San Francisco International Airport (SFO) where 80% of the 1,000 screeners were Filipino immigrants who were not yet naturalized<sup>1</sup>, the citizenship requirement had a devastating effect as many workers lost their jobs (Washington Post 2002, Los Angeles Times 2002).

No screeners were connected to the attacks of September 11<sup>th</sup>, and there is no evidence to show that non-citizen screeners perform better or worse than citizen screeners. Citizenship is generally not equated with effective security; non-citizens are allowed to serve in such security sensitive areas as the U.S. armed forces and the National Guard. Therefore ATSA's new citizenship requirement is widely perceived by the Asian Pacific Islander community as targeting immigrant screeners unfairly, in effect blaming immigrant workers for the events of September 11<sup>th</sup>, according to Asian Pacific American Labor Alliance president Luisa Blue (Blue 2002).

In addition to discriminating against API immigrant workers, the ATSA's provision for federalization of airport screener jobs may also undermine a union organizing victory that screeners at SFO won to improve their wages and working conditions. Previously,

<sup>1</sup> For an ironic twist on why some Filipino screeners had chosen not to become naturalized citizens, see page 8-9.



screeners were paid little more than minimum wage and had no health insurance or other fringe benefits. However after they joined the Service Employees International Union (SEIU) and won a collective bargaining agreement in 2000, their wages jumped from \$6.25 per hour with no benefits to \$13 per hour with full benefits. Turnover rates plummeted from 95% to 15%. As turnover declined, morale and productivity increased (Reich 2002, Bay Area Organizing Committee 2002). While it is still not clear whether screeners' jobs will be union jobs once federalized, what is clear is that most of the Filipino immigrant workers who fought hard to organize a union and improve their conditions will not be able to enjoy the fruits of their struggle.

Beyond baggage screeners, there has already been suggestion of extending citizenship requirements to other sectors, including computer specialists at the Department of Defense many of whom are Asian immigrants. SEIU and the American Civil Liberties Union have filed a lawsuit on behalf of screeners at SFO and Los Angeles airports<sup>2</sup>, and Representatives Solis, Pelosi, and Honda have proposed a full repeal of the citizenship requirement (HR 3505). In mid-November 2002, U.S. District Judge Robert Takasugi of Los Angeles issued a preliminary injunction blocking enforcement of the citizenship requirement for airport screeners, questioning the constitutionality of the law. Although this injunction may eventually have a widespread impact, the decision will not have an immediate effect because most immigrant screeners have already lost their jobs (Egelko and Gathright 2002). The final outcomes for both the ACLU lawsuit and the Congressional repeal proposal are still difficult to determine.

**Participants at the Conference strongly denounced the anti-Asian immigrant implications of the ATSA and called for the repeal of its citizenship requirements.**

## Restricting Refugee Entry

Immediately following the September 11<sup>th</sup> attacks, the federal government banned entry of all refugees for two months. Once the ban was lifted, the annual allotment went down from 80,000 to 70,000. According to Phillip Nguyen of the Southeast Asian Community Center, resettlement experts predict that close to half of the available refugee slots will go unused in 2002 (Nguyen 2002).

These slots stay open because of refugee admittance and processing backlogs, especially after the events of September 11<sup>th</sup>. At the time the refugee ban was imposed, approximately 22,000 refugees were approved for resettlement in America and by the date of the conference, the vast majority was still waiting to enter the U.S. Nguyen discussed how INS officials responsible for conducting background checks of refugees have yet to resume these screenings in many countries because of security concerns (Nguyen 2002).

Even before September 11<sup>th</sup>, refugees were required to pass through more stringent security screenings than others seeking to immigrate to this country. Conference participants expressed concern that many of the measures now blocking refugee admissions are carried out in the name of security but do not in fact make Americans safer.

<sup>2</sup> See [www.actu.org/ImmigrantsRights/ImmigrantsRightsMain.cfm](http://www.actu.org/ImmigrantsRights/ImmigrantsRightsMain.cfm)

## Other Discrimination

In addition to discriminatory laws and regulations that target Asian immigrants, Conference participants reported post September 11<sup>th</sup> discrimination in employment opportunities and access to services.

In Silicon Valley, the effects of the general economic recession and decline in the information technology sector had already led to widespread layoffs, especially of South Asian and Taiwanese H-1B contract workers. After September 11<sup>th</sup>, the economic health of Silicon Valley suffered further decline and the entry of Asian H-1B workers halted. *For more on H-1B workers, see page 15.* The events of September 11<sup>th</sup> also led to discrimination against South Asians in hiring. According to Raj Jayadev, instead of being the “model minority,” Asian immigrants became the “model terrorists” (Jayadev 2002).

In New York City, Ground Zero is less than a mile from Chinatown, where more than 50,000 immigrant workers earn their living in the garment and tourism industries. According to an interim report by the Asian American Federation of New York, Chinatown businesses such as garment, restaurant, retail, and jewelry suffered declines in the 50% range during the three months after September 11<sup>th</sup>. Twenty-three percent of the working population in Chinatown were laid off, with total wage losses estimated at \$114 million. Many Asian immigrants who were eligible for emergency services had difficulty accessing those services because of language barriers (Asian American Federation of New York 2002).

**Conference participants expressed the need to monitor anti-Asian hiring discrimination for possible future action, and to increase advocacy for access to services related to September 11<sup>th</sup>.**



*Filipino airport screeners speak out against the citizenship requirement mandated by Aviation and Transportation Security Act.*

Photography © David Bacon



# Conference Recommendations

## **Policy Recommendations:**

- Repeal the USA PATRIOT Act
- Repeal the Aviation and Transportation Security Act's (ATSA) citizenship requirement for airport screeners

## **Recommendations For Organizers:**

- Organize against the PATRIOT Act. Reach out to and work with Arab American and civil rights organizations to:
  - Educate the public about injustices committed against immigrants in the aftermath of September 11<sup>th</sup>
  - Monitor and challenge unlawful INS detentions associated with the "War on Terrorism"
  - Oppose anti-immigrant measures that derived from the PATRIOT Act, such as:
    - a. Deputization of local and state law enforcement officials as INS officials and other collaboration between local law enforcement with the FBI and INS
    - b. Further militarization of the U.S. border
- Organize opposition to the citizenship requirements of the ATSA
  - Build a campaign to repeal citizenship requirements
  - Strengthen existing programs to assist immigrants in the naturalization process
  - Oppose the expansion of citizenship requirements to other industries

## **Recommendations For Researchers:**

- Research and publicize the economic, social, and political impacts of September 11<sup>th</sup> on Asian immigrants
  - Research the economic impact of widespread layoffs due to citizenship requirements
  - Research the relationship of citizenship to quality security
- Compare the amount of money spent on military, police, and other security forces aimed at "stopping terrorism" to federal relief funds for direct and indirect victims of September 11<sup>th</sup>

# LINKING ELIMINATION OF BACKLOGS WITH LEGALIZATION

## Backlogs

The single biggest concern among Conference participants was clearing the backlog of those waiting to reunite with their families in the U.S., which is not surprising since over 90% of Asian immigrants to the U.S. arrive through family-based immigration (Narasaki 2001). For Asian immigrants in particular, family reunification is a critical component of immigration policy because Asian cultures define family to include the extended rather than just the nuclear family. Families also provide critical economic and social support in impoverished immigrant communities (Narasaki 2002, Hing 1993).

The INS's family reunification program is based upon a system of preferences and quotas. A U.S. citizen may bring his/her spouse, unmarried minor children, and parents to the U.S. without limitations. All other family members, however, must go through one of the four preference categories: (1) Unmarried adult children of U.S. citizens, (2) Spouses and children of lawful permanent residents, (3) Married adult children of U.S. citizens, and (4) Brother and sisters of U.S. citizens.

Because no single country is allotted more than 7% of visas awarded in a year, families from large countries or countries with high outflows (for example the Philippines, India, and China) usually have very long waits. The average wait for brothers and sisters of citizens is 12 years, but for Filipinos it can be as much as 22 years (Narasaki 2001).

Therefore, because the INS sets quotas far below demand, and because it does not have the capacity to process applications on a timely basis, family members of Asian immigrants regularly wait many years before they can come to the U.S. Since the program's inception in 1965, this waiting period has steadily increased and is now at an all-time high. As of 1997, over 3.5 million people were waiting to reunite with relatives in the U.S. (U.S. INS 2002: Triennial Report, Narasaki 2001). Asians account for over 45% of all those waiting to enter the country, comprising 60% of the 1.5 million applicants in the brother/sister category and 49% of the 721,000 applicants in the "adult children" category (National Asian Pacific American Legal Consortium 2002).

Permanent residents may also petition for certain categories of relatives to come to the U.S., and their length of wait may differ from that of citizens. Since the backlog to petition an unmarried child averages of 13.5 years for citizens but only 8.5 years for permanent residents, many Filipino immigrants often choose to delay application for citi-

zenship until their children arrived through a permanent resident petition. Ironically, San Francisco Bay Area Filipino airport screeners who chose to delay application for citizenship because of INS backlogs are now faced with an immediate citizenship requirement for their jobs, and many will have to choose between delaying citizenship for faster family reunification or becoming citizens (Blue 2002).

The INS's quota system was purportedly designed to bring about family reunification. However it has been widely criticized for being flawed and inadequate, and in fact causing lengthy family separation rather than reunification. According to Karen Narasaki of the National Asian Pacific American Legal Consortium, "*INS has clearly failed in its function and mission to deliver adequate services to its customers.*"

While some Asian immigrant rights groups have called for an entire system overhaul in the quota system, Conference participants also expressed concern that such overhaul may include proposals to eliminate the Brother/Sister preference altogether, a recurring threat that was most recently seen in the 2000 Republican Party platform.

**All Conference participants agreed that the immediate priority was for the INS to act quickly to eliminate current backlogs.**

## Legalization

Asian Pacific Islander immigrant communities have many undocumented among them, and according to plenary speaker Cathi Tactaquin of the National Network for Immigrant and Refugee Rights (NNIRR), it is important to "come out of our denial" and address the legalization and amnesty debate. Many API undocumented immigrants entered the country as temporary workers, students or tourists and are overstaying their visas, joining the over 40% of all undocumented workers with expired visas (Djajic 2001).

According to Tactaquin, it is important to understand legalization and other migration issues in a global context. Twenty-percent of the world's migrants are undocumented. Another 20% are refugees who never fully achieve documented status. The drive for migration is most often due to poverty and political repression, and is thereby not an option that most migrants would choose if they could achieve decent living conditions in their homelands. Thus the migrants' diaspora cannot be viewed as the root problem, but rather a symptom of broader economic, political, and social ills.

The momentum for legalization was at its height before September 11<sup>th</sup> and immigrant communities, labor, and government representatives were actively engaged in discussing various proposals. After September 11<sup>th</sup>, discussions of legalization changed, but did not stop entirely. Representative Richard Gephardt recently introduced The Earned Legalization and Family Unification Act of 2002. Even though this legislation will not pass during the current session of Congress, efforts such as this that tie together legalization and backlog issues are much needed (Anderson 2002). In addition, momentum continues for related forms of regularizing undocumented status, such as legislative campaigns to allow undocumented persons to apply for driver's licenses, and campaigns to allow students who have been in the U.S. for at least five years to legalize their status and thus qualify for in-state college tuition<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> See [www.sirenbayarea.org/AB540.htm](http://www.sirenbayarea.org/AB540.htm) for information regarding student legalization and

[www.newcitizen.org/english/drivers.licenses.htm](http://www.newcitizen.org/english/drivers.licenses.htm) for information on driver's licenses.

Latino immigrant communities have been the most vocal about legalization, while the API community has not weighed in heavily on this issue. On the other hand, the API community's priority concerns regarding elimination of backlogs in family reunification and refugee processing are not addressed by most advocates for legalization. This presents a potential for conflict and division among immigrant communities unless both legalization and eliminating backlogs are linked and advocated by all immigrant rights activists. Otherwise, as Conference participant Ada Wong of SEIU Local 616's homecare division pointed out,

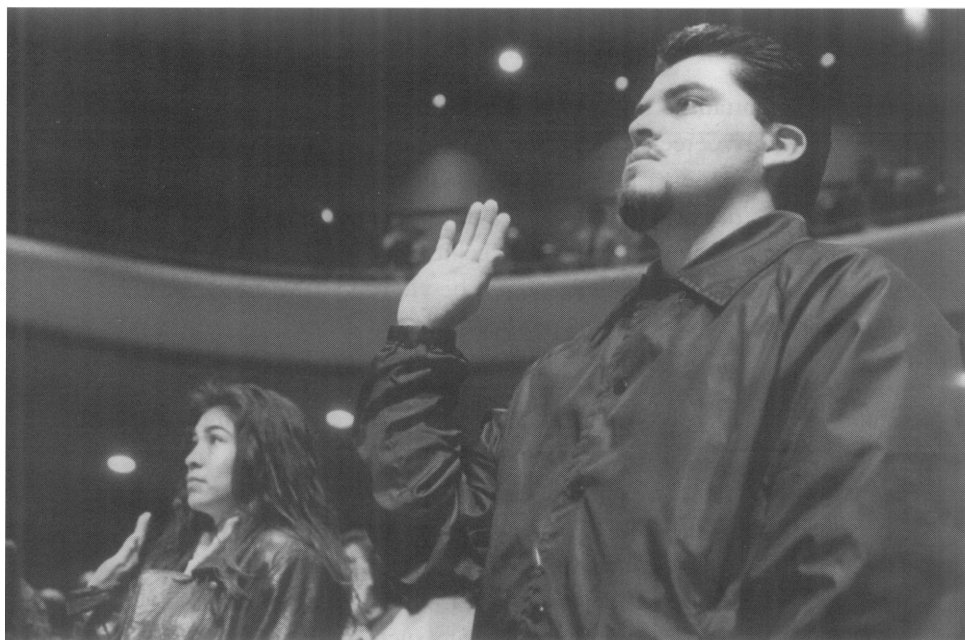
*"How can we convince an Asian worker whose children have been waiting for 12 years in the backlog to support the legalization of a Latino undocumented worker who has been here for only 3 years?"*

In reality, the struggle to eliminate backlogs is related directly to the call for legalization. Many people who came to the U.S. without documents did so because their cases were pending in the INS's load of backlogged requests. Many Latinos—especially Mexicans—are among the millions waiting years in the backlogs. In fact, often within the same family there are members who came to the U.S. and overstayed their visas, as well as those still waiting in their home countries, waiting to be processed in Asia or Latin America (Tactaquin 2002).

In her plenary speech, Cathi Tactaquin proposed:

- 1) Asian immigrants need to have a collective response to policies such as legalization; and
- 2) API immigration activists need to pro-actively engage with other groups who are facing these same issues.

**Conference participants expressed a strong resolve to link the efforts to clear backlogs with the legalization movement.**



*New citizens take the oath of citizenship in a mass swearing-in ceremony at the Masonic Auditorium in San Francisco.*

Photography © David Bacon

# Conference Recommendations

## **Policy Recommendations:**

- Create new policies for the legalization of undocumented workers as well as measures to eliminate family reunification backlogs, including:
  - Enacting broad legalization provisions
  - Enacting related “mini-legalization” legislation such as student adjustment and driver’s license proposals
  - Implementing immediate administrative measures to shorten backlogs
  - Revising current immigration policy to relieve backlogs by increasing quotas and issuing temporary visas for hardship cases

## **Recommendations for Organizers:**

- Reach out to legalization and family reunification backlogs advocates and link efforts to:
  - Reach out to legalization advocates and activists to address family reunification backlogs
  - Link efforts to initiate cooperative strategy discussions among legalization advocates and those working to reduce backlogs
  - Build grassroots support for both legalization and an end to backlogs at the local and state levels

## **Recommendations for Researchers:**

- Research undocumented workers in API communities
  - Gather stories of immigrant families in order to humanize those seeking legalization.
  - Assess economic impact of legalization on API communities
  - Propose new legislative and other strategies that would protect and assist undocumented workers
  - Articulate links between legalization and elimination of backlogs
- Investigate the source of the backlogs in the current INS family reunification system
  - Study the economic, socio-political, and psychological effects of the backlogs on families both in the U.S. and abroad
  - Propose short-term solutions to eliminate backlogs
  - Propose long-terms solutions for the improvement of the family reunification system



## COERCED MIGRATION AND EXPLOITATION

Each year four million people worldwide are brought across national borders against their will to work in some form of severe exploitation or servitude, and among them are many Asians and Pacific Islanders (Coalition to Abolish Slavery and Trafficking 2002). Some are impoverished workers who have paid intermediaries to bring them to the U.S. to work, only to find that conditions here may include confiscation of passports and physical incarceration, as in the case of Thai garment workers in El Monte (The Economist 1995, The New York Times 1995).

Others are deceived into thinking that their passage and their work are legitimate, only to find that they are being smuggled in and may be forced to engage in sexual servitude<sup>4</sup>. Still others are trafficked for domestic servitude under the INS's annual allotment of 4,000 slots issued to diplomats for domestic servants, and some 4,000 to 6,000 others are entrapped in servile marriages when mail-order and internet dating services turn into domestic worker or sexual slavery nightmares (Foo 2002).

The Conference included separate panel presentations and workshops on sex trafficking and labor smuggling, however most of the discussion centered on sex trafficking.

### Sex Trafficking

With globalization—and the freer flow of labor, money, goods and services over borders—trafficking has developed into a lucrative business that generates billions of dollars annually. Only narcotics and the arms trade are more profitable for large, organized crime networks that operate worldwide. The U.S. government estimates that of the one to two million people who are trafficked for sex annually, 50,000 end up in the U.S., and the majority are Asian. Exact figures are hard to determine, but the federal government estimates that these numbers are growing (Shekar 2002).

For the women who are coerced into the sex trade or are forced to perform sex act for their employers as part of other employment, working conditions are horrific. They work long hours and a portion of their wages is withheld to pay for their passage. They are kept in complete isolation, passports confiscated and their movement severely restricted by their employers. Many do not speak English or any Asian language common in the U.S. and none have free contact with the outside world (Shekar 2002). In the case of South Asians, many may be from a social caste that is lower than that of the exploiters. Moreover, many fear returning to their home countries because their

<sup>4</sup> See for example "Tale of Sin on West Coast with Asians Smuggled In," *The New York Times*, September 19, 2002.

experience in the U.S. carries a stigma that is unacceptable to their native communities. They also fear that reporting sex traffickers to the authorities may result in grave risk of further violence to their families (Lee 2002).

When a sex-trafficked woman does want to seek help, she is often confronted by numerous problems such as lack of language access, lack of services, and inadequate legal protection. Usually she does not speak English and often she may not speak Asian languages and dialects that are commonly translated in the U.S. Few social services exist to help these women, and many existing social services lack staff trained to deal with the legal, mental, and cultural issues that arise for the exploited women. Moreover, the law does not definitively criminalize the exploiter, nor does it provide adequate “whistleblower” protection for the victims. Finally, coordination between various law enforcement, legal, and other government and social service agencies remain extremely cumbersome and daunting to navigate for anyone, let alone a monolingual immigrant woman without a passport (Shekar 2002).

<sup>5</sup> The “T” visa is designed for human trafficking migrants who cooperate with law enforcement against those responsible for their enslavement. It allows sex trafficked migrants to remain in the U.S. if it is determined that they could face “extreme hardship involving unusual and severe harm” if returned to their home countries. After three years in T status, sex trafficked migrants may apply for permanent residency. Similarly, the “U” visa is a three-year non-immigrant visa that also enables victims of crime to remain in the U.S. if they are willing to assist with prosecution. A key difference between the visa types is that the “T” visa is designed specifically for victims of severe forms of trafficking whereas the “U” visa encompasses many more crimes. Also, T visa holders can be eligible for public assistance whereas U visa holders can get work authorization but are not eligible for public benefits (see the Department of Justice website: [www.usdoj.gov/crt/crim/wetf/trafficbrochure.html](http://www.usdoj.gov/crt/crim/wetf/trafficbrochure.html)

The Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act was passed during the Clinton Administration in 2000. It provides for temporary visas<sup>5</sup> and occasional permanent settlement for those who would suffer “extreme hardship” if forced to return to their home countries. In exchange, however, the victims must comply with “reasonable requests” for cooperation with law enforcement officers.

To date, the law has had a limited impact. Trafficking victims are usually under tight control and extremely dependent on their captors, making it difficult for them to break free. Despite the existence of “T and U” visas designed for crime victims that prevents deportation and allows for eventual permanent residency, many trafficking victims are afraid to cooperate with the authorities for fear of deportation or retribution against their families back home. Since many sex-trafficked women come from countries where police collude with traffickers, they also find it difficult to trust law enforcement. Furthermore, it is challenging for victims to prove that they would face “severe harm” upon their return.

In February 2002, the Department of Justice reported that it had 91 trafficking investigations pending, representing a 20% increase over the previous year (U.S. Department of State 2002). Nevertheless, advocates for sex-trafficked women are concerned about the Bush Administration’s commitment to implementation of Clinton-era policies. Already the INS has delayed the issuance of the necessary regulations to fully implement the law. Additionally there have been complaints that the INS treats workers who come forward as accomplices instead of crime victims.

Organizations such as GABRIELA expose and oppose the global sex trade that forces Asian women and children in economically marginalized countries to engage in degrading and often life-threatening labor in their home countries and abroad. According to GABRIELA representative Jane Margold,

*“Our aim is to create the political will to secure basic freedoms for the world’s more vulnerable victims. [However] it is not clear that post-September 11<sup>th</sup> an administrative impetus still exists to move against sex trafficking on a national or international basis.”*

**Conference participants resolved to engage more actively around this issue and formed an email listserv of activists interested in this.**

# Conference Recommendations

## Policy Recommendations:

- Strengthen visa programs that protect victims of coerced migration and simplify their amnesty process
  - Increase penalties for traffickers
  - Mandate special training for the INS to respond to trafficking cases

## Recommendations for Organizers:

- Organize protection for trafficked and smuggled workers
  - Raise awareness of the global proliferation of trafficking and smuggling and the systems that support these activities
  - Build collaboration among attorneys, service providers, trained translators and cultural experts to assist coerced migrants
  - Develop rapid response teams in local and regional areas
  - Create shelters and other new services for coerced migrants
  - Encourage former sex workers to organize and advocate for workers trapped in the sex industry
  - Build strategic partnerships with legal and human rights groups in the countries of origin to educate people about coerced migration and its consequences

## Recommendations for Researchers:

- Research the trafficking industry, people, and networks involved, primary sending countries, channels for entering the U.S., and consequences for trafficking victims and their families
  - Study limitations and loopholes of laws that are suppose to protect coerced migrants and determine the impact of existing penalties for traffickers
  - Research linkages between trafficking and U.S. involvement (i.e. militarization) in sending countries



*A domestic worker from Indonesia who worked for two and a half years in Los Angeles virtually without wages. She is at the office of the Labor Defense Network, which filed a legal claim to recover her unpaid wages with the help of the Coalition for Humane Immigrant Rights in Los Angeles.*

Photography © David Bacon

## H-1B WORKERS

Over 400,000 immigrants are currently working in the U.S. on H-1B visas<sup>6</sup>, most of them in the high-tech industry. Under heavy lobbying from high tech employers, Congress has steadily raised the annual quota to a current 195,000, not including those visas issued to non-profit organizations, universities, and the government. Over two-thirds of all H-1B petitions approved in 2000 were for Asians, and over half of these were for Indian and Chinese nationals, (U.S. INS 2000: Characteristics of Specialty Occupation Workers).

According to Raj Jayadev of Silicon Valley DEBUG, despite the image of affluent high tech workers, the H-1B program actually gives employers access to a pool of cheap labor: highly skilled, temporary foreign workers with limited labor rights often hired at lower salaries than their U.S. counterparts. Because the employer must sponsor the visa applicant (and thus can ostensibly deport the workers by firing them), the system is rife with opportunities for employers to exploit and threaten their employees.

Silicon Valley DEBUG has been trying to organize H-1B workers. Many H-1B immigrants mistakenly believe that they lack the right to organize unions because they are (inappropriately) classified as “independent contractors.” Unions themselves do not seek to organize H-1B workers because the labor movement has long opposed H-1B and other employment-based immigration programs including guest worker programs. Jayadev argued that the AFL-CIO should view these workers as unfairly exploited and rather than spurn them, unions should seek to organize them.

<sup>6</sup> H-1B is a visa classification for immigrants in specialty occupations. This visa status is non-portable, meaning that an H-1B holder is obligated to remain with their initial sponsoring employer unless they received permission from INS to switch employers. Additionally, they cannot apply for permanent residency unless their employer files sponsorship.

# Conference Recommendations

## Policy Recommendations:

- Change H-1B provisions to disengage employment from immigration status
  - Change employer sponsorship requirement in order to allow H-1B visa holders more opportunity to switch employers and industries
  - Hold companies and their CEOs accountable for labor violations at both contracting and subcontracting levels

## Recommendations for Organizers:

- Develop new proposals for employment-based immigration, including decoupling terms of employment from immigration status, and establishing “whistleblower protection” for those workers who speak out against exploitative conditions
  - Reach out to H-1B workers—offer assistance and support for their efforts to organize and lobby
  - Identify the major difficulties that H-1B workers face and prioritize them
  - Identify allies within the labor movement and community organizations
  - Link across ethnicities and work to defend the rights of all guest workers, including those in the agricultural sector
  - Educate the public about the negative impacts of the H-1B program, including harms caused by draining a pool of well-educated professionals away from “sending countries”

## Recommendations for Researchers:

- Research the effects of temporary worker programs on workers’ rights
  - Document abuses in the current H-1B system, including misuse of the independent contractor designation
  - Examine the rights of different categories of temporary workers, including agricultural guest workers
  - Propose new legislation that would guarantee the employment rights of temporary workers



*Silicon Valley electronics workers*

Photography © David Bacon



## REFUGEE PROGRAMS

As defined in the Refugee Act of 1980, a refugee is any person afraid to return to his/her country *“because of persecution or a well-founded fear of persecution on account of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion.”* Since 1975, the U.S. has resettled 2.4 million refugees. Between 1975 and 1980, one million refugees entered from Southeast Asia and close to half of them settled in California (Hicks 1998).

The President and Congress set the annual number of refugees accepted into the U.S. Each region of the world receives a quota, with a certain number of slots left unallocated for use in emergencies. In 2002, that limit was set at 70,000, a decline from 90,000 in 2000 and 80,000 in 2001. Quotas for Asian will regions will comprise 22% of that total.

According to plenary speaker Phillip Nguyen of the Southeast Asian Community Center the main concern of the API refugee community is the decline in numbers of refugees accepted each year. The government argues that reduced tensions in Southeast Asia and the fall of communism in the former Soviet Union have led to reduced demand from these key regions. But continued political and economic instability still drive millions of people to seek refuge, and overall demand in these countries continues to far outstrip U.S. admittances.

Refugee communities are presently lobbying elected officials to increase annual quotas for refugees. They are also trying to reverse the public image that refugees are potential terrorists (Nguyen 2002). Philip Nguyen and other refugee advocates called upon API immigrant activists to join their effort. Conference participants acknowledged that immigrant rights activists and refugee rights activists must learn more about each other's issues and combine their efforts in a more systematic way.

# Conference Recommendations

## Policy Recommendations:

- Increase the cap on annual refugee admittances to at least year 2000 levels
  - Eliminate backlogs in refugee admission processing

## Recommendations for Organizers:

- Advocate for clearing backlogs in refugee processing and restoring admission quotas
  - Educate the public about the unique and urgent needs of refugees as well as the recent decrease in numbers of refugees admitted to the U.S.
  - Link with other immigrant groups to incorporate these messages into larger pro-immigrant strategies and campaigns
  - Organize around other refugee concerns, including access to public benefits

## Recommendations for Researchers:

- Research the impact of refugee admittance policies
  - Examine refugee admittance in relation to terrorism
  - Calculate the economic contribution of refugee communities in the U.S.



*Two Hmong children listen to their parents urge a California legislator to maintain bilingual education programs for them.*

Photography © David Bacon

## CONCLUSIONS AND NEXT STEPS

The Conference helped generate a long overdue discussion of the impact of immigration policies on Asian communities. An overarching theme was the need to build stronger multiracial coalitions and networks in order to strengthen our voice. This applies to both coalition building between API community and advocacy organizations as well as constructing networks with allies outside the API community.

Perhaps the most far-reaching new recommendation was the call for linking the campaign for legalization of undocumented workers with efforts to eliminate backlogs in family reunification. Other recommendations responded to current issues such as opposition to the PATRIOT Act and the Aviation Security Act. Some participants brought new perspectives to longstanding issues, such as Raj Jayadev's views on the H-1B issue. Still others called for a stronger voice on Asian community issues, such as recommendations related to sex trafficking and refugee backlogs.

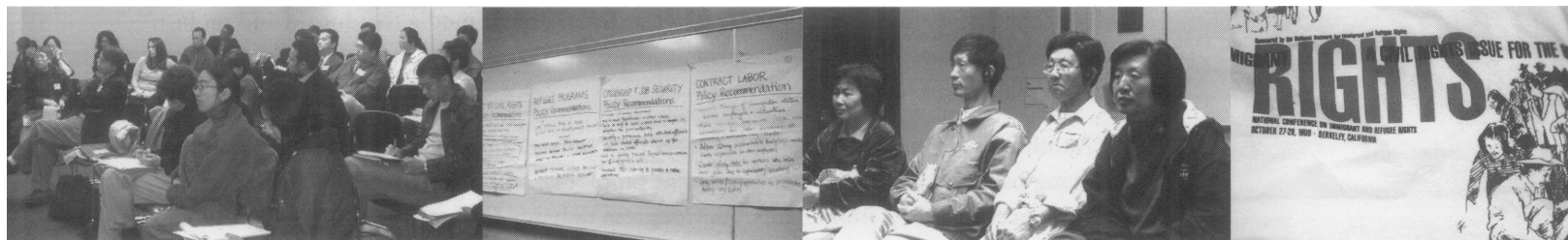
Although the one-day conference began fruitful dialogues, many issues were left for future discussion. Some topics, such as organized smuggling of undocumented workers and the employer sanctions provision of IRCA (the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986) were addressed somewhat in the plenaries and workshops, but not in great depth. Other controversial issues within the Asian community, such as whether or not to support the continuation of H-1B and other employment based temporary contract labor programs, were raised but not resolved.

Participants consistently stressed the need for API participation at immigration policy forums to better integrate the concerns of the API community into broader immigration agendas. At the same time, they spoke of the need to strengthen their own constituencies' voices on these immigration policy issues. This includes a suggestion from a number of Cantonese speakers to have similar meetings in different Asian languages. Many emphasized the importance of communicating with legislators in order to hold them accountable. Others reminded us to use Asian ethnic media to educate and mobilize immigrant communities, while also utilizing the mainstream media to influence the broader public and policymakers.

Another universal recommendation was INS reform: improving its quality of service, reducing backlogs, addressing enforcement problems, and making agents more sensitive to the concerns of API immigrants. As Congress debates INS restructuring, these issues need to be addressed.

Participants departed with enthusiasm about working together to continue discussions began at the conference. They agreed to organize similar gatherings in other regions, beginning in New York, Los Angeles, and Chicago, and anticipated that these gatherings would uncover new issues and offer new ideas for reform. Participants formed a taskforce with representatives from each region to ensure that these efforts continue to move forward.

In the Bay Area, groups agreed to meet on a quarterly basis to strengthen collaboration. For the short term, Bay Area representatives decided to collaborate on the airport screeners' struggle and continue education and advocacy efforts for legalization and INS backlog reduction.



*Conference participants and workshops*

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*Railroad workers, Monterey Peninsula, California, 1889.  
Source: California State Library*



## APPENDICES

### Appendix A: Overview of Asian Pacific Islander Immigration

Census 2000 records show that 11.9 million people of Asian and Pacific Islander ancestry currently live in the U.S., and the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) estimates that 255,860 Asians entered the country in 2000. From 1990 to 2000, the numbers of Asian immigrants increased by 48%.

#### Chinese Exclusion

Although first records of Asian immigration to the U.S. date to the 1700s, it was not until the mid-1800s that Chinese laborers began arrive in large numbers to work in Western mines and on the transcontinental railroad. Hostility, driven by a sense of economic threat as well as cultural racism, resulted in passage of exclusion laws, beginning with the Page Law of 1875, which prevented U.S. entry by Chinese women. The 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act barred all immigration of male Chinese laborers for 10 years and the ban was extended indefinitely in the early 1900s. This was the first immigration restriction of a nationality group by Congress and represented the beginning of a "national origins" policy of immigration legislation. To enforce the 1882 Exclusion Act and subsequent exclusion laws, an immigration station at Angel Island was built in 1910. For 30 years, Angel Island served as a detention and deportation center for thousands of Chinese migrants who were interrogated and held in a prison-like environment for weeks, months, and sometimes even years.

#### National Origins Quota

The Chinese were replaced by Japanese contract laborers in California and in Hawaii, but Japanese migration was soon curtailed by the 1907-1908 Gentlemen's Agreement between the U.S. and Japanese governments. Subsequently in the 1910s, several thousand Asian Indians entered the country. However, all immigration from Asia was banned in 1917 when Congress extended the Chinese Exclusion Act to include other countries in the "Asiatic barred zone." In 1924, Congress passed the National Origins Quota Law, which prohibited the entry of groups ineligible for U.S. citizenship, thereby banning all Asian immigrants who as a "race" were not eligible for naturalization.

Chinese exclusion was repealed in 1943 and the McCarran-Walter Act of 1952 eliminated the Asiatic barred zone but still restricted immigration to 2,000 people from

within the Asia-Pacific triangle. Prior to World War II, the Japanese population numbered 285,000, Filipinos numbered 100,000, Chinese numbered 100,000 and Asian Indians did not surpass a few thousand.

Aside from policies that discriminated against their entry, numerous laws discriminated directly against Americans of Asian ancestry in the U.S. In 1913, the Alien Land Law was passed in California and denied Asians the right to landownership. During World War II, Executive Order 3066 forced 120,000 Americans of Japanese ancestry into internment camps for the duration of the war. Until 1952, almost all Asian immigrants were denied the right to become naturalized U.S. citizens.

### **1965-1990**

In the wake of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Congress overhauled the country's immigration system with the Immigration Act of 1965. This law repealed the previous national origins quota system, set a quota for Western Hemisphere immigration for the first time, and established a framework for entry based upon reunification of family members. As a result, the number of Asian immigrants rose significantly and accounted for approximately 30 percent of all immigration by the 1990s.

Following U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam in the 1970s, the number of refugees from Southeast Asia increased dramatically. The Refugee Act of 1980 was a response to this influx and for the first time, placed numerical limits on refugee admissions.

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**Appendix B: Conference Agenda: ADVANCING AN ASIAN AGENDA FOR IMMIGRATION REFORM**  
*March 8 & 9, 2002, Oakland, California*

**FRIDAY, MARCH 8**

- 8:00 - 8:30 Coffee and registration: Lillian Galedo
- 8:30 - 9:00 Welcome and context
- 9:00 - 10:00 **PANEL "Social and Political Immigration Policies"**  
(Moderator: Rand Quinn)  
Backlog on family reunification: Frank Tse  
Refugee programs: Philip Nguyen  
Post September 11th civil rights issues: Aijen Poo  
Citizenship requirements and job security: Luisa Blue
- 10:00 - 10:20 Plenary questions and comments
- 10:20 - 11:30 **WORKSHOPS**  
Backlog on family reunification: Eric Mar  
Refugee programs: Tho Do  
Post September 11th civil rights issues: Warren Mar  
Citizenship requirements and job security: Rhonda Ramiro
- 11:30 - 12:30 Report back from the workshops
- 12:30 - 1:30 Lunch
- 1:30 - 2:30 **PANEL "Employment-Based Immigration Policies"**  
(Moderator: Gordon Mar)  
Sex trafficking: Jane Margold  
Labor smuggling: Nalini Shekar  
Contract labor: Raj Jayadev  
Legalization/amnesty: Cathi Tactaquin
- 2:30 - 2:50 Plenary questions and comments
- 2:50 - 4:00 **STRATEGY WORKSHOPS**  
Sex trafficking: Eunice Cho  
Labor smuggling: Nikki Bas  
Contract labor: Stacy Kono  
Legalization/amnesty: Sonah Yun
- 4:00 - 5:00 **OPEN CAUCUS**  
Videos: *The New Americans* and *Uprooted*  
Immigration issues for the Filipino community  
Others (sign up at registration table)

**SATURDAY, MARCH 9**

- 8:30 - 9:00 Coffee and pastries
- 9:00 - 10:00 Report back from strategy workshops (previous afternoon)  
(Moderated by Katie Quan)
- 10:00 - 10:30 Caucus reports
- 10:30 - 12:00 Next steps (breakout)  
Organizing: Weiling Huber  
Policy and research: Katie Quan
- 12:00 - 1:00 Report back and concluding remarks: Katie Quan

## Appendix C: Conference Participants

**A Safe Place** | Vicky Galbert  
**ACMHS/INCITE National** | Isabel Kang  
**AFL-CIO Civil and Human Rights Department** | Matt Finucane  
**Alameda City, Social Services Agency** | Victoria Urbi  
**Alliance of South Asians Taking Action (ASATA)** | Smriti Rana  
**Angel Island Immigration Station Foundation** | Jeffrey Ow | Katherine Toy  
**Annie E. Casey Foundation** | William Wong  
**API Force** | Desiree Aquino  
**Artist Revolutionary Workshop (AWOL)** | Veronica Ang-Vong  
**Asian Health Services** | Geline Avila | Phuong An Doan-Billings | Heather Ngai | Kim Nguyen | Dong Sinh | Clara Song  
**Asian Immigrant Women's Advocates (AIWA)** | Ken Fong | Stacy Kono | Gin Pang  
**Asian Law Caucus** | Helen Chen | Kyung Jin Lee  
**Asian Pacific American Labor Alliance (APALA)** | Naoia Fanene  
**Asian Pacific American Legal Center (APALC)** | Mark Yoshita  
**Asian Pacific American Network of Oregon** | Nathan Thuan Nguyen  
**Asian Pacific Environmental Network (APEN)** | Joselito Laudencia  
**Asian Pacific Islander American Health Forum** | Jennifer Villamin  
**Asian Pacific Islander Legal Outreach** | Ivy Lee | Kavitha Sreeharsha  
**Asian Perinatal Advocates** | Charise Ho  
**Asian Women's Shelter** | Gita Mehrotra  
**California Governor's Office - San Francisco Regional Office** | Phung Pham  
**California Immigrant Welfare Collaborative** | Isabel Alegria  
**California Transplant Donor Network** | Teresita Zaragoza  
**Catholic Charities of the East Bay** | Sr. Elisabeth Lang  
**Center for Labor Research and Education (CLRE), UC Berkeley** | Jeremy Blasi | Kate Blumenthal | Sara Flocks | Anahita Forati | Warren Mar | Mary Purcell | Katie Quan | Alison Webber | Carol Zabin  
**Center for Third World Organizing (CTWO)** | Katy Nunez-Adler  
**Chinatown Community Development Center** | Rev. Norman Fong  
**Chinese Progressive Association (CPA)** | Angela Chin | Wendall Chin | Gordon Mar  
**City and County of San Francisco, Immigrant Rights Commission** | Joaquin Gonzales | Diana Lau | Winny Loi | Dang Pham  
**City College of San Francisco** | Giulio Sorro  
**City of Berkeley** | Yuko Leong  
**Coalition for Humane Immigrant Rights of Los Angeles (CHIRLA)** | Susan Alva  
**Coalition of University Employees (CUE) Local 3, Labor Committee for Peace and Justice** | Michael-David Sasson  
**Committee Against Anti-Asian Violence (CAAAV)** | Ai-jen Poo  
**Community Law Center of Alameda** | Susan Chacin  
**Colorlines Magazine, Applied Research Center** | Tram Nguyen  
**Congresswoman Barbara Lee** | Pedro Toledo  
**East Bay Asian Local Development Corporation** | Maria Stella Sison  
**East Bay Community Foundation** | Bob Uyeki  
**Filipino Civil Rights Advocates (FICRA)** | Angela Angle  
**Filipinos for Affirmative Action** | Chris Cara | Rissa Duque | Lillian Galedo | Lisa Macapinlac | Rhonda Ramiro | Kawal Ulanday | Ed Valladares  
**Ford Foundation** | Taryn Higashi  
**GABRIELA Network, Family Violence Prevention Fund** | Marissa Dagdagan | Jane Margold  
**Global Exchange** | Mariana Bustamante | Kale Fajardo  
**Hotel Employees & Restaurant Employees Union (HERE) 2850** | Wei Ling Huber  
**Hotel Employees & Restaurant Employees Union (HERE) Local 2** | Tho Do  
**INS Watch - La Raza Centro Legal** | Heba Nimr  
**International Institute of San Francisco** | Kevin Pimentel  
**Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights** | Philip Hwang  
**Maitri** | Nalini Shekar  
**National Asian Pacific American Legal Consortium (NAPALC)** | Katherine Newell  
**National Campaign for Jobs and Income Support** | Son Ah Yun  
**National Korean American Service & Education Consortium (NAKASEC)** | SungKyu Yun  
**National Network for Immigrant and Refugee Rights (NNIRR)** | Eunice Cho | Arnoldo Garcia | Cathi Tactaquin  
**Northern California Citizenship Project (NCC)** | Salli Fune | Gordon Mar  
**Refugee Network** | Rahim Auram  
**The San Francisco Foundation** | Dee Dee Nguyen | Ron Rowell  
**San Francisco State University** | Eric Mar  
**Service Employees International Union (SEIU) Local 250** | Leon Chow | Elisabeth Ortega | Richard Rubio-Bowley  
**Service Employees International Union (SEIU) Local 616** | Yan Qun Chen | King D.Cheung | Nuan Kan Chun | Shaolian Huang | Xin Fang  
Huang | Chun Naan Kan | Lan Leong | Puling Li | Shenglan Liang | Sun Liang | Jin Sui Liu | Karen Orlando | Ivan Ortega | Hou Susang | Ada Wong | He Hui Xian | Cheng Xue Bin | Zhilong Zhang  
**Service Employees International Union (SEIU) Local 790** | Luisa Blue | Daz Lamparas  
**Service Employees International Union (SEIU) Western Region** | Josie Camacho  
**Services, Immigrant Rights and Education Network (SIREN)** | Elaine Lai | Chi Pham | Rand Quinn  
**Silicon Valley De-Bug** | Raj Jayadev  
**Social Policy Research Associates** | Traci Endo  
**Sonoma State University** | Charlene Tung  
**Sweatshop Watch** | Nikki Bas  
**UC Berkeley** | Carmina Brittain | Janelle Chan | Mytoan Nguyen | Annie Ro | Leslie Yang  
**UC Berkeley Asian Political Association** | Andy Ho | Desiree Yoo  
**UC Berkeley Labor Occupation Health Program** | Rafael Espinoza  
**UC Los Angeles Labor Center** | Kent Wong  
**UC Los Angeles Law School** | Jen Lai | Christopher Punongbayan  
**University of Chicago** | Mae Ngai  
**University of San Francisco** | Geraldine Nisperos  
**Women of Color Resource Center** | Miriam Louie  
**Working Partnerships USA** | Wei Kuan Lum  
**Zellerbach Family Fund** | Lina Avidan  
**Individual Participants** | Jesiros Bautista | Birendra Dhakal | Rosario Hernandez | Sonny Le | Thuy Thi Nguyen | Blesilda Ocampo | Alfredo Quito | Virginia Quito | Frank Tse



