Dreams Lost, Dreams Found: Undocumented Women in the Land of Opportunity

A Survey Research Project of
Chinese, Filipina, and Latina Undocumented Women.

by

Chris Hogeland and Karen Rosen
for the Coalition for Immigrant and Refugee Rights and Services
Immigrant Women's Task Force
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Abstract

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This study was designed to identify problems and social service needs of undocumented Filipina, Latina, and Chinese women in the Bay Area. Undocumented women in the Bay Area are a growing and neglected population and little is known about their lives and need for services.

In person Interviews were conducted with 413 undocumented women (n= 345 Latina, 56 Filipina, and 12 Chinese) in San Mateo, San Francisco, and Alameda counties. Project interviewers and participants were recruited using a "snowball" sampling method within friendship networks. This study examined the factors causing increased migration by women to the U.S., and how these factors influence women's lives once they are here.

Findings of this study reveal the economic hardship of undocumented women and their families. Seventy five percent of Filipina and Latina participants had very low incomes, with 49% of Latina participants working as domestics, and 41% of Filipinas working as elderly companions, or as in-home child care providers. Fear of deportation kept 61% of Filipina, and 64% of Latina participants from seeking social services. This study found that 41% of Filipinas and 29% of Latinas had never looked for any social services. Latina Participants identified housing assistance and employment training as two service priorities. Filipina participants identified health care and employment placement as priority service needs. The majority of Latina participants (66%) crossed into the U.S. by land, and 34% reported some form of abuse or problem at the border. Recommendations for improving service delivery, and implications for community organizing are discussed for Filipina and Latina undocumented women. Due to the small sample size within the Chinese community, data was not analyzed in aggregate. Recommendations for the replication of this unique study in other communities are discussed.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

As newcomers to the U.S, immigrants and refugees of color experience a myriad of problems which threaten their well-being and survival. This is exacerbated by the presence of multiple barriers to social services that could positively impact their transition into life in the United States. These barriers include: a lack of services in the newcomers' native languages, services that reflect the intervention methods of the dominant culture, misinformation about their legal rights, and racism. These barriers are heightened for the undocumented by their fear of deportation and lack of employment, particularly since the passage of the Immigration Reform Control Act (IRCA) of 1986. Undocumented women face an additional host of potential problems relating to their status as women: abuse/sexual harassment within their work places, social isolation, family violence, need for affordable/accessible reproductive health care, and child care, to name a few.

Undocumented women in the Bay Area are a growing and neglected population, though there is relatively little information about them. Growing numbers of women are migrating to the Bay Area. In the last five years, the number of women and children crossing the border without documentation has significantly multiplied. Between 1984 and 1986 the number of women apprehended at the border increased by 40% (Juffer, 1988). A 1987 Urban Institute Report estimated that in 1985 there were 28,200 Central American women and 53,359 Mexican women residing in the five Bay Area counties. These populations have been rising steadily since 1980, and in all likelihood this trend will continue. Although less is known about the numbers of undocumented Asian women, the growing number of garment shops in San Francisco has been attributed to the availability of immigrant women's labor. (Chin, 1989). Facing intensified physical, legal and economic threats by authorities both at the border and inside the U.S., these women have become increasingly poor and marginalized.

Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework that guided this research project has its roots in a multidisciplinary approach, informed by research in academic fields of political science, social welfare, ethnic and women's studies, in addition to the researchers' experience working directly with immigrant and refugee women. Within this framework, the researchers examined how undocumented status and the role of women intersect, paying careful attention to the socio-cultural-economic differences that exist both within and across the groups of undocumented women participants The various stress factors, issues and problems faced by undocumented women are placed in the context of the women's economic status in their countries of origin, experiences in migrating to the U.S., and the social support network available to them upon arrival.

Immigrant women come to the U.S. seeking a better quality of life for themselves and their families. Whether fleeing from political repression, rape by military police, severe poverty, high inflation and unemployment rates, or seeking reunification with family members, immigrant women leave their countries of origin to improve their conditions, and in some cases to save their lives. Migration to the U.S. can be best understood in the context of global economics and the way that U.S. foreign policy has historically affected patterns of migration to this country. In the cases of the Philippines and Latin America, the conditions of poverty that immigrants and refugees are fleeing have been created in part by dependence upon U.S. transnational corporations that have stunted the internal economic development of these third world regions.. Policies of U.S. military intervention have further served to reinforce military rule and conditions of war, particularly in Central America.

In application to patterns of Chinese immigration, the connection between the U.S. policies and China is also of central importance. Since the quota system was overturned in the 1960's, Chinese have been migrating to the U.S. out of discontent with the political system, to reunite with family members who may have been in the U.S. for years, or to improve their economic condition. These groups include people from the mainland, Hong Kong, and Taiwan. Most mainland Chinese immigrants are women, reuniting with family members who came to the U.S. as laborers several decades ago.

At the intersection of sex discrimination, harsh socioeconomic conditions, and political repression in their countries of origin, women are vulnerable to specific forms of exploitation. Many women have been victimized by rape at the hands of U.S. backed military personnel, forced into prostitution, sterilized, separated from their families, and are highly exploited in work places such as the "Maquiladoras" (U.S. owned assembly plants) where predominantly women workers are paid 40¢ per day (American Friends Service Committee, 1990). These are the conditions that bring increasing numbers of immigrant women to the U.S.

Once in the U.S., undocumented women face formidable barriers to achieving the economic stability and psychological tranquility they sought in migrating. Chart #1 outlines the problems faced by undocumented women. In this schema, three factors are likely to permeate the undocumented woman of color's daily existence more centrally than any others. These include; language issues, fear of deportation, and racism. Each of these interrelates with all of the other problems to a greater or lesser degree.

Fear of deportation permeates all aspects of the undocumented woman's life. In the U.S. without legal status, the undocumented woman is forced to live what has been called an underground existence, measuring her every move in fear of the INS. This fear affects all areas of her help-seeking behavior, ranging from whether to take a sick child to the hospital to whether she should seek difficult-to-find resources to fight an unjust eviction. Any interaction that the undocumented woman has with "the system" (including the school district, telephone company, and census takers) is overshadowed by this fear. The access that immigrant and refugee women have to services such as health care, child care, language classes, and other social services is essential to the way in which the family adapts or acculturates in the new environment.

The level of racism that immigrant women of color encounter upon arriving in the U.S., is possibly unlike any they have experienced in their countries of origin. Racism affects immigrant women on many levels: institutional racism in the form of policies such as IRCA, differential enforcement of the Marriage Fraud Act, and "English Only" initiatives affects women's access to employment, a decent quality of life, and self determination. Institutional racism permeates the work place for many immigrant women of color who do find jobs as seamstresses, electronics assemblers or domestic workers. The stereotypes about immigrant women workers are steeped in racism. The view that immigrant women are passive, docile, or lazy and incapable of following directions has been entrenched in public consciousness. Meanwhile immigrant women of color continue to supply the labor that profits their employers. A final form of racism is found in the interpersonal xenophobia imbedded in western culture. This fear of strangers or "foreigners" is likely to be especially vociferous if the stranger is a person of color speaking another language and is thus less likely to "pass".

Economic Issues

- Unemployment
- Underemployment
- Discrimination
  Sexual Abuse at the workplace
  Low Wages
  No Benefits
  Long Work Days
- Supporting family in country of origin

Family Issues

- Seperation from extended family
- Rapid acculturation of children
- Sex role conflict
- High risk for domestic violence

Language Barriers &
Lack of Respect for Cultural Differences

Fear of Deportation

Undocumented Woman

Fear of Deportation

Language Barriers &
Lack of Respect for Cultural Differences

Psycho - Social Issues

- Pressure to succeed in land of opportunity
- PTSD
- Abuse at the border
- Concern for family in country of origin
- Isolation
- Powerlessness in dominant culture
- Fear of authority

Social Service Issues

- Ineligible for Public Benifits
- Prohibitive cost of services
- Misinformation about services & legal rights
- Services not culturally sensitive
- Services not available in native language
- Intimidation by authorities

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Lack of English skills and lack of recognition about the language needs of newly arriving immigrant women, impede them from critical access to information they need. The ability to understand the workings of the new community, and pass this understanding on to family members in a way that accommodates traditional cultural values, is an important part of the woman's role in her family as she helps them make the transition into life in the new country. Lack of access to information makes immigrant families, and women in particular, vulnerable to many forms of exploitation and abuse. These issues gravely affect immigrant women's access to services. Even when services are available in women's native languages, intervention models are designed with the dominant culture's values and norms, and thus are often ineffective in application cross-culturally. All too often when services fail, the consumer of the service or her culture is blamed by the well meaning social worker or therapist.

In further explaining Chart #1, the three core problems discussed above impact all undocumented women of color living in the U.S., while the problems depicted in the four clusters may not be as universal. The specific problems displayed in the clusters are experienced differently across immigrant women's cultures, as well as within specific cultural groups. A woman's level of education, socio-economic status, and state of mental health when entering the U.S. regulates the degree to which she experiences any one of the more peripheral problems. Additionally, social support networks of family and friends for a newly arriving woman provide her with critical resources and support, which may buffer the full impact of some of these clustered issues. Clearly, an understanding of how these issues both exist and at times interrelate in the lives of undocumented women is difficult to gain without placing them in context. For *Elena it is impossible to separate the issues.

> Elena is a 28 year old Filipina who has been in the U.S. two years. Unable to support themselves, her family had pooled their resources to send her to the U.S., expecting her to send whatever money she could to help them. Living in her friend's studio apartment with four other people, Elena knew she needed to find a job and an apartment and began working to clean houses. She did not know whether it was okay to enroll her daughter in school, so she often brought the child to housecleaning jobs. When she did enroll the child in school, the principal insisted she needed to be held back a grade to "catch up". Elena feared that if she "made waves" it would expose her status. After a few months, Elena secured an office job which she felt better about until one of her supervisors told her that he would turn her in if she did not respond to his sexual advances.

Separated from her extended family support system, Elena was on her own in a hostile new environment. The powerful combination of racism and fear playing out in her life threatened her self-determination. The lack of information she had about essential services kept her from seeking help for herself and her child. Elena's employment was tied into abuse, and as her child weathered the difficulties of her new environment, Elena felt guilty that she was not advocating for her child as she normally would. These factors resulted in shame and anger that had no outlet.

* Unless otherwise noted, all names used within this report are pseudonyms

CHAPTER 2: A DEMOGRAPHIC OVERVIEW OF IMMIGRANTS AND REFUGEES IN PARTICIPANT COMMUNITIES

The specific needs, struggles and experiences of undocumented Chinese, Filipina and Latina women cannot be determined without a basic understanding of U.S. immigration policies that both cause migration and disenfranchise immigrants and refugees once they are here.

U.S. Overview

According to U.S. immigration law, the term "immigrant" may be applied only to those persons who are admitted to the United States for legal permanent residence. Some immigrants within this definition undertake this process with an immigration visa issued in their country of origin. Many adjust their immigration status once they are in the United States from temporary to permanent residence. Some groups of immigrants are subject to annual numerical ceilings, while others are not. The current worldwide limitation is 270,000, with no more than 20,000 from any country. The major exemptions to this include immediate relatives of a U.S. citizen such as a spouses, children, or parents. People who qualify to adjust their status to refugee or asylee are also currently exempt from the worldwide limitation. (INS Statistical Yearbook, 1988).

Patterns of immigration to the U.S. have changed significantly since the early 1960's. The passage of the Amendments to the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 abolished the restrictions within the quota system based on national origin, raised the worldwide ceiling from 158,000 to 290,000 (though later to 270,000), and created more categories of exemptions from the ceilings. The passage of a less restrictive refugee policy provided avenues for greater numbers of political refugees to enter which had a specific impact on persons from Cuba and Indochina. Concurrently, migration of undocumented immigrants to the United States increased significantly -- in keeping with the worldwide pattern of undocumented migrants from underdeveloped nations moving to developed nations (Keely & Elwell, 1981).

Throughout the 1980's, approximately 570,000 documented immigrants entered the U.S. each year, a 30% increase in immigration from the 1970's. Between 1983 and 1986, the largest group of legal immigrants was from Mexico at 60,000 per year. Filipino immigration was the second largest, at 46,000 annually. Immigrants from Mainland China, Hong Kong and Taiwan were the third largest group, at 45,000 per year. (Allen & Turner, 1989). Undocumented migration from each country is more difficult to estimate, though legal immigration may be proportionately similar to undocumented migration.

Estimates of the numbers of undocumented people residing in the U.S. vary widely. For the purposes of this discussion, included are people who crossed a U.S. border without a visa or inspection undocumented immigrants individuals who entered as a tourist or student, but have remained here after the expiration date of their visa, and people who entered the U.S. for a specific period of time, but violated the terms of their visa. Due to the political controversies surrounding migration by the undocumented since the late 1960's, the estimated numbers of undocumented populations in the U.S. vary widely depending on the source, and are subject to much ideological manipulation. It has been suggested that the range of estimates is due in part to the divergent conceptualizations of who the undocumented are. An analysis that seeks to determine an exact number of undocumented migrants at a given time, may not take into account factors such as intentions of return or length of stay (Passel & Woodrow, 1987). These "exact" figures

would not only be difficult to reach, but also would have limited relevance to examining the social significance of undocumented immigration to the U.S..

The data collection methods of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) do not currently provide for obtaining data about the undocumented in the United States. Both the INS and most researchers rely on extrapolations from U.S. census data, which has been called the residual method (Heer & Passel, 1987). The limitations of this method vary, depending on the researchers access to other essential data about the characteristics of the undocumented group being researched. Necessary data may include discussions with service providers who work with the undocumented, birth records coupled with birth ratio estimates of a given undocumented immigrant group, and an overview of existing research on demographic characteristics of a given immigrant group. Reliance on census data alone has been criticized because of its undercount of the undocumented. It has been suggested that the undercount in the 1980 census was significantly higher than the undercount in 1970 (Muller & Epenshade, 1985).

A conservative estimate is that 100,000 to 300,000 undocumented migrants enter the U.S. annually (Passel and Woodrow,1985), but others have suggested the flow may be closer to a half million per year. More important to the current study, however, is an examination of where the undocumented immigrants are settling and what their lives are like. Based on data from the 1980 census, we know that 50% of all undocumented migrants reside in California, and that the majority of the undocumented in California are from Mexico (Bean, lowell, and Taylor 1987). In the San Francisco Bay Area, Mexicans are still the largest undocumented immigrant group, though in San Francisco County Central Americans have recently become larger in numbers (Urban Institute, 1987).

The profiles of the undocumented that emerged from the literature in the mid 1970's and early 80's, particularly of the undocumented from Latin America, was a male, mid 20's to early 30's in age, entering the U.S. without family to seek employment, either permanently or temporarily (Martinez, 1976). There is evidence, however, that America's newest undocumented migrants are increasingly likely to be women with children (Juffer, 1988). While the Urban Institute (1987) estimated that the ratio of Mexican immigrant women to men in the U.S. is 100:100 and Central American immigrant women to men at 100:130, many authors have indicated that more women will be migrating to the U.S. without their spouses because women are able to find jobs within the "hidden" service economy (Juffer, 1988; Kirk, 1988).

Bay Area Overview

The three largest undocumented migrant groups in the Bay Area are Asian, Central American and Mexican. An overview of these numbers (see Table 1) in Alameda, San Mateo and San Francisco targeted counties shows their relative concentrations.

The numbers of undocumented women have been especially difficult to estimate, because the generally employed methodologies have not been refined enough to do this. Demographic researchers have appeared to demonstrate little interest in this area, since the assumption is that the number of women to men migrating to the U.S. without documentation is negligible, if it is paid attention to at all. In a ground-breaking study undertaken by the Urban Institute (1987), male to female ratios, fertility and death rates were calculated into the estimates of Mexican and Central American immigrants, which provided an estimate on the number of Central American and Mexican women in the Bay Area. (see Table 2). While this breakdown does not estimate specific numbers of undocumented women, we know that 65% of Mexican immigrants who arrived in the U.S.

Table 1

Estimated Asian, Central American & Hispanic Undocumented Immigrants
in Bay Area Target Counties

	Alameda	San Francisco	San Mateo
Asian	21,134	34,142	4,085
Central American	5,456	25,978	10,850
Mexican	24,564	13,662	18,216

Source: Report of the Subcommittee on Southeast Asian and Hispanic Immigrants and Refugees, 1988, United Way of the Bay Area (These estimates based on compilation of INS, 1980, Statistical Yearbook & Urban Institute, 1987 Profile of the Central American and Mexican Populations in the San Francisco Bay Area).

between 1982 and 1985 are undocumented, as are 69% of Central American immigrants. (Urban Institute, 1987). This does not account for the numbers of both groups who arrived prior to 1982 but did not apply for Amnesty due to the evidenciary requirements which may have had a disproportionately negative impact on women.

Table 2

Estimates of Central American & Mexican Women
in target Counties

	Alameda	San Francisco	San Mateo
Central American	2,783	12,905	5,628
Mexican	10,817	5,795	9,475

Source: Urban Institute, 1987, Profile of the Central American and Mexican Immigrant Populations in the San Francisco Bay Area

Through the analysis of birth records within the study described above, population estimates of El Salvadorean, Guatemalan and Nicaraguan women in San Francisco were calculated (See Table 3). This effort is especially unique in that birth records are extremely difficult to access, and the analysis process painstakingly involved. The replication of this

study in Chinese and Filipino communities is much needed. These estimates would provide demographers with a more complete picture of the numbers of undocumented women in those ethnic groups, which would in turn provide community organizations with a clearer picture of their communities.

Table 3

El Salvadorean, Guatemalan and Nicaraguan Women in San Francisco County

Country of Origin	San Francisco County
El Salvadorean	7,429
Guatemalan	7,429
Nicaraguan	3,658

Source: Urban Institute, 1987, Profile of the Central American and Mexican Immigrant Population in the San Francisco Bay Area

While exact estimates of Filipino undocumented immigrants are not available, over 100,000 legal Filipino migrants came to the U.S. in 1983. Over half of these came with temporary visas, and experts say many of these have overstayed. As of January 1988, 400,366 people in the Philippines had registered for permanent visas to immigrate to the United States, under the basic ceiling limitation. This number does not include those who petitioned through a family member living in the U.S. or those who came as tourists or for business and overstayed (U.S. State Department Bureau of Consular Affairs, 1988). Some experts say that estimates of Filipino immigrants to the U.S. would be 50% larger if the numbers of undocumented were included in the count (Philippine Resource Center, 1985). An estimated 30,000 Filipinos reside in Daly City, an area that has attracted increasing numbers of Filipino immigrants because of its accessibility to San Francisco, affordable housing by Bay Area standards, and the existence of Filipino ethnic enclaves within the community. It is widely believed that the conditions of poverty and political instability in the Philippines will continue to provoke increasing numbers of Filipinos to migrate to the the U.S.

The number of Chinese to be counted in the 1990 census is estimated at 350,000 (Viviano, 1988). These numbers have steadily climbed in the Bay Area since the 1965 reversal of the quota system that had severely limited Asian immigration. Since 1982, the numbers of documented immigrants from Hong Kong have been estimated at 1,000 per year, though the number of undocumented immigrants is believed to be significantly higher. Increasing numbers of immigrants from Hong Kong in the Bay Area have been noted by demographers, and their numbers will likely increase before 1997 when Beijing will gain control. In total, an estimated 6,000 Chinese immigrants settle in the Bay Area each year. An additional 1,500 arrive here from Taiwan anually (Viviano, 1988).

Chinese immigrants come for the same reasons as other immigrant groups: to improve economic conditions, to reunite with family members who may have been in the U.S. for years, and/or for politically motivated reasons. It has been widely noted that large numbers of Asian Pacific immigrants had been left out of the Amnesty program within the Immigration reform program of 1986. The INS made little effort to provide outreach into Asian Pacific communities about the program, and many believed that they would not qualify anyway. Given the history of anti-Asian immigration policies in the U.S. it is of little surprise that Asian immigrants would be wary of submitting applications for legalization to the very system that has historically abused them. An example of this treatment is a little known "legalization" program. As one author described, "During the 1950's and early 1960's, the Chinese Confessional Program promised legal resident status to Chinese who would confess to coming to the U.S. with false identification papers. The result was fear confusion and some deportations, which eventually kept most undocumented Chinese from coming forward" (Fong, 1987). Certainly Asians were not the only immigrant group wary of the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) of 1986. This, and other recent policy decisions have had a profound impact on the quality of life for immigrants and refugees in the U.S., particularly the undocumented.

CHAPTER 3: U.S. POLICY: IMPACT ON IMMIGRANT AND REFUGEE COMMUNITIES

The Immigration Reform Control Act, 1986 (IRCA)

IRCA, the Immigration Reform Control Act of 1986, was fraught with controversy from its inception. The overall intent of the bill was to deter undocumented immigrants from migrating to the U.S., both by making it impossible for them to find work due to the implementation of employer sanctions, and by increasing border patrol activities. The Amnesty portion of the bill provided an avenue for undocumented residents who could prove continuous residency in the U.S. to obtain legal residency.

It was initially estimated by the INS that 3.9 million eligible applicants would file legalization applications under IRCA by the May 5 1988 deadline, though by this date only 1.4 million had filed. In the Bay Area, an estimated 42% of eligible applicants had not applied for amnesty as of the deadline (Molesky, 1989). It is believed by many advocates for immigrant and refugee rights that some eligible applicants were denied amnesty because they lacked records of continuing residence (such as rental receipts, bank and tax records). These evidenciary requirements are especially likely to result in denial of amnesty to women, since their names are less likely to appear on household records.

Other qualified applicants were discouraged from applying for Amnesty because they did not want to break up their families in which some members were eligible and others were not. In 1987, the INS responded to these fears with its "Family Fairness" ruling. The name is deceptive. Initially the ruling reflected the INS' position that "fairness dictated" that the treatment of an undocumented family member here could not be different from the treatment of a family member in Mexico waiting to join a family in the U.S. This ruling did provide some avenues for spouses and children to apply for residency, but has been extremely limited.

Large numbers of the undocumented did not qualify for Amnesty because they came to the U.S. after 1982. This includes many Central Americans who entered the U.S. in large numbers between 1982 and 1985, fleeing from conditions of war and poverty in their countries of origin.

The "control" portion of IRCA placed stiff penalties on employers who hire individuals without legal documentation to work. These sanctions force employers to review the documentation of all new hires, though there is considerable evidence that many employers review the documentation of new hires differentially based on ethnicity, while others simply do not hire hire people with accents. (MALDEF, 1989). There is much evidence that employer sanctions have resulted in widespread discrimination against Asian and Latino workers. (Fair Employment and Housing Commission, 1990).

The impact that sanctions have had on undocumented workers has been more difficult to assess. While sanctions have significantly limited the availability of jobs for undocumented workers, the negative impact has been most significantly felt in the area of working conditions, as available jobs have been driven "underground". Some employers continue to hire undocumented workers and because of their fear, are able to take full advantage of the cheap labor they provide. Wage violations, such as refusals to pay the minimum wage or outright withholding of pay, violations of overtime pay, denial of seniority status, and

increased harassment of workers are some of the abuses that have been recorded (Center for Immigrant Rights, 1989).

Confronted with this policy, undocumented workers have been increasingly marginalized. It is not uncommon to see large groups of men waiting on street corners hoping to be selected for a day's work by contract employers who may or may not pay them for their labor. Employment of undocumented women is increasingly likely to be dependent upon the availability of "domestic" jobs, such as housecleaning, child care, and elderly care. Efforts to improve working conditions within these setting are extremely limited. The impact that this two-tier labor force has on all workers has yet to be fully examined.

The intent of employer sanctions was to deter undocumented migration to the U.S. The debate about whether or not sanctions have had this impact is currently raging in Congress as it reviews the recently released General Accounting Office's Third and final report on the effects of IRCA (April, 1990). Congress has the power to repeal sanctions with a two-thirds vote, though it is viewed as unlikely that there is a political climate to support such a move. Because sanctions do not deal with the "push" factor of migration, the issues of poverty and war that force people to migrate, it is unlikely that they will deter undocumented immigrants from seeking refuge in the United States.

Refugee and Political Asylum Policies

The situation of many Central American immigrants, particularly from El Salvador and Guatemala, is made more desperate due to the U.S. government's refusal to recognize them as largely political refugees. The U.S. State Department's view is that people from El Salvador and Guatemala are coming to the U.S. for economic reasons as opposed to political ones, in spite of the the civil wars that have been raging in both of these countries and their widely documented human rights violations. This position is consistent with the U.S. government's provision of military aid to these countries. Because statutes under the Geneva Convention make it illegal to provide military aid to countries engaged in human rights abuses, the U.S. must systematically maintain that these abuses do not take place in order to continue military aid. Refugees leaving Nicaragua when the Sandinista government was in power, by contrast, were more likely to be seen as political refugees, rather than economic ones.

The State Department's position carries over into the granting of political asylum. Current U.S. policy on political asylum requires that an individual demonstrate evidence of persecution, or a "well founded" fear of persecution, due to race, religion, nationality, membership in a social group, or political opinion. The court's interpretations of what this means vary fairly widely. The onus of "proof" has been largely on the asylum applicant, who is often made to submit evidence of the persecution.

Consider the situation of Ana, an 18 year old asylum applicant who fled El Salvador after watching her father being killed and her mother taken by the military police. En route to the U.S. with another family member, Ana knew that she must pretend to be Mexican, for if deported, she would be deported back to Mexico and not El Salvador. All of her documents and identification were left behind, as is the case with many who have fled. She did not know why her parents had been targeted -- although the military said her father was anti-government. When she submitted her application for asylum, she was made aware that the odds were against her because the approval rate for asylum applications from El Salvador was so low. Because Ana could not prove persecution based on any of the classes outlined above, her application was denied and deportation proceedings ensued. The court reasoned that she could have sought out other relatives in El Salvador who had not been targeted, and was not in fact forced to flee.

The odds were indeed against Ana, since the current rate of approval for asylum applications from El Salvador is 3%. Applications from Guatemalans have a 4.5% approval rate (Ong Hing, 1987). In spite of the Supreme Court Ruling in INS v. Cardoza Fonseca, which reduced the burden of proof of persecution significantly (Urban Institute, 1987), the courts continue to deny asylum applications from Salvadoreans and Guatemalans at extremely high rates, though the rate for acceptance of Nicaraguan applications is significantly higher. In Fiscal Year 1989, the District Directors of the INS approved 90% of Eastern European and Soviet asylum applications, 81% of Chinese applications, 28% of Filipino applications, 26% of Nicaraguan applications, 2% of Salvadorean applications, and 1.9% of Guatemalan applications. (Refugee Reports, December 29, 1989).

The practice of INS officials that forces individuals to sign voluntary departure forms, denies the potential asylum applicant of his or her right to counsel. This practice has been decried by advocates for all immigrants and refugees but it is particularly harmful to El Salvadoreans and Guatemalans caught by the INS, because returning to their country of origin puts them at risk for being further targeted and killed. One potential legislative remedy has been introduced in Congress for the last four years. A bill introduced by Moakley-DiConcini would grant a two year stay of deportation of El Salvadoreans and Nicaraguans, pending an independent study of human rights conditions in these two countries. In the bill's most recent form, Chinese students were included, with the expectation that their inclusion would increase the chances of the bill's passage. Guatemalans were not included in the bill at all, because it was felt that their inclusion would hurt the bill's chances. Eventually, Chinese students were granted this stay through other legislation, and the bill failed to be signed into law once again.

The deportations continue, and little of the massive work that has been done to stop them has been successful. Well aware of the denial rate of asylum applications and the certainty of deportation once identified, many Salvadoreans and Guatemalans fear submitting even the most solid asylum application. This fear permeates all aspects of individuals' contact with "the system" in their new country, and certainly has a grave impact on their willingness to seek even the most basic and necessary of services.

The Marriage Fraud Act

Another policy that negatively affects the potential for legalization and the quality of life of many immigrants, especially women, is the Marriage Fraud Act of 1986. This Act placed a two year waiting period for an immigrant to receive legal permanent residency through marriage to a U.S. citizen. After a two year waiting period, the couple is required to submit bank account, property, and any other records demonstrating joint partnership, as well as affidavits from people who know them to be married. The couple may also be required to participate in a second "interview" with and official of the INS to prove that they are still legitimately married. While the intent of the Act was to discourage "sham" marriages, its unintended consequence has been to trap women in abusive though "legitimate," marriages. If a U.S. citizen husband refuses to assist his wife in the petition process, she has little recourse, and must defer to his wishes for fear of jeopardizing her immigration status . Because of this ruling, advocates and service providers for battered women noticed a sharp increase in women seeking services who could not leave the abusive relationship without risking their immigration status. (National Coalition Against Domestic Violence, 1989; Sorra, 1989; Coalition for Immigrant and Refugee Rights, 1990).

Consider the situation of Su Lin, a Chinese woman who married a U.S. citizen because he threatened to kill himself if she didn't. Once married, the abuse began, including severe physical, emotional, and sexual forms of abuse. Although Su Lin tried to leave the relationship, her husband threatened to have her deported if she left. Fearing that she would never see her child again, Su Lin remained in the abusive relationship and became pregnant a second time. After being repeatedly physically abused and threatened with a semi-automatic assault gun, Su Lin again attempted to leave the relationship fearing that her husband would harm her unborn child. She fled to a battered women's shelter, though eventually returned to the marriage in fear that her husband would harm her family in Taiwan. At the end of her two year waiting period, Su Lin, who was in a shelter at the time, was forced to file a waiver of the joint residency application. Eventually she did receive her permanent residency, but only after she exposed herself to lethal levels of violence attempting to get her husband to comply (Coalition for Immigrant and Refugee Rights, 1990).

The waiver that finally helped Su Lin is one clause in the law that allows women to petition for permanent residency on their own behalf, if they can prove they entered their marriage in "good faith" and left the marriage for reasons such as abuse. This waiver must be based on solid documented evidence such as police reports or medical examinations for the abuse -- evidence that most battered women do not have. This clause also forces women to file for divorce both before their husband does and before they file the waiver itself. This requirement is extremely problematic for most battered immigrant women who have little information about their legal rights or where to go for help. For battered women in general, the serving of divorce papers can provoke further violence and is often avoided.

Representative Louise Slaughter (D., New York) has introduced legislation (H.R. 2580) that would provide an avenue for battered women to petition for residency on their own behalf, lifting the joint petition requirement. This legislation is currently pending in Congress and would help women in Su Lin's situation, though it still requires documentation of the abuse. Not everyone is convinced, however, that the legislation is necessary. In response to this issue, Senator Alan Simpson (R. Wyoming) said, "battered nag, maybe" (Sorra, 1989). The experience of countless battered immigrant women, however, flies in the face of this attempted levity. Until there is a more comprehensive legislative remedy available to battered immigrant women, the "marriage trap" will continue to catch countless women in its cycle.

A clear understanding of the current needs of undocumented women cannot be gained without insight into the historical context of general patterns of immigration to the United States. Because these groups comprise the largest numbers of undocumented persons in the Bay Area (Urban Institute, 1987), and are the focus of the current study, this section will briefly outline the patterns of immigration from China, the Philippines, Mexico and Central America.

CHAPTER 4: MIGRATION PATTERNS OF PARTICIPANT COMMUNITIES

Latin American Migration: An Overview

The diversity of Latin American immigrants is often overlooked by researchers, social service professionals, and legislators, whose tendency to make cultural generalizations across countries of origins and nationalities of people overlooks important differences between Latin American countries, and people of specific regions within a given country. These generalizations affect the kind of research that is undertaken with Latinos, the design of services for immigrants and refugees, in addition to development of policies. Obviously, the experience of an immigrant from highly industrialized Argentina is likely to be vastly different from that of a Guatemalan campesina, whose first language is not Spanish. There are, however, threads of similarity in the fabric of Latin American cultures and among Latino immigrants to the U.S. The conquest of Spain is common to all Latin American countries, as was the introduction of the U.S. "Good Neighbor Policy" -- though each has experienced its impact in different ways. Language is another important similarity, though Spanish is not universally spoken in Latin America, and differences in dialect abound in many countries and regions. Another common thread within Latin Americans is Catholicism, the dominant religion for non-indigenous Latin Americans. Catholicism has had a profound influence on family values, relationships between women and men, and cultural traditions.

For the purposes of providing a framework in which to place the experiences and struggles of undocumented immigrants, patterns of immigration from Mexico and Central America, specifically El Salvador, Guatemala, and Nicaragua, will be outlined. These four countries represent the countries of origin for the majority of Latin American immigrants to the Bay Area (Cordova, 1989). Immigrants from each of these countries, for the most part, share a heritage of poverty, in addition to social and political unrest in different degrees. The United States has responded to immigration from each of these countries with more liberal or restrictive policies, based on a particular Latin American government's support for or rejection of the U.S. government's continued domination of its economic and political life. The racism that immigrants from each of these countries confront upon entry into the U.S. is another binding factor. Often labelled by some as "wetbacks", these immigrants have been the target of xenophobia and misunderstanding. As Gordon MacDonald, former Chief of the U.S. Border Patrol, stated, "I know many illegal aliens are fleeing poverty and oppression. I don't blame them for seeing America as a land of opportunity. But unlike legal immigrants, these illegal aliens break laws. They are a great burden and a real threat to all law abiding citizens" (American Immigration Control Foundation, 1987).

Mexican Migration

Following the Mexican American War of 1846, the United States annexed Texas, California, New Mexico, Arizona, and Colorado. Within this new southwestern region, citizens of Mexico were invited to become citizens or to leave within one year. The majority chose to remain. It was not until the late 1800's that small numbers of immigrants from Mexico were recorded as living in the U.S. In the first decade of the 20th century, over 49,000 immigrants from Mexico came to the United States due mostly to the availability of jobs building the railroad (Martinez, 1976). This early movement was to have a profound impact on migration from Mexico. As the Southwest and Central California regions developed into agricultural centers, the need for low paid seasonal laborers emerged. This need, combined with political unrest due to the Mexican revolution of 1910, resulted in an available work force of migrant Mexican nationals. Growers' associations demanded that these laborers be exempt from the immigration restrictions

imposed in the Immigration Act of 1917, and the I.N.S. complied, exempting Mexican migrants entering to work in agriculture, railroads and industry from literacy and head-tax requirements.

Although the recorded numbers are thought to be conservative, by 1930 there were 709,287 recorded legal entries by Mexican laborers (Martinez, 1976). In spite of the need for this low-paid labor the public perception among U.S. citizens toward Mexican immigrants was hardly positive. Between the years 1910 to 1930, negative stereotypes of Mexican immigrants were born and flourished, fueled by comments made by public officials. In spite of the fact that on the average, Mexican immigrant railroad laborers made an average of $1 per day, and were believed to be at low risk for union organizing (Martinez, 1976), they were described as being lazy and unproductive by sociologists and labor commissioners (Garcia,1987).

This stereotype was not reserved only for male workers, but applied as well to immigrant women, who were believed to be the cause of their children's poor health, and unable to undertake the most menial of domestic work because they were "ignorant and unclean". In 1919, American women sought help from the Labor Bureau of the El Paso City Council for the problems they were having finding domestic women laborers who would not demand two meals a day and higher pay for their work (Garcia, 1987). The conditions of extreme poverty under which most migrant Mexicans and their families lived meant that most did not have access to running water, modem sanitation facilities, adequate housing, or nutrition. The resultant health problems, such as tuberculosis, were blamed on the immigrant families themselves, rather than on the conditions that created them. As one journalist wrote in 1920, "Having few standards to begin with, it is not surprising that the poor Mexican immigrant is content in the tenements with one toilet and one hydrant for fifteen families, and four or five families living in one or two rooms" (Garcia, 1987, p. 73). A result of anti-Mexican immigrant sentiment was the inception of the border patrol in 1924, although immigration of both documented and undocumented immigrants continued until the need for their labor diminished during the Depression.

The tide of anti-Mexican immigrant sentiment crested in the beginning of the depression of the 1930's when Mexican immigrants became targets of the U.S. Department of Labor's Immigration Bureau. Based on the belief that Mexican immigrant laborers took jobs away from U.S. citizens, a concerted drive to deport immigrants from Mexico ensued, which affected U.S. born Mexican-Americans as well, since I.N.S. agents frequently made no distinction between the two groups in their sweeps. Between 1930 and 1931, 30,000 "aliens" were deported from the U.S., the majority of whom were Mexican. Another 415,000 Mexicans and Mexican-Americans were deported during the concurrent "repatriation" program, which pressured Mexicans and Mexican Americans to voluntarily depart the United States (Martinez, 1976). The repatriation movement and I.N.S. raids of the 30's set the stage for later treatment of Mexican immigrants (and Mexican-Americans) throughout the following decades in the United States. The belief that immigrant labor negatively impacts availability of employment of U.S. citizens, has its seemingly unshakeable roots in the public sentiment of the 1930's. In 1931, John Quinn, a Los Angeles County Board of Supervisor, stated:

> If we were to rid the aliens who have entered this country illegally since 1931... our present employment would probably shrink to the proportions of a relative flat spot in business. For ridding ourselves of the criminally undesirable alien we will put an end to a large part of our crime and law enforcement problem, probably saving many good American lives and certainly millions of dollars for law enforcement

against people who have no business in this country. (Martinez, 1976).

This rhetoric has been echoed by many other public figures in the ensuing five decades, in spite of the fact that there is little conclusive research to support the position that undocumented labor negatively affects the labor of U.S. citizens (Bean, Lowell, & Taylor, 1988). After World War II, the U.S. economy again called for cheap labor. In 1942, the Bracero Program allowed Mexican laborers to enter the U.S. to work in specific industries for specific periods of time, largely based on seasonal agricultural needs. The "push" factor of economic depression in Mexico coupled with the "pull" of available jobs in the U.S., meant that additional laborers entered without documentation during the time of the Bracero program. In response, there were massive sweeps of Mexican immigrants, culminating in the"Operation Wetback" program of 1954, in which approximately 1 million Mexicans were apprehended and deported.

Since the mid 1960's, Mexicans have continued to seek employment in the United States "at a pace responsive to the economic conditions in the United States and Mexico" (Riding, 1987, p. 479). As was addressed earlier, the numbers of actual entries have been a subject of much debate and political manipulation. Since the Mexican economic crisis of 1982, the value of the peso has diminished significantly and the high rates of inflation fluctuate so often that daily radio programs devote air time to list the rise in prices of vital products. Over half the population is without employment or potable water, millions are without adequate housing, and the imported foods in grocery stores cannot be bought by the 70% of the population who cannot afford to eat meat, milk or eggs (Gandy, 1987). The current government has attempted to create social and economic development programs that would provide some measure of relief to the poor, but these efforts have been limited, since Mexico has been unable to get out from under the staggering debt owed to the World Bank.

Many of the available jobs are with transnational corporations, such as the maquilas or U.S. owned assembly plants located at the U.S./Mexico border. The majority of workers in the maquilas are women, who earn approximately 40 cents per hour (Kamel, 1989). Even the wages of those workers who do earn the minimum wage cannot keep up with the rising inflation, thus there is evidence that the poor are getting poorer. Acute malnutrition affects 60% of Mexican citizens, five years of education is the national average, there is a 15% illiteracy rate, and housing conditions are sub-standard for 2/3 of the population (Riding 1987, p. 317). Given these conditions, it is not surprising that Mexicans have sought employment in "El Norte" for the survival of their families.

The most recent response to undocumented immigration is IRCA. This program is yet another reaction to the growing sense that undocumented Mexican workers are threatening "American" jobs, and becoming a burden on social services. The target for much of this sentiment has been undocumented Mexican immigrants, since it is estimated that they comprise over half of the undocumented population (Warren & Passel, 1987). Mexican immigrants will continue to grow in numbers as long as the conditions of poverty remain.

Central American Migration

The focus of this discussion will be on migration of Guatemalan, Salvadorean, and Nicaraguan immigrants who entered since 1979, since they comprise the most significant number of Central American immigrants residing in the U.S. in general and the San Francisco Bay Area in particular. Prior to 1979, the majority of Central American immigrants entered the United States with legal permanent residence for largely economic reasons (Cordova, 1987) and their numbers were significantly smaller than the post-1979 exodus brought about by conditions of political instability and war. A brief examination of

the the conditions that have created the need for El Salvadorean and Guatemalan citizens to flee their countries of origin will place the current situation of undocumented Central American immigrants in context.

El Salvadorean Migration

The roots of the current civil war in El Salvador can be traced back to the 1880's when the government privatized all collectively owned land. Fourteen "ruling families" gained control of this land and have continued to maintain feudalistic control in what has been called a coffee oligarchy. Attempts at land reform have been met with force. The military's response to the peasant revolt against the feudal system in 1932 was the killing of 30,000 citizens. Salvadoreans refer to this as "*la matanza*", the massacre. Efforts to elect a ruling party that would redistribute land toward a more equitable arrangement have been unsuccessful. The feudal land structure has remained, through enforcement of the Salvadorean military. Land reform efforts grew throughout the 1970's, but were subsequently met with increasing repression, culminating in the violence that sparked the now 11 year old civil war.

Economic conditions in El Salvador have worsened since the onset of the war. Agricultural production and exports have drastically declined in the last 10 years, and private investment has dropped 41%. Per capita income is approximately 30% lower for El Salvadoreans than it was at the beginning of the war, and continues to decline. In 1987, an estimated 27% of the population was dependent on humanitarian aid or the support of relatives abroad. 50% of the population comprised the "informal" sector, including domestic workers, street vendors etc. (American Friends Service Committee, 1987). The dependency El Salvador has on U.S. aid is extreme. The United States continues to provide El Salvador with approximately 2 million dollars per day in military aid, the unprecedented total of which is more than the El Salvadorean government provides to its own economy.

Human rights abuses have been widely documented in El Salvador, with torture becoming institutionalized. The prevalence of post traumatic stress disorder among Central Americans has been recently addressed by researchers (Cervantes, Salgado de Snyder, Padilla, 1989; Kury, 1989), as has its specific impact on Central American women (Hogeland, 1989; Aron, Corne, Fursland & Zelwer, 1989). It is estimated that 63,000 civilians have been killed at the hands of the military and its death squads (Central American Refugee Center Annual Report, 1988). In 1988, Dr. Ignacio Martin-Baro presented an overview of the political causes of psycho-social trauma in El Salvador at the "Symposium on Central American Immigrants and Refugees" at San Francisco State University. As Martin-Baro stated:

> Above all this is a society which is more than just poor, it is impoverished; a society that is not just divided, it is torn apart. A society in which the most basic human rights of the majority are structurally and systematically denied. I am not speaking of rights such as the freedom of the press or freedom of worship, which seem to be of such concern to the U.S. government in the case of Cuba and Nicaragua; I am referring to the much more fundamental right to a place to live, a job in which to fulfill oneself as a human being, a school in which to educate one's children...

In November, 1989, Dr. Martin-Baro was slain along with other Jesuit priests, their housekeeper and her daughter. The violence continues, as does U.S. military aid to El Salvador.

The result of this repression and accompanying poverty is the displacement of approximately 20% of El Salvador's population who have either fled the country or been displaced to different regions within El Salvador. Large numbers of refugees have fled to refugee camps in Honduras but the majority of those who flee have sought refuge in the United States. It is estimated that 1.3 million El Salvadoreans now reside in Los Angeles, San Francisco, Chicago, and New York. An estimated 80 to 100 thousand Central American refugees live in the San Francisco Bay Area, with San Francisco being most heavily populated city. According to a 1987 Urban Institute study, Central American migration to the Bay Area accounted for 40% of its population growth between 1979 and 1985. Many believe these numbers will increase due to the military offensive beginning in November of 1989 (Johnston-Hernandez, 1990). As addressed previously, the current rate of asylum denial is extremely high for El Salvadorean refugees. The fact that most have arrived after the 1982 cut-off date for amnesty eligibility makes them unable to legalize their status. Thus El Salvadorean refugees are at risk for deportation and forced return to the violence and repression of their war torn homeland. There is much evidence that once deported, many El Salvadoreans are marked for death upon their return. The American Civil Liberties Union has documented 59 such cases in which deportees were later killed in El Salvador. The U.S. embassy has uncovered 112 cases of persecution, including at least 47 disappearances. The number of these cases is presumed to be significantly higher (CARECEN Annual Report, 1988). The silence surrounding death squad activity has been difficult to penetrate, even for the most vigilant human rights organizations.

Guatemalan Migration

The attention paid within the U.S. media to El Salvador's 11 year old civil war has been broadly criticized as negligible, and what the public hears about conditions of war and repression in Guatemala is almost nonexistent. This silence continues in spite of the fact that the atrocities committed by the Guatemalan military government are comparable to or worse than what we have learned about El Salvador.

For a decade after World War II, Guatemala experienced a popularly elected government which attempted to institute land reform and improve working conditions of peasants and workers. With encouragement from the United Fruit Company the Arbenz government was targeted as communist by the U.S.. In 1954, the U.S. invaded Guatemala through a CIA designed coup that ousted Arbenz and installed Colonel Castillo Armas, a leader more sympathetic to the ruling elite. Armas returned control of the land to the United Fruit Company and represented the first in a series of military governments that continue to rule. The repressive force with which the military government has responded to its detractors has been focused largely on the Indian indigenous population who have been supportive of reform efforts. In 1960, an opposition movement began with an attempted coup within the military but was unsuccessful. The movement resurfaced in 1979 in response to stepped up military repression and death squad activities, and has gained increasing popularity among the peasant groups for whom land reform is essential. This organizing has been met with severe measures of retaliation that have been compared to the tactics employed by the South Vietnamese in the Vietnam war (Melville, 1985).

The indigenous community which comprises 48% of the Guatemalan population, has been the primary target of the escalating military violence in the country. In some regions, campesinos who rely on the land for sustenance are unable to survive due to the scorched earth tactics of the military. Death squads have killed tens of thousands of Indians, occupying communal lands, and destroying the economic base of these communities. Women are especially vulnerable in this situation, as rape by the military police is common practice. Another tactic the government is using to "control" the Indigenous population is

sponsorship of massive forced sterilization programs. (Casa de la Unidad, Mexico, 1987). The conditions of brutality in the countrysides have forced families to move to urban areas, where women try to find work as domestics, or "vendadoras"- selling products on the street. Because the unemployment rate is 50%, many are unable to support themselves and their families. The atmosphere of terror -- psychological and physical -- has forced thousands to flee their homeland. There are an estimated 45-70,000 Guatemalan refugees living in camps in Mexico (Casa de la Unidad, Mexico, 1987)

More than a million persons have been displaced due to the violence and poverty described above. It is estimated that between 15,200 and 19,000 Guatemalan immigrants currently reside in the Bay Area. Due to the current U.S. policy on political asylum and the fact that the largest numbers of Guatemalan entrants to the U.S. arrived after 1982, the bulk of Guatemalan migrants have little chance of legalizing their status. The experience of Juan Miguel Xuncax and his family, described in a 1987 issue of El Tecolote newspaper, is one example of this.

> Senior Xunax and his family migrated to San Francisco from San Miguel Acatan Guatemala. The family is Kanjobal Indian, of Mayan heritage and were targeted by the military because it was believed there were guerilla supporters living in their village. After a helicopter bombing of his village, Xancax escaped with his wife and daughters to Mexico. Unable to find work in Mexico, Xanax came to the U.S. where he found work as a migrant farmworker. Withassistance from the Father Moriarty Refugee Program he was assisted in bringing his family to the U.S., but he was arrested by the U.S. border patrol upon entering the U.S. After two months the refugee program was able to post bale and has assisted him in filing an application for amnesty through the Special Agricultural clause. Because so few Guatemalans are granted political asylum, his attorney encouraged him to apply for amnesty, though the burden of proof has been very difficult for migrants in his situation. (Tobar, 1987).

The election of Vinicio Cerezo in 1986 was hailed as a sign of positive change by many within Guatemala, though Cerezo's Christian Democrat government has been limited in its efforts to reassert civilian control. The numbers of death squad style murders decreased from its peak between 1980 and 1983, but the violence has continued. Two months after the signing of the Central American Peace Plan, the military resumed the bombings of several villages. Quiche was subjected to scorched earth tactics, and nearly a thousand more people were displaced. In 1987, two catechists affiliated with a land reform organization were murdered. The women's "Mutual Support Group" has asked for an accounting of their "disappeared" family members -- who number in the thousands -- to no avail since the government continues to deny any responsibility for the actions.

Because their visibility as displaced persons puts them at risk for being the targets of violence, Guatemalans cannot settle in refugee camps inside their country and must either live anonymously in the shantytowns outside of Guatemala City or flee to Mexico, Honduras, or the United States. It was estimated in 1982 that over 1 million Guatemalans had been displaced (American Friends Service Committee, 1988). A "repatriation" movement has been undertaken to return some 46,000 of the displaced to their homelands, spurred largely by Mexico's government which initially refused to allow the refugee encampments to stay (Riding, 1987). This return has not been successful, given the

numbers of citizens who have continued to be killed. In 1987 the U.S. Government approximated the numbers of deaths in Guatemala at 300 per day, casualties of the counterinsurgency program in Guatemala's countryside (Ong Hing, 1987). Thus it is likely that until there is a negotiated settlement and a redistribution of land, Guatemalans will continue to seek refuge in significant numbers.

Nicaraguan Migration

In July of 1979, the dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza collapsed with the National Guard's surrender to the Sandinista National Front. The Somoza family had ruled in Nicaragua through forty years of violent repression with full support of the United States government.

During the reign of the Somoza family the difference between the wealth of the few and poverty of the many was extreme. The Somoza family owned 20% of all land and 25% of Nicaragua's industry. The concentration of wealth was greater than that of any other Central American countries, as was the rate of malnutrition and infant mortality. Almost half of Nicaragua's population was illiterate, largely campesina women (Gordon, 1986).

Although Nicaragua never a major site for U.S. investments, Canadian and U.S. companies were a significant presence in its lumber, mineral, fishing, and agricultural industries. The interests of the U.S. in Nicaragua were largely strategic/political ones, due to Nicaragua's centrality within Central America and proximity to other countries in which the U.S. has interests. After the Sandinistas victory, the U.S. promoted a campaign rooted in the "domino theory", the idea that unless capitalist control could be regained in Nicaragua, other countries would follow suit. Within this campaign, the U.S. provided funds, training, and personnel for the contra forces and sanctioned trade with Nicaragua, which destabilized the economy and reduced the potential for full realization of the revolution's goals.

Perhaps the earliest documented wave of migrants from Nicaragua occurred in the mid 1930's when U.S. marines invaded Nicaragua and were run off by Sandino. It was not until the mid and late 1970's, however, that large numbers of Nicaraguans migrated to the United States in response to the political conditions under the Somoza regime. During the mid-1970's, the Nicaraguan population was reportedly the largest Central American immigrant group in the San Francisco Bay Area (Cordova, 1989). After the overthrow of Somoza, many of these immigrants returned to Nicaragua, but were replaced by others who were associated with Somoza's government, fearing their loss of wealth under the economic structure of the new government. Others have left Nicaragua because of the continuing violence and deaths, at the hands of the U.S.-backed Contras, or because of the staggering inflation fueled by the U.S. economic blockade.

Approximately 300,000 Nicaraguans have been internally displaced due to the Contra war. An additional 100,000 have fled to Honduras, Mexico or the United States. Currently, Nicaraguans are a significant enclave of Central American immigrants in the Bay Area, though not the largest group from that region (Cordova, 1989). As was addressed earlier, the rate at which Nicaraguans have been granted asylum is significantly higher than the approval rate for Salvadoreans and Guatemalans.

It is not yet clear how this policy will be affected by the election of Violetta Chomorrow's UNO party, who defeated Daniel Ortega and the Sandinista Party earlier this year. The Nicaraguans in need of political asylum in the coming year may be Sandinistas. Given the history of U.S. intervention in Nicaragua, it is unlikely that our government will look favorably upon their plight. It can be expected that the flow of migration from Nicaragua will continue. With inflation at a staggering rate of 36,000% (Danel, 1990) it is unlikely

that the UNO Party will be able to resolve the economic crisis within the near future and Nicaraguans will continue to migrate.

Chinese Migration

The current composition and immigration patterns of the Chinese community are strongly linked with their history of migration to the U.S, dating back to the 1840's. The waves of Chinese migration to the U.S., as well as the characterization and quality of life of Chinese living here, has been a by-product of U.S. political relations with China.

The first Chinese immigrants to the U.S. headed for fortunes in the " Mountain of Gold " (referring to the hills of San Francisco during the Gold Rush) were from China's southern province of Kwangtung, near the Pearl River. In 1851, there were 25,000 Chinese, almost exclusively men, in California, and by 1880 the number had risen to 123,200 (Saler, 1979 pg. 3). Men came to work in the mines, and strike it rich. In the 1860's men were brought over to work on the transcontinental railroad being built through the High Sierras. The company paid their passage and signed promissory notes for wages. The Chinese laborers were brought over to do backbreaking brutal work that white miners refused to do.

By the end of 1870, the railroad was finished and the mines were emptied. Workers who had been living in rural areas returned to urban areas seeking employment, and began solidifying and building their community. In the early 1880's, there were 25,000 to 30,000 Chinese living in Chinatown in San Francisco (Saler, 1978), an area consisting of two by six blocks. Since there was no-one to do "women's" work, men opened businesses such as laundries, restaurants, and small markets.

As Chinese workers began to open businesses and look for work in construction and other occupations, racist anti-Chinese sentiments emerged. Chinese workers were tolerated by white workers when they were doing work that whites did not want to do, but when they wanted to "take away" jobs traditionally held by whites and "drive down wages", this led to attacks against their communities. This period culminated in the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, which prohibited immigration from China. From 1882 to 1943, fourteen pieces of legislation were passed which made it virtually impossible for Chinese to immigrate to the U.S. Western states passed laws against Chinese marrying white women.

The violence and discrimination faced by the Chinese community led to the organization of religious and mutual aid societies, and the continued growth of Chinatown's ethnic enclave, as means of survival. By 1920, due to the exclusion act, deaths, and the return home of many disillusioned by U.S. life, the Chinese population in the U.S. dropped to 61,000 (Archer,1976).

During World War II, China became a U.S. ally. This factor, combined with the labor shortage caused by the war, began to ease employment barriers for Chinese in the U.S. Chinese began to work in factories and the clerical sector and gained increased access to education. It was not until 1942 that the Exclusion Act was repealed as a gesture of good will to China, but the yearly quota was set at a low 105. After a decade of living in the U.S., Chinese were allowed to become citizens for the first time in 1943. This lead to two amendments to the immigration law in 1946. The first one allowed Chinese male citizens to bring over wives and children, and the second allowed GI wives to join their husbands, exempt from the quota.

As a result of the post World War II political climate, growing numbers of Chinese were able to use education as a means to achieve greater economic stability and middle class status. This included many Chinese American veterans who used the G.I bill to go to

college. With access to education, the rise of professionals occurred within Chinese communities. This period marks the beginning of a transition in the Chinese community from a largely male, uneducated and limited English speaking population to include a growing sector of more educated and skilled workers who were able to start families, and begin the process of integrating into mainstream U.S. life. This sector of the community was in a strong financial position to petition for relatives when the immigration laws liberalized.

In 1949, The People's Liberation Army led by Mao Zedong, gained political power in China. This led to a "brain drain" of the intelligentsia and business sectors, who feared loss of income or status from the revolution. Some were given refugee status, while others benefited from the preference system that gives priority to those with needed skills and training. This group included professionals from Taiwan and Hong Kong, who feared that the communists were going to gain control of those regions as well.

The quota system was revamped in 1965 as quotas between white and non white nations were equalized. This change, combined with the normalization of diplomatic relations with China in 1979, has led to the Chinese becoming the largest Asian group in the U.S. Between 1950 and 1983, it was estimated that 193,000 t Chinese immigrated to the U.S. This includes 63,000 who came with student visas (Fawcett et. al, 1985).

The 1980 census showed 806,027 Chinese living in fifty states, with half still living on the west coast. This is an increase of 207% since the 1960 census (Hyung, Chan Kim, 1986). The 1980 census reported that there were 64,000 Bay Area residents who were born in China. The majority of legal Chinese entrants to the U.S. (through relative visa petitions) are the elderly parents, wives, and children of former immigrants who came as workers. Women outnumber men in this classification. This group of immigrants tends to have a low educational level, and to work in the garment, service and domestic sectors within Chinatown. A recent article in the San Francisco Chronicle (Leung, 1990) reported that there are an estimated 20,000 women working in sweat shops in Bay Area Chinatown's for $2.00 an hour.

Figures on undocumented Chinese are almost impossible to find, but based on established patterns of migration, some inferences can be drawn. Given the strong Chinese cultural value placed on maintaining family, and the extended family, relatives in China are not easily forgotten about once the family moves to America. Even after the revolution, family continued to be a mainstay of society, and the tradition of extended family support remains an important value. In illustrating this, an estimated 17% of U.S. Chinese families with working mothers report that the grandmother provides child care (Hare-Mustin & Mustin, 1986). Since the large "new wave" of legal migration starting in the 50's and 60's, there have been thousands of families waiting in China to reunite with their family in the U.S. As the economic base and educational level of the community grows, they are better able to absorb family members into the community, even if the incoming family member is undocumented.

The legal avenues for relative visa petitions are slow. It takes years before an individual is able to reunite with family here in the U.S. The quota system is not adequate for all who wish to immigrate. Given these factors, it is fairly obvious that increasing numbers of Chinese will be arriving in the U.S. This is facilitated by easier and less expensive communication and transportation between China and the U.S., although the expense of the journey itself may effectively bar the poorest sectors from migrating. The majority of undocumented Chinese immigrants enter with tourist or student visas and may never intend to return to their country of origin. One study of Chinese students from the mainland, Taiwan, and Hong Kong on university campuses found that over 50% planned to remain

permanently in the U.S. Another 10% were undecided. (Bryce Laporte, Roy Simone, 1980),

Since the 1949 revolution, political dissatisfaction with the system in China has been an important factor in Chinese migration to the U.S. The recent massacres in Tienemen Square has induced fear among many, particularly students, and decreased the public's confidence in the political leadership. As a result, increasing numbers of people will likely attempt to migrate. In preparation for the 1997 transfer of political power from the United Kingdom's government in Hong Kong to Beijing, There is already increased migration from this country. As the date gets closer, there will likely be increasing numbers of undocumented Chinese immigrants. Some have predicted this group will be the next "boat people", since other nations are expressing their disinterest in receiving these immigrants.

While the Marriage fraud Act affects all immigrant communities as discussed above, Chinese immigrant women are especially negatively affected. Based on cultural traditions dating back to ancient times, many Chinese immigrant men "import" their wives from China, through marriages arranged by family back home. Unaware of U.S. customs, and isolated from the outside world, Chinese women are especially vulnerable to abuse. The new law has made it more difficult for women to leave the violence in their homes because for fear they will lose their legal status.

Filipino Migration

The history of Filipino immigration to the U.S. is bound to the political and economic domination by the U.S of the Philippines dating back to 1898, when the U.S. acquired the Philippines as a territory through the Treaty of Paris. At that time Filipinos were able to immigrate to the U.S. as nationals, without any quota system.

The first Filipinos to come to the U.S. were peasant contract workers who came to work in the Hawaiian sugar plantations starting in 1903. In 1906 there were an estimated 141 Filipinos in Hawaii, and by 1940 the numbers totaled 125,000 (Philippine Resource Center, 1985). The demand for Filipino workers increased with the 1924 Japanese Exclusion Act. Laborers worked in the fields ten hours a day, 26 days a month, and were paid on a piecework basis. They came to the U.S. hoping to save enough money to buy land back home.

A decade after the first immigration to Hawaii, Filipinos began arriving in California. They traveled all over the state, living in migrant camps, harvesting crops. By the 1920's Filipinos comprised 40% of the California agricultural work force, with an estimated population of 30,000 (Philippine Resource Center, 1985).

The growth of the Filipino population intersected with the Great Depression of the 1930's. This lead to anti-Filipino racism, harassment, and violence. This climate led to the passage of the Tydings McDuffie Act in 1934, offering political independence to the island in ten years. This left the thousand of Filipinos in the U.S. as neither citizens or aliens. Filipinos remained in legal limbo until 1942, when Congress passed a resolution naturalizing Filipinos living in the U.S., but set a quota of 50 immigrants per year. That same year, laws prohibiting Filipinos from working in the government and owning land were lifted. An estimated 7,000 Filipinos from the U.S. fought in World War II.

The post World War II era, saw the transition from a migrant male Filipino population, to an increasingly family centered community. Filipinos, who were now citizens, brought over wives and relatives. Men who had served in the armed forces brought over their "war

brides". Veterans loans and the GI Bill, helped many get an education and purchase homes for their families.

The third wave of immigration began in 1965 when the quota system was liberalized. Prior to this, the strict quota system severely limited immigration. Since 1986, Filipinos have come to the U.S. at a rate higher than any other country except Mexico. Since 1979 , more than 40,000 Filipinos have been admitted to the U.S. yearly. Estimates indicate that there are currently more than one million Filipinos in the U.S. (Carino, et. al 1987). If this is accurate, Filipinos have replaced Chinese as the largest Asian population in the U.S. In the Bay Area, Filipinos are the second largest Asian group, estimated at 40,000, with an estimated 30,000 residing in the Daly City (Viviano, 1988).

Family reunification is a major influence on Filipino Immigration, though it is not the only cause of Filipino immigration. After almost a hundred years of economic and political domination by the U.S., the Philippines, remains an undeveloped third world country with soaring poverty, high unemployment rates, political repression and instability. Immigrants from the Philippines are migrating to improve their economic status, though this is intrinsically related to political issues for many Filipino immigrants:

> Centuries of grinding poverty and colonial rule have been followed in modern times by policies that favor transnational corporations at the expense of human needs. The Philippines remains one of the poorest and least developed nations in Asia, with 70 percent of families living below poverty (Kamel, 1990, pg 49).

The U.S presence in the Philippines is both military and corporate. Clark Air Force Base and the naval base at Subic Bay are the largest U.S. bases in the world outside U.S. territory. The 128 U.S. owned firms made a profit of $200 million in 1986 (Kamel, 1990,p. 50). Minimum wage is set at $3.50 per day, but agricultural workers make only thirty five to sixty cents per day working for Dole and Del Monte. The current economic situation is desperate with skyrocketing inflation.

This economic reality sets the scene for increasing migration to the U.S. The unemployment rate is 7.5% compared to 4.8% for men (Sancho, 1987), forcing many women to work in the "underground" economy as vendors, maids, and scavengers trying to survive. These conditions make women vulnerable to exploitation in their work places, sexual harassment, and abuse.

Over one thousand women work at a Texas Instruments plant in the tax free processing zone for $2 to $3.50 per day, and eighty five percent of them have college educations. Many women workers complain of managers' policies of "lie down or be laid off" (Sencho, 1987). There are still over two million women working in the agricultural sector. Unable to survive on the wages addressed above, many are lured to urban areas to work as "hospitality girls" and prostitutes. There are thousands of Filipina women working in the sex industry, which is fueled in part by the demand of U.S. GI's. These same conditions have led to "mail order" brides as a growing phenomena. A report by the National Network of Asian Pacific Women (1987) reviewed the literature and found that in 1981, some 7,000 mail order marriages took place between Filipino women and Australian, European, and American men.

There is a proliferation of nursing schools in the Philippines, but the majority will not remain in their country to work. They will go to Europe, Australia and the U.S., all of whom are experiencing nursing shortages. Remi Leano's case is typical, recruited by a

agency in Manila to work in New York. She sends home $700 a month from her nursing salary. Remi comments on her decision to come to the U.S. without her husband and children.

> To American culture, it sounds odd, but for us it happens very often that one parent goes away to earn money for the family. It's not easy, but it is better to suffer in the present to prepare for the future (Grenier, 1988)

Nurses come to the U.S. on a five year H-1 temporary visa. Most apply right away for a permanent green card. However, because there is such a backlog of Filipino visa applications, it may take more than the five years. At this point, she has to choose between going home or going "underground".

Remi's journey to the U.S. to the "land of opportunity" represents a shift in previous immigration patterns, in which men were the first family member to come to the U.S. Today it is women, working as domestics, "hospitality workers", and as nurses and other professionals, who are sending money home to support the family from other parts of the world. The preferred destination for Filipinos is the United States.

The final factor in Filipino Migration to the U.S. is political repression, and violence. After Marcos declared martial law in 1972, over 170,000 professional workers and technical workers registered

to emigrate (Tiger, 1978), many coming to join family in the Bay Area. Even since the Aquino election in 1987, violence and human rights violations continue, especially of workers and peasants (Kamel, 1990).

Economic, political, and family reunification factors are the three main "pushes" causing Filipinos to become the largest Asian community in the U.S. There are no estimates on the undocumented population, but we can assume it is substantial. Each year the U.S. Embassy in Manila issues 85,000 to 100,000 tourist and student visas. A recent article in the San Francisco Chronicle, (Viviano, 1988) suggests that up to half of these visitors may overstay their visas, many joining relatives in the Bay Area.

CHAPTER 5: IMMIGRANT AND REFUGEE WOMEN, LIVES IN TRANSITION

Early attitudes about the role of immigrant women within the family viewed the woman as an impediment to the "assimilation" of her family. This early 20th century attitude is evident in the lack of information available about the experiences and achievements of immigrant women in stark contrast to what has been written about their male counterparts. Indeed the immigrant woman was viewed as being

> excellent raw material for moral uplift programs of social workers and home missionary societies, but good for little else. To fervent advocates of Americanization, the immigrant mother was a 'natural obstructionist' whose eventual death would enable the family to move on much more victoriously to Americanization (Seller, 1987).

It was generally held that because women were relegated to the household, they would be slower to learn English and learn the customs of their new surroundings. Their husbands and children would surpass them in all areas of contact with their new environment. These sentiments have been especially strong when addressing immigrant woman from strong patriarchal cultures such as Southern and Eastern Europe.

These attitudes have their roots in the belief that women are passive in the immigration process of their families, and therefore must be an impediment to their progress once they arrive. Yet, as one author pointed out in her discussion of Portuguese immigrants, "For every woman who was prompted by the male there were two who resisted and forced him to remain where he was; and there were five who had been the initiators of the idea; mothers, sisters, wives or daughters who had worked at cajoling or pressuring the male into taking the lead or forced them to make the move" (Smith, 1980). In contrast to the stereotype, immigrant women are often active participants in the decision to migrate, and may in fact migrate without their husbands or families in increasing numbers, due to their employability in domestic work, which is often easier to find. According to Wayne Cornelius, Director of the U.S.-Mexican Studies at the University of San Diego, "our informants in Mexico are telling us that many more wives and children had gone to the U.S. than in any previous year within memory" (Kirk, 1988). This is a likely response to employer sanctions that make it more difficult for their husbands to find work.

Women are in a unique position within the immigrant family in the transmission of culture, both old and new. The traditional immigrant woman's household responsibilities coupled with her family position, requires her play an intermediary role in family interactions with informal agencies and others in the new country. Immigrant women's interaction with health, education and community services is pivotal to the way in which her family "eases into their new roles" (Meleis & Rogers, 1987). It is women within the family who guard the family's ethnic identity and preserve the traditional language, while also playing a key role in using a new one.

In coming to America, immigrants and refugees leave behind their family, friends, marketplaces and neighborhoods. Leaving their psychological and financial support system behind, immigrants are forced to develop new coping mechanisms in an alien, fast-paced, and racist culture. The significance of this transition is obvious, but too often forgotten or overlooked by social workers, and other professionals working in these communities.

The three groups of women participating in this study, Filipina, Chinese and Latina, have distinct cultural and socioeconomic backgrounds, but all three come from third world countries, where the extended family remains remains the dominant form of family life, and is highly valued as an agent of economic and social support. In each of these cultures, the extended family is traditionally relied

upon to resolve conflict and maintain culture. The fragmentation of the extended family that results from immigration processes increases pressure on immigrant families, especially women.

Upon arriving in the U.S., the family immediately faces issues of economic survival. Women's potential as wage earners takes on an increased significance which in turn causes changes in sex role behavior. While immigrant women may continue to value child rearing and housekeeping roles, they also want to help achieve the North American dream for their extended family; a goal that mandates their participation in the labor force (Meleis and Rogers, 1987).

Many rural women, or women with limited education, have worked in agriculture or done jobs at home such as washing clothes or selling food, but have not worked "outside" the home. Women migrating from urban areas are more likely to have worked outside the home, but this work may not relate to the types of jobs available to immigrant women in the U.S.

Once in the U.S., women must play a more central role in the financial support of their families. The demand for women's labor serves as a major "pull" factor for the migration itself. Housecleaning and child care, sewing, and electronic assembly line jobs have traditionally employed women because of their ability to perform "delicate" work, potential for cheap labor, decreased likelihood of organizing and traditional deference to authority (Meleis & Rogers, 1987). One San Diego study (Chavez, et al, 1986) found that 47.5% of documented Mexicana women and 63% of undocumented Mexicanas were working. One interpretation of this data is that since documented men are likely to earn higher wages than undocumented men, undocumented women will need to work , in order to help support the family.

It is well documented historically that working conditions for immigrant and refugee women have been very poor. The abuse that women experience in their low paying jobs frequently results in high levels of stress, depression, and frustration, besides exposing them to on-the-job hazards. In the San Francisco/Oakland /San Jose area, white women earn 51¢ on the dollar in comparison to white men. The figures for legal immigrant women are: Mexican 34¢, Chinese 44¢, and Filipina 52¢ (Cabezas et. al,1986). Immigrant women are locked into these oppressive working conditions for a variety of reasons: minimal or no education in their country of origin, limited or no English speaking ability, lack of familiarity with U.S. customs, and racism. Undocumented women receive even lower wages and are more vulnerable to abuse in the work place because their survival depends on whatever job they can find (Chavez, 1986; DeQuattro, 1988; Farias & Guarnaccia,1988). An undocumented Salvadorean women, "Senora Fuentes," described her experience at a factory in Los Angeles

> There are times when I think work is suffocating me. I work ten hours a day...The bosses know most of us don't speak English. The Americans think we don't get tired. It's better when you don't know English; it's better to put up with the problem and not say anything, but the other day I fought with the boss. I don't speak English, but I fought with him because he made me so mad. A man from Puerto Rico said to me the other day that they would give us a party. I asked what the party was for. He said if we packed 13,000 boxes that day, they would give us doughnuts! I told the boss I was fed up. What we need for our work is money. I can get a doughnut at the store for 25¢. Then I said to the other Latino workers that this is how the boss treats us; he is racist.

The authors commented on the fact that for Senora Fuentes, "One of the unstated problems in seeking another job was difficulty in finding work without papers" (Farias & Guarnaccia,1988).

Lack of support from extended family to help with child care or housework, and the burden of "double duty", contribute to high rates of isolation, alienation, and depression among immigrant women. (Angel & Guarnaccia, 1989; Freinberd et.al,1988; Salgado de Snyder, 1987) This must be heightened by the increased sense of responsibility the immigrant woman may have for the survival of her family. "Exposure to western norms of independence heightens confusion over appropriate behavior in the new country" (Lovel & Nguyen, 1987). Through the migration process a woman is caught between two cultures, perhaps more so than any other family member. As one author described, women's employment is a major factor in role shift within the immigrant family.

> If the husband can't get a job and the wife gets a job in the garment factory, there's role reversal. She's the breadwinner. She wants to have a say in the family. That creates problems (Lum,1988).

Lack of ability to speak English is a major problem that keeps women from a clearer understanding of Western customs and traditions (Salgado de Snyder, 1987). Some authors have theorized that when given the opportunity to learn a new language, women may have less trouble than their male counterparts because they have "less face to loose" (Lovel & Nguyen, 1987). A 1989 examination of immigrant women in Chinatown found that women had a strong desire to learn English but were not able to attend classes because of their work schedules and the responsibility of running the home (Adams, 1989). Employers may actually discourage their workers from learning English, since that could increase their earning -- and organizing -- power. As one Chinatown garment worker stated:

> They say, 'you're too old. Why do you want to learn? Let your children learn' (Robertson, 1990).

For immigrant women who come to the U.S. as semi-professionals or professionals, many of these dynamics still hold true, because their training and experience may not be recognized once here. Additionally, the racism of anti-immigrant sentiment frequently bars them from obtaining jobs in their profession, or gaining promotions. As a Filipino community leader as put it:

> American employers don't look at our education in the same manner as a U.S. education here...We have to settle for any job we can find. There are a lot of engineers and architects who are just draftsmen right now, many doctors and nurses who are claims examiners for the health insurance industry (Chin & Waugh, 1989)

This reality hits hard in the Bay Area Filipino community where women have the highest labor force participation of all Asian women (75%), and more Filipina women than men graduate from high school and college (Chin & Waugh, 1989). In order to obtain the improved economic status they sought in America, both the husband and wife must work, often at two full-time jobs (Philippine Resource Center, 1985). Filipina undocumented women are forced to abandon their professions and take jobs in the service economy where they may work 10-12 hour days. The decreased amount of time women are able to spend with their families comes at a time when both partners may be experiencing a "loss of face" because they are unable to find work in their field. This dynamic increases anxiety and tension within the family.

Immigrant children become "Americanized" much faster than their parents, due in large part to their contact with the educational system. Due to their rapid acculturation process, they are forced into the role of helping the parents navigate their way through the "system". This creates stress for the

child, who feels overburdened by the responsibility, and for the parents, who feel they are losing their parental authority. Without extended family to help with child care, and unable to pay for non-familial child care, children frequently ride the buses alone to school at an early age, and come home alone after school, while both parents are at work. This becomes a great source of anxiety for the mother, who feels guilty she is not at home, and worried about what may happen to her children while unsupervised. These types of concerns have resulted in some women becoming worried about having children in the U.S., and/or wanting their children to be raised in their country of origin (Meleis & Rogers, 1987; Salgado de Snyder, 1987).

Immigrant children often become impatient with the traditional family structure. At school they learn new values associated with openness and confrontation. They do not understand or respect the family negotiating role that the mother plays in the family.

> They resent having to discuss matters of utmost importance to them with fathers or the elderly male members of the family by going through their mothers (Meleis & Rogers, 1987).

According to Father Antonio Rey of Daly City:

> Every dinning room table in the Filipino family is a battlefield between the old and young. Old people would like to see old traditions and customs kept, even in this new environment. But for the young, integration is inevitable" (Chin & Waugh, 1989).

As a result of these pressures, relationships within immigrant families can strain to the point of breaking.

> As a consequence of changes in life experiences of women, pressure increases on male members of the family. Many men perceive a loss of control over the family at a time when they are seeing themselves as devalued in the larger social arena...If the husband is unwilling to share the authority or support the changes his wife is making, situational crises, marital problems, and even domestic violence may result (Lovell & Nguyen, 1987).

Several other authors (Lai, 1985, De Quattro, 1988, Farias & Guaraccia,1988) discuss the dynamics in immigrant families that can lead to family violence. Unemployment by the spouse/partner, feudal and Confucian customs that relegate women to second class status, lack of community and extended family to intervene in "marital problems", and loss of respect for elders, are additional factors that can lead to domestic violence, child and elder abuse.

A review of literature on rates of domestic violence in the three communities examined in this research project, revealed only one study in the Latino community, and none in the Chinese or Filipino community. This study (Straus, 1987) found a rate of domestic violence 45% higher relative to whites, but closely linked violence to low income status and unemployment. Additionally, spousal abandonment has been cited as a problem for immigrant women. Factors contributing to abandonment are family separation in the immigration process, affairs, and women's need to work which threatens men's sense of control over the family, and causes men to leave the family (Farias & Guaraccia,1988).

For undocumented women, these pressures are intensified by extremely high levels of fear. Already marginalized by their economic status, undocumented women are forced to live an "underground" existence, constantly assessing whether their activities outside the home will lead to deportation. Given this reality, undocumented women may believe they can trust no-one, certainly not anyone outside their immediate household. Without documentation, undocumented women know they don't qualify for government "help"and are likely to be unaware of the services in their own communities they are eligible to receive. Undocumented women in this situation may make decisions on important family matters based on word of mouth or gossip -- women may be told by others not to send their children to school or they will risk being caught by la Migra. If an undocumented women is having problems with her undocumented husband, she will probably be afraid to seek help, believing that it could lead to the family's deportation. There are many areas of need that remain unmet because of this seemingly insurmountable level of fear.

JoAnn DeQuattro (1988) describes Marta's situation. Marta and her family were forced to flee El Salvador when "Men armed with automatic rifles broke down their door in search of her husband." Marta arrived in the U.S. with her husband Jorge, one child, and several months pregnant. As DeQuattro described:

> Jorge began drinking as he became more depressed about lack of work, their cramped living quarters, and his inability to support his family. When drunk he abused Marta, and when she tried to protect her unborn child from his attacks, Jesus, sensing his mother's fear would begin to scream and cry. And so Jorge began to beat his baby son. When Marta could take it no more, she sought help from a church social worker. She went to a shelter for battered women, and found a job in a sweatshop doing piecework. After paying child care, she could not make ends meet. She had no family or friends to turn to. Isolated, lonely and depressed, she went back to Jorge after he promised to change, but the violence did not stop. This time instead of armed men breaking down the door, it was her drunk husband. Both them and their helpless children victims of a fatal policy of militarization --without a shot being fired at them (DeQuattro, 1988).

Despite feelings of anxiety and depression, domestic violence, child abuse, children dropping out of school, and work place abuse, immigrant women may never seek help -- or will only do so when the situation reaches a crisis stage. Given the central role that women play as transmitters of culture and guardians of ethnic identity within the family (Meleis & Rogers, 1987), this lack of access to services is especially problematic. In order for immigrant women and their families to become productive, fully engaged members of their communities it is imperative that immigrant women's contact with an array of services is positive.

The Impact of IRCA on Women

The implementation of employer sanctions under the Immigration Reform Control Act (IRCA) of 1986, has made undocumented women even more vulnerable to exploitation in the work place and has increased the pressure on this population to remain invisible. The evidenciary requirements of the law require people to submit copies of records such as rental receipts, pay stubs, bank and tax records, which many women do not have. The concentration of undocumented women in domestic jobs, restaurant or piecework for wages "under the table" has made it difficult for women to prove continuous residency and employment. The fact that women may have missed work on more occasions due to pregnancy or a child's illness also puts them at risk for losing their

desperately needed job. According to Francisco Cavazos, an immigrant rights advocate "It is impossible for many women to document an amnesty claim" (Kirk, 1988).

In response to the charge that IRCA has discriminated against women, Rick Kenney, a spokesperson for the INS stated, "The law certainly favors young people in certain circumstances -- male, young, and working -- but that's because only recently have we seen a lot of women aliens" (Kirk, 1988). Kenney further pointed out that women are able to file for a waiver of any of the requirements they cannot meet, as are men. It is not yet known, however, whether the reliance on affidavits from friends and family coupled with a waiver will be sufficient for the large numbers of women whose applications for amnesty are still pending.

Another problematic aspect of IRCA was inherent in its "public charge" exclusionary clause. Applicants who had received public benefits faced denials of their amnesty applications. Obviously, a disproportionate number of women fit into this category, since it is largely women who receive AFDC for their U.S. born children. In Zambrano vs. the INS, this policy was successfully challenged. An extension was offered for people who had received cash benefits and been discouraged from applying for amnesty. Unfortunately, far fewer women than expected came forward to apply, possibly due to the fact that the court's definition of cash benefits, such as AFDC was fairly narrow. Women who had received other forms of public assistance in the form of non-cash aid such as foodstamps or WIC were discouraged from applying.

Undocumented persons have always experienced fear as a part of their lives in this country, fear of a system they may not understand -- and fear of deportation. This fear has been heightened by IRCA. Fear of discovery and deportation serve to silence women who may have been victimized by abuse at the border, in the work place, or in their homes. According to K.C. Wagner, director of the Working Women's institute of New York, "Women may be forced to comply with a variety of employer demands in order to keep precious employment -- because from now on, when shopping for jobs, the threat of being found out is inescapable" (Fuentes, 1986).

Undocumented women were already vulnerable to exploitation in the work place, especially in the garment industry which has relied on the work of immigrant women more than any other group. Women's efforts to organize have always been tenuous within this industry, but employer sanctions have been the "kiss of death" (Fuentes, 86) for organizing women in this sector. As the labor of undocumented workers is driven deeper underground, women are going to become increasingly dependent on piece work at home or on domestic work. Efforts to organize are made nearly impossible in these work arrangements. Sexual harassment of women in the work place and domestic violence at home are likely to go unreported because undocumented women fear that contact with the "system" will cause them to be deported.

CHAPTER 6: METHODOLOGY

Overview

The goal of this study was to gather descriptive and demographic information on the social service needs and migration experiences of undocumented women from China, the Philippines and Latin America. The researchers were asked by The Coalition for Immigrant and Refugee Rights and Services (CIRRS) to conduct this study because little data was available to assess the scope of the problems and needs of these communities, making it difficult to for CIRRS to make recommendations about allocation of resources for services. Given the goals of the project , a needs assessment process was selected. The United Way (1982) describes this process:

> Needs assessment is a systematic process of data collection and analysis as inputs into resource allocation decisions with a view to discovering and identifying goods and services the community is lacking.

The data used in this study was obtained through oral interviews using a structured interview format with the targeted populations. Within this study there was no attempt to measure the results of a particular intervention, or generalize the findings of this sample of undocumented women to the universe of undocumented women, which would have made a quasi experimental design more appropriate.

The authors developed the structured interview schedule drawing upon participatory and elite interviewing models. These approaches are highly relevant in working with the populations in this study, given the lack of pre-existing studies in this area. The elite interviewing approach as described by Dexter (1970) includes the following components:

1. The person being interviewed is encouraged to define the situation.

2. The person being interviewed is encouraged to structure their own account of the situation.

3. The person being interviewed is allowed to introduce their own notions about what is relevant, rather than relying on the interviewer's notion of relevance. (Dexter, 1970)

The elite interviewing method approaches the individual to be interviewed as the "elite" or expert, possessing more information than the interviewer about the subject being studied. This approach fits in well with the participatory model discussed by Maguire, who critiques a traditional "scientific" position as viewing the person to be interviewed as an "object" incapable of defining their own reality. In contrast, the participatory model involves participants in the entire process, from the definition of the problem, the development of strategies to research the problem to the ways in which the results are used -- ideally to positively impact the community in policy development and organizing. "Participatory researchers are attempting to develop research that has the potential and the intention to empower people transform social systems" (Maguire, 1987). These principals guided the development of the current study.

This research project was conducted in the following stages:

1. The first part of the study consisted of a review of literature, as discussed previously. The purpose of this review was to augment the researchers' definition of the issues to be studied, to refine interview questions, and to develop an overview of the demographic characteristics of target populations.

2. The second part of the study involved extensive community outreach. This was employed to gain information about and access to participants whose lives are marginalized and hidden, due to their undocumented status. Community outreach included discussions with key informants and outreach to informal service/social networks in all three communities. The second portion of this outreach was in the recruitment, selection and training of interviewers.

3. The third part of the study involved pre-testing of the instrument in all three target communities. Discussions were held with interviewers to identify problems with the instrument or the translations. Changes were made to correct problems encountered in the pre-testing process.

4. The fourth part of the study consisted of in person interviews with undocumented women in the target populations.

5. The final part of the study was a series of debriefing sessions with selected project interviewers. These sessions provided the researchers with important information about the interviewers' perspectives on both the research process and its preliminary outcome. The effectiveness of the interview schedule was evaluated, particularly in areas where there appeared to be minimal or contradictory responses.

Participant Eligibility

Participants in the study were undocumented women from Latin America, the Philippines, and China (including Hong Kong and Taiwan). Participants were required to reside in either Alameda, San Francisco, or San Mateo counties to be included in the study. These three Bay Area counties were selected, based on discussions with the Immigrant Women's Task Force of the Coalition for Immigrant and Refugee Rights and Services, because of their large immigrant populations and the existence of cooperative relationships between CIRRS and community groups in these counties. Consistent with the definition of "undocumented" presented in the review of literature, "undocumented" is defined as a person who crossed the U.S. border without visa or inspection, or individuals who entered as a tourist, student, or other type of temporary visa, and does not comply with the term of their visa by overstaying.

Sample

The sampling method employed in the current study was a purposive non-random sampling method akin to the "snow-ball" technique. Cornelius (1981) defines this technique as one in which each interview participant provides subsequent contacts, generally within friendship networks. Within the current study, this technique was employed to gain both access to interviewers and at times to participants. Interviewers were asked to utilize their own pre-existing networks to access participants, though at times classic snowball techniques were employed to gain access to participants in outlying areas of counties where interviewers had fewer pre-existing contacts. In the process of becoming introduced into such networks, the interviewer increased her level of credibility and trustworthiness, an essential consideration in any approach to research with the undocumented. The snowball

sampling approach has been upheld as an ideal technique in researching the undocumented, in that it surmounts the problems of access to undocumented populations and maximizes potential for trust. This approach is consistent with Chaves, Cornelius, Jones (1986); Freidenberg, Imperiale & Skovron (1987); and Williams (1988), in their research with Mexican and Mexican-American women. When friendship networks were not accessible in the current study, the researchers relied on networks that existed between service providers and consumers of services. Within the Chinese community in San Francisco outreach was also undertaken through community media such as newspapers and radio. (see appendices 1A - 1E).

Design

The method of data collection used in the study was a survey. "Survey research is probably the best method available to the social scientist interested in collecting original data for describing a population too large to observe directly" (Babbie, 1989: 254). The design of this research project was a modified "one shot case study" which yielded largely qualitative information. This analysis is best used to make "observations not easily reduced to numbers" (Babbie, 1989: 261). Cornelius (1985) has criticized the "one shot" design in surveying undocumented immigrants, because it implies that the interviewer has no ongoing connection with the participant. Although follow-up interviews were not undertaken within the current study, interviewers were asked to utilize their friendship networks in order to address the limitations of this design.

Structured Interview Schedule

The structured interview schedule was developed over a four month period by the researchers with the assistance of members of the Immigrant Women's Task Force and key community informants serving in an advisory capacity.

The researchers' initial plan was to develop a brief structured interview format that would be used by service providers in the scope of their jobs, to obtain information from client populations about service needs and experiences in service utilization. Based on discussions with relevant advisors it became clear that the scope of the interview schedule had to be expanded in order to better understand needs of the targeted population within their broader milieu.

Toward this end, expansion of the interview schedule was undertaken in the following areas: information about the migration process, the legal status of family members in the U.S., employment discrimination issues and family dynamics. Because of the sensitive nature of some of the questions, such as border abuse, family violence and other sensitive areas, the authors felt it was necessary to include supportive introductions to these sections.

These introductions made the interview schedule even longer. As a result of this expansion, it became clear that the length of time necessary to complete each interview would prohibit most service providers from participating as interviewers during their regular work hours.

The structured interview schedule was translated into Spanish and Chinese. Considerable community input was sought in the area of translation in so that the wording of questions would be broadly understood by as wide a range of participants as possible, while remaining consistent with the English version. The written form of Chinese employed in the structured interview schedule was consistent with language used in immigrant rights outreach materials by the Coalition for Immigrant and Refugee Rights and Services. This

written form is understandable to both Mandarin and Cantonese speakers. The decision to utilize the English structured interview with Filipina participants was based on discussions with community advisors to the project. It is estimated that 90% of Filipino immigrants to the U.S. are fluent in English (Chin & Waugh, 1989).

The intent of the open-ended questions was to obtain direct information about the undocumented woman respondent's experiences, needs, and struggles in her own words without imposing the researchers' forced choices on her responses in sensitive areas. This approach is upheld by Cornelius (1980) as the most effective approach in interviewing the undocumented. The importance of the interviewer's willingness to allow the woman to tell her own story cannot be minimized.

The design of the structured interview schedule, clustered questions in the following areas: (See Appendices 2A - 2C).

1. Basic demographic information
2. Legalization issues
3. Immigration Process
4. Employment/ Employment Discrimination
5. Service Use/ Barriers to Service Use
6. Affect of Migration on Family/ Domestic Violence
7. Changes in Expectations About Life in U.S.

The decision to include the detailed section on domestic violence, as well as the formulation of questions in general, was based on lengthy discussions with the Immigrant Women's Task Force of CIRRS, other service providers in the immigrant and refugee communities, in addition to the literature review. Given the highly sensitive nature of this topic, combined with the fear in undocumented communities of seeking help, the researchers anticipated a low response rate to this question. However, the researchers and advisors in the domestic violence community felt it was important to include the questions in the interview schedule to see what would be reported, and as yet another way to begin to break the silence about domestic violence in these communities. The urgent need to address these issues was confirmed by the literature, where almost all of the articles about family life in transition through the immigration process discuss domestic violence as a problem, but no statistical data is presented. Resource cards on domestic violence services were provided to each participant.

Limitations of Design and Sampling

The limitations to the purposive, snowball sampling method include its limitations in generalizability and that it may yield individuals who have resided in the U.S. longer (at least long enough to develop a friendship network). The latter limitation was addressed by the purposive selection of interviewers who had contact with newly arriving women within settings such as employment cooperatives, and by spreading out interview sites throughout the targeted counties. There do remain, however, limits to the generalizability of this technique.

There are many obstacles to the development of a research strategy that employs direct in-person interviews with undocumented people. Because of this, much of the existing research on the undocumented has focused on secondary analysis of data in the development of demographic profiles, or on interviews with undocumented persons who have been incarcerated. Obstacles to obtaining access to the undocumented and the limitations of these approaches have been addressed by Cornelius (1980). The reliance on secondary data is problematic in that it does little by way of gaining a broader

understanding of the values, beliefs, and opinions of the undocumented about his or her circumstances.

While interviews with incarcerated undocumented individuals in detention facilities provide an avenue for obtaining first-hand information, this method is fraught with limitations and is an undesirable approach. It does not take a great leap of faith to assert that in obtaining personal information about an individual, it is important that there exist a bond of trust. This is especially important in attempting to gain information -- even demographic data -- from the undocumented, whose status alone puts them at risk for deportation and abuse. The setting of the detention facility is an inherent obstacle to the development of trust. Another limitation with the reliance on incarcerated individuals is that it greatly limits the inclusion of women, who are less likely to be apprehended by immigration officials.

> Random samples of undocumented individuals are extremely difficult to obtain. Besides the difficulties in access, there exists so much debate about the actual numbers of undocumented individuals in the U.S., it is unclear to whom these randomized results would be generalized. These scientific limitations have prevented the development of much useful research with the undocumented. In the final analysis, researchers -- as well as the consumers of their work -- will simply have to accept something less than traditionally rigorous standards of survey sampling if they want to find answers to many empirical questions that are at the heart of the debate over undocumented immigration and its impacts on U.S. society (Cornelius, 1987).

A final potential threat to validity in the area of sampling is within the area of selection. The fact that women were asked to "self identify" as undocumented women, rather than to submit documentation of their undocumented status, and that participants were paid $10 for their participation, could leave room for individuals to participate when in fact they are documented. The risk of this phenomenon is extremely limited, however, due to the very real risk of the disclosure of undocumented status. The use of interviewers' existing networks also minimized this, since most knew the status of the individuals before approaching them to participate.

Approximately 25 interviewers worked on this project, thus there does exist a possible threat to internal validity in instrumentation. This threat was minimized by refining and clarifying the instrument during pre-testing and standardizing use of the instrument through extensive training sessions with interviewers. During training sessions, the instrument was demonstrated, input was sought and revisions were made. Interviewers were asked systematically to address any questions they had about the selection of a given response by writing in the margin of the instrument, decreasing potential misinterpretations of participants responses.

Other potential threats to external validity include interactive effects of selection bias and the process through which participants' performances or responses are influenced by their participation in the research process in and of itself, known as the Hawthorne effect. The impact of interactive effects of selection bias is not critical to the findings of this study; it is intended to be a regional study, not generalizable to other areas, since the area of access to services obviously varies from region to region. However, Some of the descriptive data and identification of general trends may be useful to researchers working with similar populations in other parts of the country.

The Hawthorne effect is traditionally interpreted as "Participants may perform better simply because they are excited about taking part in an innovative program" (Fink and Kosecoff, 1977:14). While this traditionally applies to job-performance under the scrutiny of an outside researcher, there may in fact be a similar process among disenfranchised "hidden" populations responding to sensitive questions about their lives and migration. These individuals have had little or no access to the "system" in the U.S.; their survival in the U.S. may in fact rely on their avoidance of the "system". Sensitive questions may yield less detailed, more positively framed responses than reflect the participants reality, merely because the individual is sharing sensitive information with an interviewer. As was pointed out earlier, the $10 renumeration might exacerbate participants' desire to "say the right thing". Cultural issues play directly into this dynamic and will be addressed in the interpretation of findings in each targeted community. Efforts to utilize the interviewers own friendship network certainly minimized the impact of this threat to validity.

Sample Size and Completion Rate

Three hundred and forty six Latin American women, 56 Filipina women and 11 Chinese women were included in this study. Ten Latina surveys, and two Filipina surveys were not included in the sample because they were not adequately filled out. Four surveys (two Latina, and two Filipina) were not were not from the target counties, and one Latina participant had received political asylum, and was ineligible. The size of the Chinese sample proved to be so small that the researchers made the decision not to examine it statistically, since the descriptions this would yield would be so limited. An examination of why this sample was so small is included in the discussion on findings.

Interviewer Recruitment and Training

Overview

Our initial recruitment efforts focused on service providers in the target communities. We developed an extensive list of providers and called them all personally to generate interest in the project. We followed up each call with a recruitment packet (see appendices 3A - 3E). This initial outreach effort confirmed what we suspected, that the interview length (approximately one hour) prohibited most providers from being able to work on the project as interviewers. Additionally, many providers stated they did not know the immigration status of their clients, so they would not know know who to ask to participate in the project. This initial effort was not not a waste of time. Some service providers decided to work on the project "after hours". Others helped in a variety of ways, such as introducing us to key informants, helping find a site in the community to conduct interviews, or finding other project interviewers. As this process evolved, the researchers entered into interviewer friendship networks, which became the key element in gaining trust and ultimately access to undocumented women.

As a result of our strategic change in recruitment methods, this phase of the project took over two months. As community participation grew, the researchers had to become more flexible to meet the needs of interviewers. Evening house meetings were held to recruit interviewers. Some potential interviewers did not have phones, so we had to contact them through friends, or visit them at work. One potential interviewer had her daughter (who spoke English) call to see if her mother needed to speak English to work on the project. All interviewers were given the researchers' home phone numbers, since most worked during the day and were not able to call us during business hours.The researchers maintained ongoing contact with project interviewers throughout the project, to offer support and answer questions that emerged during the interviewing process.

Interviewer Training

All interviewers attended a training session, where the structured interview schedule was demonstrated, and questions were answered. Interviewers were encouraged to call the researchers at any time throughout the process, with questions or concerns. Two Spanish training sessions were added in in order to accommodate interviewers who did not speak English.

As has been discussed throughout this report, the three communities studied in this project are diverse culturally, and in their migration patterns. Thus, the recruitment of interviewers, and, correspondingly, the sample size within each community, differed from community to community. This will be discussed in the following section.

Interviewer Recruitment: The Filipina Community

Demographic information showed significant numbers of Filipinos in all three of the counties included in this study. However the special significance of San Mateo county was brought to the researchers' attention. There are an estimated 30,000 Filipinos living in Daly City (San Mateo County), making this the largest concentration of Filipinos anywhere in the U.S..

In order to recruit interviewers, the researchers developed lists of social service agencies, religious organizations, community activists, and attorneys in the Filipino community. The authors encountered several major problems in the process. It was surprising to find that despite the large numbers of Filipinos in the Bay Area, in Daly City particularly, there are only three or four agencies that focus on serving the Filipino community. This made it difficult for the researchers to encounter a pool of potential Filipina interviewers for the project. Within the agencies that were contacted, service providers were very supportive of the project and agreed that the issue of undocumented Filipinas is an important subject that the community needs to address. However, no one knew how to locate undocumented women to interview.

Recruitment efforts were continued by contacting Filipino religious, political ,and community organizations. Again the researchers encountered interest in the project, but limited access to potential participants. A clearer picture of some of the barriers emerged in this phase of outreach. In discussing this project with the Daly City Filipino Organizing Committee, the authors were told:

> We have not even attempted to organize "TNT's" ("tago ng tago" or undocumented) because we would make more enemies than friends. Daly City is a bedroom community and the undocumented blend into the community, many living with family members who have legal status. They don't want to be identified. There is a great fear of deportation.

Other community leaders explained that even with in families, sometime one's status is not known. The fear of being "discovered" is so strong that TNT's tend to keep to themselves. A project interviewer revealed:

> The undocumented are afraid to go to parties for fear of seeing people who might know them. They tend to stay away from people when their status is undocumented. If you

let yourself be known that you are undocumented you could
be set up, out of revenge or jealousy.

As a result of all of outreach efforts, the researchers were introduced to one friendship network that yielded interviewers. The interviewers were very concerned about remaining anonymous, in order to protect the confidentiality of the participants. None of the interviewers were willing to be taped in an informal de-briefing meeting with the researchers. One project interviewers said " If they (the participants) think I told anyone about them they will kill me". The fear that the project interviewers have of being associated with this project, clearly reflects of the fear felt by undocumented Filipina women.

Interviewer Recruitment: The Latina Community

Latina women reside in significant numbers in all three counties included in this study. Recruitment was conducted in all three counties, but despite efforts to recruit equal numbers of interviewers in each county, more interviewers came forward in San Francisco.

The researchers contacted a wide variety of organizations to recruit interviewers. These included social service agencies, employment cooperatives, churches, hospitals, and clinics. Many undocumented women came forward as project interviewers. The researchers targeted recruitment efforts at self-help projects in the community that work with large numbers of undocumented women, and from these initial contacts other undocumented women found out about the project through word of mouth.

Outreach efforts were met with enthusiasm by many Latinas, many provided the names of other potential interviewers. In fact the "snowballing" recruitment process became so large, it was necessary to turn away interviewers, because of limited funds. Among project interviewers, and many who assisted along the way, there was an appreciation for the goals of the project. The study was not viewed by most women as an academic research project or a way to make $10, but as a vehicle to gather information that would be used to benefit the community.

Interviewer Recruitment : The Chinese Community

Overall, access into the Chinese community to reach both interviewers and potential participants proved to be one of the most difficult aspects of this research project. Early on, it was decided that the researchers would focus largely on Oakland and San Francisco because as service providers pointed out, there are fewer numbers of undocumented Chinese living in San Mateo County than in Oakland or San Francisco. Undocumented Chinese individuals who reside in San Mateo County are likely to live within support networks of families --who tend to be professionals working in the Silicon Valley.

Isabel Hui, an Asian community outreach coordinator for the Coalition for Immigrant and Refugee Rights and Services, agreed to assist the researchers in the outreach process within the Chinese community, since it had become clear that there were many barriers to accessing people to work on the project. Any success that was achieved can be attributed to the many hours of outreach that Isabel undertook toward meeting this end.

Over 50 agencies were contacted to obtain interviewers or potential participants. Very early on, it became clear that many service providers did not know whether any of their clients were undocumented or not, and very few had large numbers of women clients who might fit into this category. Of those service providers who were able to in assist, the length of

the structured interview schedule and the demand on their time made it difficult for them to commit to undertaking this with many clients.

Efforts to access undocumented women as potential interviewers were thwarted by the lack of inclusion of undocumented women in existing Chinese community services and organizations. Some service providers were highly skeptical of the researchers suggestion that they might recruit undocumented woman to work as project interviewers. When Teresa Wu, of the Chinatown YWCA, agreed to help with the project and use the "Y" as a center for the interviews, this was a beginning. Two other service providers who work with Chinese immigrant women also agreed to be project interviewers.

Press releases were submitted to Chinese newspaper and radio media, inviting women to participate in the project, receive $10, and learn more about their legal and resource rights. It was always made clear that all information was confidential. Seven women did come forward to be interviewed in response to these press releases, though clearly this form of outreach cannot hope to replace what friendship networks provide -- the necessary trust and insurance of confidentiality that is essential when working with undocumented women.

These press releases ran for approximately two months and service providers were asked to interview as many clients as they could. Two weeks after all of the other findings had been collected from the other two communities, it became clear that these outreach efforts were not going to yield more than a few participants. The time restrictions of this student research project made it necessary for the researchers to accept the limited number of Chinese participants.

CHAPTER 7: FINDINGS

The differences that exist among Latino, Filipino, and Chinese cultures are vastly diferent, as are the experiences of women in migrating to the U.S. from their respective countries of origin. Because of these differences, the authors hesitate to consider the findings from each community in a comparative manner. One central finding can, however, be illuminated as central to each of these groups; fear of deportation. The majority of participants in each group expressed that they feared deportation and that fear had kept them from seeking services for themselves and their families. The way in which this fear plays out in participants and their communities, however, is different as will be addressed.

Filipina Community

There were fifty-six participants within the Filipina sample. Although relatively smaller in size than the Latina sample, this number is significant because an extensive review of the literature yielded no studies that focused on any aspect of undocumented Filipinas in the United States. This study was a first step toward a better understanding of the needs of this "hidden" and marginalized population.

Overall, it was difficult to gain access to undocumented participants within this community, because as many service providers and interviewers pointed out, most people are extremely wary of disclosing their undocumented status even within the community, for fear of reprisal. As Carmen Babasa, a Filipino community activist, put it "Being caught by immigration is a dream shattered. Just getting to the U.S is an accomplishment." As another (anonymous) interviewer pointed out, "Even within the family, people may be fearful to disclose their (undocumented) status. A woman coming to the U.S. may not disclose to her family what type of Visa she came with". The use of the Tagalog phrase "tago ng Tago" or "hide and hide," indicates the position of many Filipinos without documentation. In spite of this level of fear, women did come forth within their friendship and service provider networks to share information about their lives and struggles as undocumented women. What was found was at times consistent with the literature and sometimes surprising. An overview of the participants' demographic characteristics will provide a framework for information about their migration process, quality of life in the U.S., and use of services.

Highlighted Demographic Profile of Filipina Participants (N=56)

The largest group (48%) of Filipina participants in this study resided in San Mateo County. The balance was largely from San Francisco, though a few participants were from Alameda County. The majority of women were in the 42 to 53 age range and over half were married. Nineteen percent were single and a few were divorced. Interestingly, the participants had fewer children than was expected. 39% had none, and 41% had between one and three children.

The majority of participants' children were born in the Philippines, and 55% of the participant's children were still in their country of origin. The fact that many have children who are still in the Philippines is consistent with the ages of many participants. We can presume that many of these "children" are in young adulthood. It has been suggested, however, that women coming to the U.S. from the Philippines is a newly emerging pattern of migration, since it is easier and less expensive to leave the country without the whole family. For many of these women, the fact that their children are back in their home country is a problem.

The majority of participants (72%) did have other family in the U.S., which is also important to note. The existence of family networks upon arrival for an undocumented woman has a positive effect on her ability to find work or at least survive until she can find work. The existence of

family also makes it less likely that the woman will seek services as she acculturates to the new environment.

Most respondents within the sample were recent arrivals, having lived in the U.S. less than one to three years. As was expected, the vast majority (77%) spoke "intermediate" or "advanced" English. Noteworthy, however, were the larger than expected number of people who reported speaking only "basic" English (20%), which contrasts the 91% fluency rate among Filipino immigrants included in much of the literature (Chin & Waugh, 1989). It must also be noted, however, that the question about level of fluency in the interview schedule was clearly subjective. Interpretations of one's own language ability obviously vary from person to person.

Overall, participants within the sample had relatively high levels of education: 21% did not graduate from high school, while 21% were high school graduates, 27% had attended some college or technical school, and 29% were college graduates. This is slightly higher than the national high school graduate average (75%) of Filipino immigrants, and significantly higher than the high school graduate average (66%) of the overall population in the U.S. (Chin and Waugh, 1989). One participant had her Masters Degree.

The Journey to the U.S.

The largest number of respondents (55%) reported that they came to the U.S. to improve their economic conditions, 25% because of political repression, and 30% for family reunification. This total equals more than 100%, because respondents were able to choose more than one response. Very few of the participants who came to improve their economic conditions discussed this in the open-ended response, but those that did frequently addressed the poverty in connection with their inability to support the family. As one participant put it:

> I leave the Philippines because of poor living conditions and I want my children to finish their schooling, so I came here to work in order to send money to my family.

Many of the participants indicated that a major factor in their decision to leave was the fact that they could not support their families on their incomes in the Philippines. It appeared relatively common for a family to pool their resources and send one member who would find work and send money back to help the others. In the past, men more often than women were the ones who were selected to do this, but the availability of work within the service economy in jobs such as housecleaning and elderly companionship has resulted in larger numbers of women migrating than ever before. As another participant said:

> I was forced to come because there existed no work for my husband. My children are with him, and up to now I am separated from my children. But I cannot afford to send money to my family and that is why I came. (This participant had been in the U.S. for 4 years).

Responses among the 25% of participants who cited political repression as a reason for migration did not frequently indicate the source of this repression in their open-ended responses. An examination of when the participant came, however, may provide some indication. In spite of the decrease in political violence since the Marcos regime was overthrown in 1987, there has been a continuation of civil strife and violence, particularly in specific regions. One woman who came to the U.S. in 1985 commented about her decision to leave the Philippines: "It was more political in nature as I was an activist". Another who came to the U.S. three years ago, stated "My family was a target of murders due to politics". Yet another pointed out that her husband was the mayor of the

town they lived in and had been threatened several times. One woman who arrived in the U.S. seven years ago, addressed the connection between the two in explaining her decision to leave the Philippines:

> It was bad economically and politically. The best place for me to go is the U.S.

The intention of the section addressing the migration process itself was to gain information about abuse at a U.S. border. The majority (94%) of participants from the Philippines came to the U.S by airplane, thus largely did not respond to this question since it did not apply to most. What it failed to uncover, but is clearly an issue for anyone attempting to migrate to the U.S., is the difficulty that people within the Philippines have negotiating through the system to receive any kind of visa. As one of the (anonymous) interviewers put it, "You have to be either very rich, very well connected, or very smart to get a visa to come to the United States." This interviewer pointed out that to obtain a tourist visa to come to the U.S., you must have at least 55,000 pesos (the equivalent of $2,750), and may be forced to pay a bribe of 150,000 pesos or $7,500. Even if a person is able to pay, the Consulate may not administer the visa. Not unlike practices of some "notarios" in the U.S., attorneys may charge exorbitant rates, in the guise of obtaining a visa for their client who wishes to migrate to the U.S.. It may not be until the person arrives in the U.S. that she or he is made aware that their documents are not legal.

A few women did report crossing U.S. borders overland, either at Canada or Mexico. Interestingly, of the two who crossed at Mexico, both indicated that they experienced abuse at the border. One woman indicated that she received "plenty of bruises and cuts from barbed wire fences" and that she had been robbed and sexually harassed. Another participant said that she had been sexually abused. In explaining what happened, she described "I show them my papers, because I am still legalized, but they let me stayed in a room as they said I have to wait for an officer, but they abused me and released me the following morning." While this woman did not clarify who abused her or on which side of the border she experienced this abuse, she indicated in another response that the person was "pretending to be an officer".

Most (63%) of the participants came to the U.S. alone, 11% with a friend, and only 5.5% came with their spouses or partners. Even fewer (5%) came with some or all of their children. Women coming alone frequently described their feelings about the journey as a mixture of emotions including fear, excitement, anticipation, and homesickness. As one woman put it "I have never been away from my family before and I was afraid. It is hard to be illegal and alone here".

Economic Status

Once they arrived in the U.S., 71% of the participants reported receiving the help of family or friends in finding their first job, and most of the sample (75%) were employed full-time, though the salaries that women received were extremely low. Eighty six percent had worked outside the home in the Philippines, and the difference between their employment in their country of origin and employment in the U.S. was stark. The largest single grouping (33%) of employment of participants in their home country was clerical, contrasted with the 41% who are currently elderly/in home companions or child care workers in the U.S. It would be interesting to note whether or not these women were employed by elderly family members or friends, to get a sense of whether they also received room and board. Twenty three percent of participants reported being housekeepers in the U.S. and 14% were clerical workers here, contrasted with the 33% clerical, and 28% technical, professional or teachers in the Philippines. Tables 4 and 5 outline this employment gap for Filipina undocumented participants.

Table 4

Occupations in Philippines

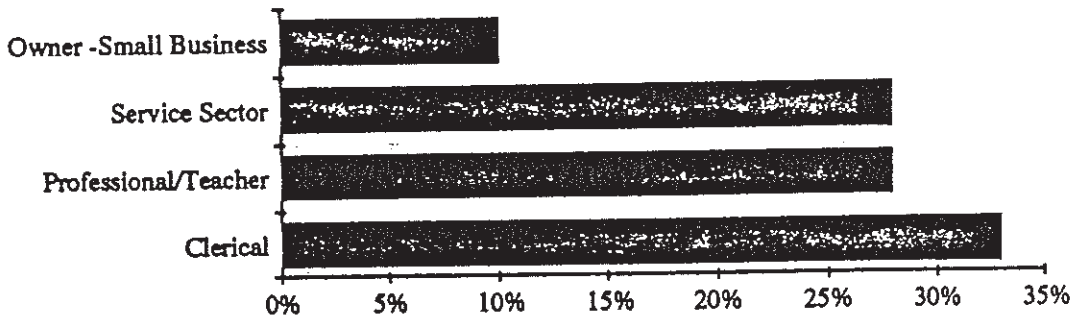
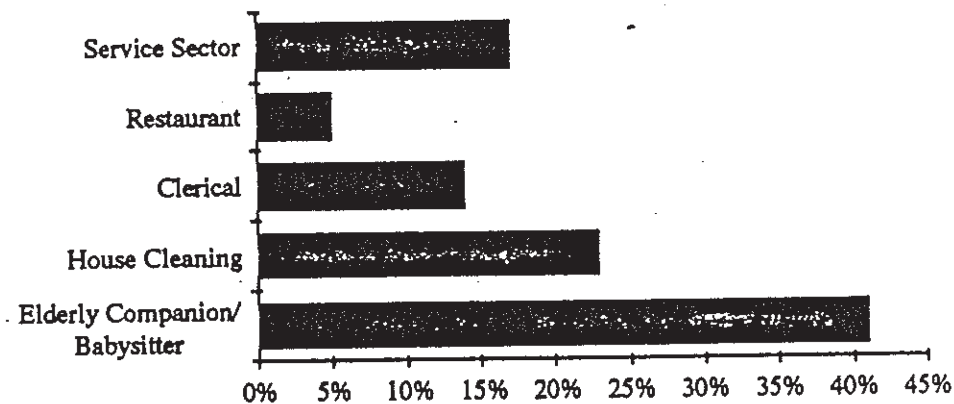


Table 5

Occupations in U.S.



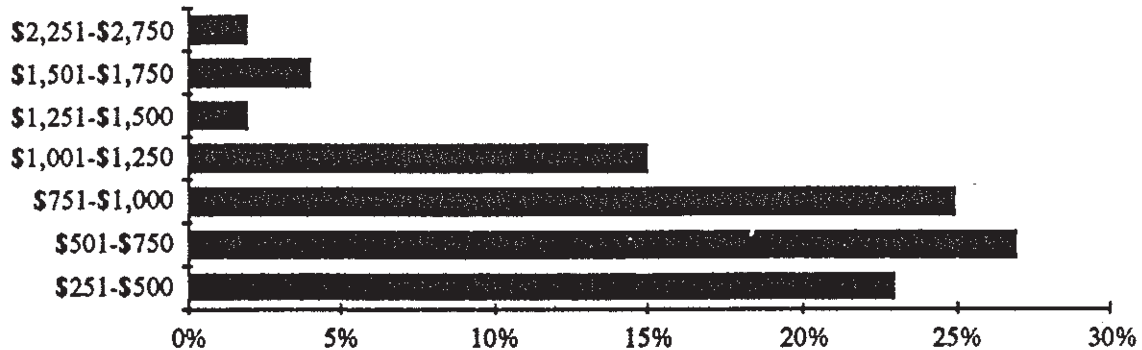
The literature on Filipino immigrant communities in the Bay Area consistently focuses on the gap between education and employment in the Philippines and recognition of that education and training here in the U.S. Large numbers of well educated English-speaking Filipino immigrants find themselves barred from employment in their areas of training and expertise, because the training is not recognized. The emerging profile of undocumented Filipina women within this sample points to an even wider gap between employment in their country of origin and employment here. This difference is evident in the numbers (13%) of people who had some college or technical schooling or had graduated from college, but earned only $251 to $500 per month.

What has not been previously addressed is that while this level of income is low, it may still be higher than the incomes women were receiving in the Philippines in their professions or white collar jobs. As Carmen Babasa, community activist and interviewer for this project pointed out "Occupational poverty is another issue for may women. People have been trained in the Philippines, but earn relatively nothing -- come here and work very low skilled jobs and still earn more. A dishwasher here, may make more than a government worker there". As inflation continues to rise, the buying power of many Filipinos already earning "relatively nothing" will continue to diminish, adding to the "push" factor which encourages migration.

The majority of employed participants reported incomes of between $251 and $750 per month, though 25% earned between $751 and $1,000 and 15% earned between $1,001 and $1,250, as depicted in Table 6.

Table 6

Filipina Monthly Income (n=44)



Within the largely low paying jobs held by most participants, women reported that employment discrimination was rampant. Many respondents (41%) reported suffering employment abuse or discrimination due to their immigration status. Most (60%) stated that IRCA had negatively affected them in seeking employment here. One participant addressed the relationship between her undocumented status and employment in very clear terms:

> A man I worked for, who I considered to be a friend, told me many times he would turn me in if I did not do as he wanted.

Another woman who was working part time and being supported by friends who were also domestic workers stated:

> My employer took my passport and threatened to report me to the INS since my visa has expired.

As an interviewer wrote in responding to the issue of employment abuse "Sometimes respondent doesn't get paid after working for a month" Another wrote

> She feels that co-workers who have papers earn more than she, get promoted, receive benefits and time-off while she has none of this

For many, the inability to find work because of their immigration status keeps them in the low paying domestic jobs that are more readily available. Numerous women who responded that IRCA had affected their ability to find work stated that they were afraid to even look for work because of their status, in fear that a potential employer might turn them in for not having their "social security number or green card". For one woman, this fear was actualized when she was caught in a raid at her job:

> One day the restaurant that I was working in was raided by the immigration office and I was caught unaware. They put me in jail and my brother, who is a citizen paid a bond and I am still here for the hearings.

This situation is obviously the exception to the rule, since the majority of participants work in the domestic sphere in which they are less likely to be caught. The risk that someone will "turn them in" is very real, however, since one of the three major ways the INS decides where to conduct their raids is based on tips from people who have some type of relationship with the site or individual(s). But participants in this sample were forced to take this risk to avoid unemployment and the increase in family pressures that results from not having a job.

Impact of Migration on Family

Half of the participants felt that coming to the U.S. had increased pressure on the family and had that these pressures had caused difficulties in relationships within their families. Participants referred not only to the difficulties experienced within family relationships in the U.S., but also to the strain in relationships between family members here and those left behind. For the few women who had young children back in the Philippines, not having their child/children with them was reported as a major source of stress. Many women reported that "not watching their children grow up" was a significant problem. As one woman stated:

> My daughter is back home with my husband. I miss her. Until I can be reunited with them I work, work, work, like a dog. There is no rest. But the work doesn't make me forget them. (This woman has been in the U.S. for three years).

Economic pressures had a profound affect on familial relationships here and in the Philippines. Of the 25% of participants who were unemployed, 36% were supported by their husbands or partners, 36% by other family members, and 7% by their children. Reliance on family members for economic sustenance is not inconsistent with traditional Filipino values, though these values may be put to the test when confronted with the special problems caused by undocumented status, unemployment and a rapidly changing pattern of living. The combination of "Americanization" or increased individualism, fear among the family for the undocumented member, and financial difficulties may put a strain on the family's ability and willingness to help. As one participant described:

> My biggest problem was when I got no job and don't have no money and I clean house, cook food for my sister and her family in order that they don't drive me from their house.

Yet another addressed the fear within her family related to her undocumented status:

> Because of my situation every member of the family is affected, especially if i am deported. They will be investigated too.

Because of these difficulties, women may be forced to move from relative to relative in order not to "wear out her welcome" until she is able find a permanent living situation of her own. In addressing issues of housing, the average participant lived with 3.85 other people. 23% felt that their home was too crowded. In addressing family problems among family members here and in the Philippines, still another put it:

> I am not able to send money home to help my father who is ill. There is much pressure for me to work, but I am not able to find a job even as an elderly companion. My sister

> wants me to go back because she is afraid for my situation too. She could become involved.

These pressures are quite serious. Disagreements over money, living arrangements, and permanent residency petitions abounded in the sample, as did difficulties with children arising from their rapid acculturation and role changes within the family. While this appeared to be a problem for only a few participants, it is important to consider the older ages of the participants and that most have either older children in the Philippines or older children here. For some, however, this was clearly a problem. As on participant pointed out:

> I am having trouble with my son. He likes the fast pace, technical environment here. He does not listen to me as he should. Everything is so fast paced here. It is difficult to adjust myself.

At times, financial difficulties, role conflict and disagreements resulted in domestic violence. Twenty percent of participants had experienced some form of domestic violence, though women's experiences of family violence varied. For some, the violence was something they left behind in the Philippines, though for others it began in the U.S., possibly exacerbated by the pressures of migration. As one woman described:

> My biggest problem was when I got in a misunderstanding with my brother-in-law and he slap me in the face. I cannot do anything because of my situation. He is so cruel to me.

This participant stated that the argument was about whether or not to go to an immigration attorney, and that it was not the first time she had been hit. In the end commented:

> We did nothing, because I was afraid to make a decision to go to an immigration attorney. (This woman has been in the U.S. one year and says she plans to return permanently to the Philippines).

Other participants addressed the difficulties they were having with their husband's assisting them in filing petitions for permanent residency. While only 20% of participants reported that dependency on their husband for legalization was a problem, a few of those that did report experiencing this had a lot to say about how this affected their lives. Twelve of the respondents reported that their husbands were U.S. citizens, which would make them eligible to petition for legal permanent residency through their husbands. 13 respondents stated that their husbands had petitioned for them, though obviously the process had not been completed, or they would not have self reported as "undocumented". Based on discussions with service providers, it has become clear that often women are not informed about what petitioning process entails. A citizen spouse may indicate that the paperwork has been submitted, when in fact nothing has been done. As one woman put it:

> It has been more than a year already since he petitioned for me but up to now I still don't have any legal papers. I cannot even work... We have paid the lawyer fully but up to now we have no results. I have long dreamed to live in America. I heard there's a lot more opportunities here. My family is very much concerned. Financially I could not even support them as I used to do because I am not working here. It is hard to be illegal here.

While this woman did not report experiencing domestic violence as a part of this legalization dependency problem, clearly she is not aware of her legal rights. In most cases, the petitioning spouse is granted permission to work within days of their first interview before an official of the INS. If this participant's husband is petitioning for her in good faith and did accompany her to the initial interview, in all likelihood she would have been informed of the waiting period to receive her temporary work permit at that time, and what to do if she did not hear from them. For another woman, the petition process is directly linked with the violence she experiences in her marriage:

> My husband has never issued an affidavit of support. It's been a long period of time, and he keeps me hanging in the air. My husband has been physically violent and when he is drunk it is worse. I am scared of reprisal and death threats.

This participant is still with her abusive partner but hopes to return permanently to the Philippines as soon as she can save enough money from her babysitting job to pay for the trip. Her own child is back in the Philippines and she's been separated from her for 6 years.

As has been addressed earlier, one of the concepts that guided this research was the idea that pressures of migration, especially economic ones, could result in an increase in domestic violence among the women participants. Questions assessing whether or not the level of violence had increased for women since migration if they were with the same abusive partner, attempted to gauge this phenomenon. What was found however, was that a significant portion of the women who reported experiencing domestic violence had experienced the violence only in the Philippines or if they did experience it in both countries it was largely with a different partner. For many of the participants, this specific question did not apply, because they had left their husband in the Philippines either temporarily or for good. One woman responded that she came with her husband to the U.S. but that they had been separated. It appeared that the pressure of migration had affected her marriage. As she put it:

> Perhaps if we had not come over here we would not be separated. (This woman has a baby, is currently unemployed and being supported by relatives.)

A couple of women said that the violence was one of the reasons they came to the U.S. In addressing who she turned to for help in dealing with the violence, one woman said:

> I talked about this with friends just to get it off my chest. They could give me support, but they could not really help me. I talked to a social worker (in the Philippines), she helped me make the decision to leave the violence and find a better life in the U.S. She helped me a lot. (This woman had experienced every form of physical abuse. She had been here four years, and had no plan to return permanently to the Philippines).

Very few participants (20%) within this sample said that they had experienced violence in the home. Even this low finding is important, however, because of the resounding silence about this issue. In talking about domestic violence with some of the project interviewers, it became clear just how difficult and out of the ordinary it is for women to talk about domestic violence outside their own families. As one interviewer pointed out:

> In the Philippines there is a value. Women are great sufferers. You have to wash your linen in your own house. Men can be involved with many "extra-curricular activities"

> but not women. About the violence, it is accepted in a way -- but not talked about outside the family. There is no law to protect the woman. You do not call the police. It is a family secret, a no-no.

Many of the interviewers said that they felt uncomfortable talking about domestic violence in the interview process, especially if it was with someone they did not know well. The pull to keep this information within the family is extremely strong. Of 20% of women who had experienced domestic violence, each reported talking about this with family or friends. Some of the interviewers pointed out that the extended family in the Philippines may be called on to intervene in the violence, and that sometimes they are able to resolve the issue among themselves. In the absence of such networks, women are more likely to share this information with friends or with social service providers. This is especially likely to be true for the large numbers of immigrant women who do not have their extended family here. For these women, information about their rights as women, and availability of services such as shelters and support programs, is especially important. Only one participant had ever gone outside her family/friendship network, in calling the police and in talking about it with a social worker. It is impossible to ascertain exactly how many women who had indeed experienced violence, did not talk about it, because of the taboo against discussing this sensitive issue.

Domestic violence is not the only issue that participants in this sample attempted to keep within the family. A review of the findings related to social services indicates that for many women, the family provides the most important social service setting.

Support Networks

Most participants (73%) responded that they relied on family members for support when they had problems. Over half (58%) relied on friends for support, and only a few (13%) sought help from within the church or temple. These numbers total over 100% because women were asked to select more than one response if applicable. The minimal reliance upon the church or temple among participants was somewhat surprising, because many service providers in the community had addressed the importance of religion in the Filipino community. Reliance upon the church among undocumented individuals, however, may be significantly lower because people are afraid to seek this support because of their status. As Carmen Babasa put it:

> Undocumented women may not go for help within the church. They may not go to Church at all for fear of being seen by people who may know them and turn them in.

The Church is only one potential source of support that women may be afraid to seek because of their status. Overall, 61% of participants reported that they feared deportation. Over half (57%) responded that this fear has kept them from seeking services or help for themselves and their families. Just under half (43%) of participants said that they don't know what their legal rights are in case of being arrested. It is not surprising that the undocumented Filipinos are are called "tago ng tago" or "hide and hide" within their own community, since that is the position that many are in.

As one of the participant remarked:

> My family is afraid I will be deported and our dream of reunifying in the U.S. to start a new life will never come true.

This level of fear has a profound impact on women's willingness to seek general social services and may have a deleterious affect on their seeking critical health services. Slightly under half (48%)

of participants said that they were afraid to make contact with social services, while 43% said that they feared seeking any social service because it would affect their efforts to legalize their status in the future. As one woman stated:

> Social services might report me to immigration if they know I am illegal. Since I am undocumented, I am always nervous of my situation.

Still another woman commented:

> I am afraid to go because they might be able to trace my address. (This woman is currently in an emotionally abusive relationship with a man who is physically ill and unable to work. She has three children and earns between $751 and $1,000 per month as a helper to an elderly person.)

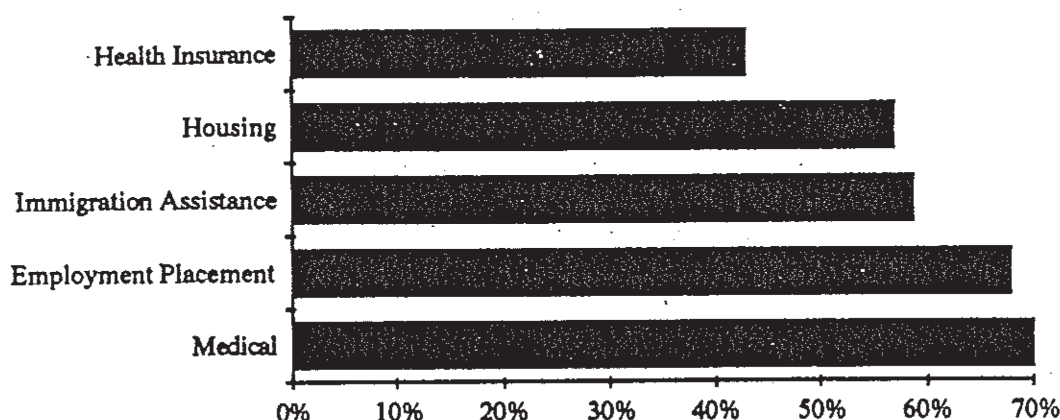
Fear was the most significant barrier to women seeking services, but it was not the only barrier. Over half (57%) of the participants responded that services were too expensive, 13% cited transportation as a barrier, and 7% felt that they were not treated with respect when they did seek services. Thirty percent of respondents stated generally that they had had difficulty in seeking services, and 41% reported never looking for services. Most participants (66%) said that they did not know of the existence of services that could help them. These responses can be more clearly understood in the context of the types of services that participants had sought for themselves and their families.

Service Use

Asked to list three services they have used, 70% of participants did not cite any of the places they had been for help. While an inference can be made that women had simply not sought any services, part of the reason for the frequency of this response may have been that the participant feared to divulge where she had gone for help. Numerous interviewers wrote "declined to state" next to this response. Given the impact fear has on help seeking behavior as discussed above, this would not be inconsistent. Of the 30% who did respond, most only listed one service. The three services cited most frequently were medical (21%), legal (21%) and public benefits (16%). Most of the women who cited receiving public benefits had received food supplements through the Women Infant/Children (WIC) Program, though a one disabled participant had received Medi-Cal.

In this section, the researchers provided participants with a list of 27 services (See Appendix 2C, p. 8). Participants (n=53) were asked to choose the five that were the most important for themselves and their families. Table 7 depicts the 5 service priorities of these participants.

Table 7
Top 5 Service Needs of Filipinas



Obviously this list reflects the hierarchy of need that exists among participants. While other services such as community college, youth support services and other legal assistance were cited and would clearly be useful, the services cited most frequently are needed first. The need for health and medical care within the community cannot be minimized. Because women make so very little, what are their options if someone in their family becomes ill? Many women are obviously afraid to seek medical services or are unaware that county hospitals must by law serve low-or-no income individuals. As one woman described:

> I had my baby two years ago and we are still making the payments to the hospital.

This participant reported earning between $250 and $500 per month as a part-time house cleaner. This baby was her second child. Uninformed of her right to receive Medi-Cal, this woman also reported that fear had kept her from seeking services. When fear impacts a woman's ability to seek pre-natal care the results can be fatal.

The need for employment placement assistance is consistent with the gap between women's current employment and their education and training in the Philippines. Immigrant women in this community do not need employment training in large numbers -- they have more than enough training. What participants do need is jobs that will sustain them and their families. As yet another participant stated in response to the question about employment discrimination because of her undocumented status:

> I receive very low pay. I have no choice. I am at the mercy of my employer. (This woman is currently employed as a full-time domestic worker earning between $501 and $750 per month).

Much of the literature regarding documented immigrants and refugees calls for the development of re-certification programs for women and men who have technical and professional training in their countries of origin. Such programs would make it easier for individuals to find employment in their fields, and would be especially helpful to the U.S. in areas of technical employment in which jobs are difficult to fill. Although the existence of such programs may not directly assist the undocumented individual because of restrictions in hiring, the development of such programs

would have a positive effect on Filipino immigrant communities as a whole, which would presumably have a "trickle down" effect on the undocumented. While the statement "as goes the community so goes the undocumented" cannot be applied to every community, it does largely hold true for the Filipino community. The majority of Filipina participants in the current study do have other (documented) family here. Families may create jobs, especially in the domestic realm. The better the standard of living for the entire family, the better the quality of life for the undocumented member and the fewer the family conflicts resulting from financial pressures.

The frequency with which immigration assistance was cited reflects the hope and desperation that many participants have to legalize their status. This group as a whole appears to have benefited little by the Amnesty program under IRCA, since the overwhelming majority of participants arrived in the U.S. after the program's 1982 deadline. While most participants do have family members who are documented, most are brothers or sisters or more distant family members. Under the INS' 5th Preference category, individuals may petition through a sibling to receive an immigrant visa, but it takes many years for this process due to the backlog of people waiting for immigrant visas within this preference category already.

As was stated earlier, some of the women are in the process of petitioning through their spouses, which may offer some measure of hope if their spouse complies with the process. Some of the participants cited political reasons for coming to the U.S. and could therefore submit an asylum applications. As was stated earlier, approximately 28% of asylum applications submitted by Filipinos were approved by the INS in 1989, which leaves a large denial rate. Many individuals fear submitting an application, because once they are in contact with the INS their status becomes apparent and they put themselves at risk for deportation. Because some of the women do have family members (husbands or children) who legalized under amnesty, the recent "family fairness" rulings could provide some with an avenue for legalization. Unless this policy is liberalized, however, it will not provide a source of hope for a significant number of women in the current sample.

The rate at which housing was selected as a service need (57%) is interesting because it is inconsistent with the 23% of participants who responded that they felt their home was too crowded. The average number of people participants lived with was 3.85, which is higher than the U.S. average as a whole, though not extremely high. One issue that might be at play in this response is the number of participants who reported staying with extended family members until they could find affordable housing situations. As was suggested earlier, financial problems, fear for the undocumented family member, and impact of westernization, all serve to strain the relationship between a host family and their relative who is also trying to "make it" in a strange land.

The major service needs of participants respond fairly closely to the kinds of issues they addressed in responding to the open-ended question, "what is your biggest problem?" Three major themes emerged in reviewing these responses, including the undocumented status itself and the fear that this causes, problems with employment, and missing family back in the Philippines. Additionally, a few participants addressed the struggles they were having as single mothers with no child care, and some talked about the difficulties they were having in acculturation to life in the U.S. Still others stated that family conflict was their biggest problem, either in the form of domestic violence or disagreements over financial and living arrangements. While this latter issue was addressed by relatively few women, it is important because of the significance it plays in their daily lives. This finding is also significant because so few of the participants actually had small children in the U.S. For those that did, this was clearly a central problem. As one participant stated:

> My biggest problem is looking for a job with my baby. Who will care for the baby, and how will I pay for the child

> care? I have other children at home, but cannot send for them because I am unable to resolve this situation.

As another woman put it:

> My problem is that I work so many hours every day I am not home to be with my children. I am not used to working as a single parent. There is little support for me here, and the cost of child care is sky high.

None of the services listed above would address family conflict and single-mother difficulties that these and other participants have addressed. One reason that fewer people cited the need for child care or counseling services is that traditionally, the extended family is relied upon to fill these needs. As Alice Bulos pointed out:

> It is true that people traditionally rely on family for support both emotionally and financially, but the Americanization of Filipino families creates difficulties. The western influence creates individualism, less of a willingness to help.

The availability of services to assist in providing child care, supportive counseling, information about the new community and legal rights of the undocumented would all contribute to an improved quality of life for the Filipina participants in the current study -- yet their undocumented status will continue to cause many of the difficulties their documented sisters may not have experienced on the same level.

Generally, the undocumented participants have found life to be very difficult in the United States. 52% stated that their expectations about life in the U.S. have changed since they have been here, though not all of these responses reflected a negative shift. A few participants have found that in spite of the difficulties they are having within their low paying jobs, their fear of being deported, and the devaluation of their education and training, there still exists some hope for a better life for themselves. For these women, this hope is worth the struggle. For the majority of participants, however, their expectations have changed for the worse and life in the U.S. is not what they thought it would be. As one woman explained:

> The good things in life here are just not enough, since I am by myself and living in fear of being deported.

This woman had been here for five years, and said that she plans to return permanently to the Philippines. Another woman responded similarly:

> It is not at all a bed of roses here. I experience mostly hardship.

This woman had attempted to legalize her status when she married her U.S citizen husband, who in the end refused to help her. This participant has been relied upon to support her entire family in the Philippines, but is currently jobless. She too, expressed her plan to return permanently to the Philippines. Still another woman said:

> Daily survival takes so much here, working long hours for little pay -- racial discrimination -- it is hard just to survive.

Less than half (44%) of the participants (n=52), responded that they planned to return permanently to the Philippines. This figure is likely to be higher than the numbers of women who actually will

return in the near future. As difficult as it is here, the political and economic situation in the Philippines is such that unless things significantly change, Filipinos will continue to struggle in the U.S. to make a better life. As Carmen Babasa pointed out, one reason that many women talked about returning to their country of origin is the deeply held sentiment of nationalism. As she put it:

> Deep inside, people know they cannot go back. The economic opportunities here are too important. It is if they are saying "I love my country, but I love the dollar".

As one author put it:

> The resolution of the Philippine crisis bears heavily on the condition of U.S. Filipinos. Continued repression and economic exploitation in the Philippines will drive more and more Filipinos to the U.S. where their hopes for economic security will be dashed by racism and more sophisticated forms of exploitation. A liberated Philippines will provide the political basis for people to stay and work together for better economic conditions. Hopefully it will also persuade many U.S. Filipinos that they still have a home they can return to and work for (Philippine Resource Center, 1985).

The previous passage was written before the demise of the Marcos regime in 1987, and reflected the hope that activists had and continue to have that their country can be wrested from the control of anti-democratic rulers, dependency on transnational corporations, and U.S. military bases. Unfortunately, many no longer invest this hope in Corazon Aquino's administration. Many Filipinos say that conditions of poverty and repression have worsened (Kamel, 1990). This hope is increasingly fleeting.

Given the backlog of individuals waiting in the Philippines to emigrate legally to the U.S., and the numbers of Filipinos here with immediate family members still in the Philippines, there is every indication that undocumented migration will continue. If the current trend continues, more and more women will migrate seeking to help their families. This study has examined what many of these women may find in the U.S. We must now turn to what can be done to address these serious problems. As one (anonymous) project interviewer put it:

> They must have hope, these women. Their lives are so hard here.

Latina Community

Of the 345 Latina women participating in this study, the largest number of participants were from Mexico (50%), El Salvador (23%), Guatemala (12%), and Nicaragua (8%). The "other" group (6%) included women from South America, with the largest number (10) from Peru. Fifty percent of the Mexican participants lived in San Francisco, with the other 50% divided between San Mateo and Alameda counties. The major concentration of Central Americans (63%) in our study live in San Francisco, and the other significant grouping (13%) in Oakland. Although our sample was not randomly chosen, it does closely match the demographics of the Latino community in the Bay Area presented in the review of literature.

The majority of the participants (56%) are married or living with a "compañero", and have between one to three children (60%). An additional 17% have between 4-8 children. A

significant number of participants (44%) were single, divorced or widowed, and 20% of participants had no children.

The level of education within the sample is very low, with only 9% graduating from high school. The largest single group of participants (33%) had between 5-8 years of education, and 16% reported having no formal education. In regard to length of stay in the U.S., 48% of participants had been in the U.S. between one month and 3 years. The majority of the participants spoke no English (48%), or basic English (38%).

The Journey to El Norte

Participants came to the U.S. for three primary reasons: to improve economic conditions (63%), family reunification (29%), and political repression (29%). Within the Latino sample as a whole, differences emerged in this area. The majority of Mexican participants (71%) came to improve economic conditions, while the majority of participants from El Salvador (72%) and Nicaragua (74%) said they came because of political repression. Only 20% of Guatemalans responded that they came because of political repression.

The low response by Guatemalans relating to political repression can best be understood in the context of the common response-- "la situacion" -- that participants from El Salvador and Guatemala frequently used. One Guatemalan participant who chose "economic reasons" for coming to the U.S., added that, "I can not live in peace, and I can not find work". Another participant from El Salvador who chose "economic" as the reason for leaving her country stated, " I left my country because there is a war, and I am a women 'sola' and I can not sustain life over there, I can not find work." Another Salvadoreña provided a clear picture of what the perils of being "sola" in El Salvador might entail. "They threatened my parents and brothers, they rape and kill everyone in El Salvador".

A report by the Central American Refugee Project (1987) discussed why Central Americans may say that they came for "economic" reasons.

> It must be taken into account that because of human rights violations in in their countries or because they are considered "illegal" in this country, they are often afraid to express their true motives for leaving and prefer to say "economic reasons" rather than explain their story. It requires skill to gain the trust of these people before they feel free to talk about their situation.

Additionally, the violence and economic devastation in Central America caused by war are intertwined. A clear separation of the two is impossible. Thus it is not surprising that many participants cited economic reasons for coming to the U.S. For some participants, however, political repression was paramount. One participant responded: "I am here because of the support of this government for the war in El Salvador. There were death threats against me".

One participant reported she came to the U.S. because of "sexual repression" in Mexico. Although rare, these responses deserve attention, as a reminder of another form of diversity within immigrant women's communities, that of sexual orientation. Two women identified themselves as lesbians within their interviews. Because there was no question specifically about sexual orientation, the exact numbers of lesbian participants in this study cannot be known. These two women serve as a reminder that we should not assume that immigrant and refugee communities are entirely heterosexual.

In traveling to the U.S., 30% of the participants came alone, 19% with their husband, 10% with friends and the rest with other family (including children). For Central Americans the numbers of women traveling alone was higher than the average, for El Salvador 40%, and Guatemala 47%. A very significant finding was that only 23% of the women in the study were able to cross the border with all of their children, and the at the time of the study 26% (higher for Central Americans) still had children under 16 in their country of origin.

Crossing the Border

Sixty six percent of Latina participants traveled to the U.S. by land, crossing at one of the Mexican borders. Jane Juffer (1988) has described crossing the border as "perilous", and "fraught with hazards". She describes how some women take birth control pills before the trip because they know that the risk for rape is so high. In this study, 36% of participants had experienced some form of abuse or problem crossing the border, ranging from sexual abuse to robbery and bribery. Central American women experienced problems at a considerably higher rate than the sample as a whole, probably resulting from the higher numbers of Central American women traveling alone.

The actual border abuse that occurred within our sample is higher than reported for several reasons. One interviewer reported that she did not mark excessive payment to a coyote as a problem because it was "so commonplace, just part of the experience". Another factor is that many women from Mexico cross the border frequently, and have come to expect some form of abuse as commonplace, thus minimizing the actual abuse.

We get a sense of this dynamic by examining the responses of participants who answered that they had "no problems" crossing the border.

> I was so afraid crossing the border, I don't think I would be capable of doing it again.
>
> We crossed in "los tubos" (sewer pipes) of black water and there were rats.
>
> The only problem I had was that crossing "los cerros" (the hills) la Migra found us, and sent us back.
>
> I had to run across a big freeway, with cars speeding, while holding my baby in my arms.
>
> When I was crossing the border, I fell into quicksand, and had to be pulled out. Then I was returned to Mexico by la Migra. The second time I made it.

Unfortunately, the questionnaire design failed to ask specifically who had abused the participant, so in some cases we do not have this information. However, we were able to identify U.S. agents, Mexican agents and coyotes as responsible for abuse suffered by the participants. The three main forms of abuse were robbery, sexual abuse and bribery. Participants described their experiences:

> When I got to the frontera at Tijuana, passing the immigration, they detained me and put me in jail. In jail they made me take off all my clothes, and searched me naked, then they put their fingers inside me.

> They did not let us pass. They told us we were "mojadas" (wetbacks) and we would have to pay $200 each to pass. We only had $100 so we gave that to them.
>
> In Gutierrez, the Federales took $160 and some gold jewelry.
>
> I broke my foot and was unable to keep up with the coyote, so he left me alone. I got separated from my six year old daughter. A week after I got to Los Angeles, the coyote came with my daughter.
>
> One of my daughters was very sick, and I had to carry her in my arms. The coyote wanted me to leave her for dead.
>
> The person who brought me did not know the way, we were lost for one month.
>
> We had to walk a long way and the coyote propositioned me, but a few of the others defended me.

Each women crossing "la frontera" had her own story to tell of how she used her internal strength to survive the border crossing and continue to try and "seguir adelante" (get ahead) in the U.S. as she planned. We do not fully understand the result of this type of abuse: the hidden and silent feelings of vulnerability, fear, and mistrust stored in the unconscious psyche and carried into women's daily lives. This psychological vulnerability combines with the vulnerability of undocumented status and all the potential forms of abuse that undocumented women face because of their status. For women suffering from post traumatic stress syndrome (PTSD), border abuse intensifies their trauma.

Marta's experience illustrates the vulnerability of many undocumented Latinas. Marta is a 22 year old Mexicana who came to the U.S. seven years ago -- alone -- when her mother could not afford to send her to school. On her way to the U.S., a coyote forced her to sleep with him. Vulnerable and on her own, she met a man who was a permanent resident of the U.S., and had three children with him. Because of his promises to marry her and get her papers, she put up with the domestic violence in their relationship. Eventually, he abandoned her and the children, and she remains undocumented. Other women reported similar stories in which they were led to believe that their husband or compañero would assist them with legalization, only to find themselves abandoned and without recourse after years of false hopes, physical, emotional, and sexual abuse.

Economic Status

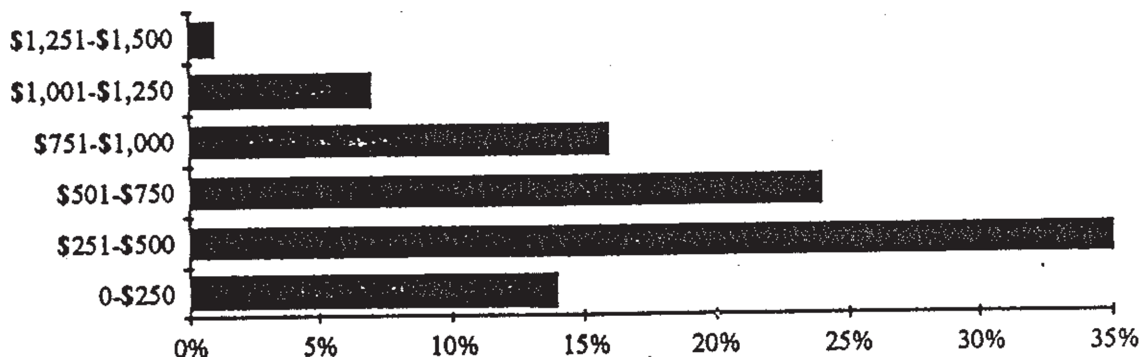
Most Latina participants and their families live in extreme poverty. The primary occupation of participants in the study was domestic worker (49%), with child care workers among the second largest group (9%). The remainder of the participants worked in low paying service sector jobs or factories. Given the low educational level of the participants in this sample, there was not a significant underemployment problem among participants in this study like that found among Filipina participants.

Forty six percent of participants were not working and of those who did report working, 55% worked only part time. The majority of participants found their first job in the U.S

with the help of either a family member (35%) or friend (30%), and 8% were assisted by church groups. Table 8 outlines the income of Latina participants.

Table 8

Latina Monthly Income (n= 171)



NUMBER OF PEOPLE SUPPORTED BY COMBINED INCOME OF PARTICIPANT AND SPOUSE

1-3	40%
4-6	38%
7-10	07%

Many of the participants who were working did not have regular full time jobs. Many go from cleaning one house, to clean another office across town, and then to another on Saturday. We were reminded of the issue of job insecurity by a participant who said that her biggest problem in the U.S. was "the unstable work". The instability of many participant's jobs is intensified by the constant fear of being fired because of their undocumented status, or being caught in an INS raid.

In addition to working hard at at low paying jobs, undocumented women suffer abuse and discrimination on the job. Nearly 40% of participants stated that they had suffered some form of on the job abuse. The experience of Berta, a participant from Guatemala, is all too common. Rather than finding peace of mind from the war that "tormented" her and her son at home, she still lives in fear. A church organization helped Berta find a job as a housekeeper where she earns $500-$750 a month working 8-10 hours a day . She would like to look for a better job but her employer threatened to "denounce" her to the Migra if she looked for another job or asked for more money. Berta said that her biggest problem is "Living all the time in fear of the Migra, and that I can't look for a better job where I can earn more money to educate my son and buy all the necessary things for him and for me"

Many other participants told us stories like: "They pay people with papers two dollars more an hour, and they get medical insurance and more hours." Since the introduction of IRCA, discrimination against undocumented workers has increased and it has become more difficult to find any kind of work.

As one participant told us "I was fired from my job that I worked at from 1987-88 because I don't have papers." Within the sample, 54% said that IRCA had effected their ability to find work. Another 18% were not sure because they had never worked in the U.S. before employer sanctions went into effect in 1986. Participants repeatedly commented "Since the new law it is much more difficult to find work. They ask for 'papeles' everywhere. That is why I am not working now." Of the women who were not working, 53% were supported by their husband or spouse, 20% by other family, and 6% by their children.

Housing conditions reflect the poverty of survey participants. The average number of people per household was 5.8. A significant portion of participants (44%) lived with between 6-12 other people. When asked if they felt their housing was too crowded 43% said yes. The Central American participants responded "yes" to this question at the rate of 46-55% as compared to Mexicans at 37%.

The above response is particularly revealing in its cultural context. The majority of Latinos are traditionally accustomed to living in extended family settings. The fact that so many participants said that they felt their houses were "too crowded" signifies that even more participants live in overcrowded housing by U.S. standards. According to the Census Bureau, the average number of people per household in the U.S. in 1985 was 2.69 (U.S. Department of Commerce).

Fear is another factor that may have affected responses to this question. One interviewer told us "Women were afraid to say there were too many people in their house because they were afraid that someone would come and investigate them." This study coincided with the higly publicized preparations for the 1990 U.S. Census. During the process of interviewer recruitment and training, potential project interviewers expressed hesitancy about the project because they thought it was related to the census, and were concerned that women would not repond, or that their answers would be affected by their fear. Interviewers reported that some of the participants required assurances that this project was unrelated to the Census, or any other governmental investigation.

Impact of Migration on the Family

Thirty nine percent (39%) of the participants (n=316) stated that coming to the U.S. had increased pressure on their families. Thirty four percent of participants (n=257), also pointed out that this pressure has caused difficulties in relationships with family members both in the U.S. and in their countries of origin. Given that 19% of the women have children under 16 in their home country, this was clearly one source of pressure within the families.

Several issues emerged in this section that the authors had not anticipated. These two questions were designed as a lead in to the domestic violence section. Here, the authors learned the meaning of participatory research, as the participants interpreted the questions more broadly than had been conceptualized.

In this section of the survey, participants explained that they came to the U.S. without their children so they could "make a better life" for their future. Their goal was to get a job so they could send money home to their family, and to save money so they could bring their children or other family members here. Many participants told us that they felt "guilty," "depressed," "sad," or experienced "nervios" (nervousness) because of their separation from their children. Unfortunately, things often did not work out as planned. As one woman commented: "We came here to make money but the result is that we can not send enough money home to family because of the high cost of rent and food."

Others discussed economic pressures within the family here. Rosa, a 22 year old Mexicana, came to the U.S. one year ago to reunite with her father. She said, "My father's salary is not sufficient for all of the expenses of our family. Because of this he wants us to quit school and work, but this causes other problems because we will not learn English."

Another theme that emerged was the problem of dependency on family members for survival, especially for older participants. "I live with my niece and her husband. He is constantly harassing her and told her if she has another baby, he will not be able to support the family. I am fearful because I don't have anywhere else to go." A 60 year old participant told us "I am very sad to have to depend on my children to support me."

The issue of how family pressures have affected children, emerged in this section. "My children are having problems, hanging out in the street and using drugs. Two of them are in juvenile hall, and I am very worried". A 20 year old participant told us, "My mother and father are always fighting over money. It is hard to be at home."

Several women used this question to talk about abuse from non-family members, attempts to control their behavior and activities through physical, emotional, or sexual abuse. One participant reported being physically abused by the owner of her apartment building, another by her employer in her live-in house keeping job. This abuse is exacerbated by undocumented women's intense fear of apprehension and deportation.

Domestic Violence

Of the participants in this study, 34% (n=304) had experienced some form of domestic violence. Due to broad interpretations of these questions, It was not always clear whether the participant was abused only in her country of origin, and whether she was still with her abusive partner. Only a relatively small number of participants (n=40) answered the question "Has the level of violence increased since coming to the U.S.?" Of these women, 48% answered "yes". Eighty women answered the question, " Are you still together with the same spouse or partner who abused you?" Of these, 52% said they were still with the same partner.

While we know from the literature (Bolton, 1987; Gelles, 1988; Okan,1986) that domestic violence cuts across all ethnic, religious, undocumented women experience abuse uniquely at the intersection of abuse and their immigration status. Four major themes were discussed by our participants: abandonment, their spouse's refusal to help them legalize, their spouse or partner's relationship with another woman, and an increase in violence since they have been in the U.S. Forty two percent of participants (n=122) said that it had been a problem for them to depend on their husband or partner for permanent residency. The following situations illustrate how the issues of power and control within abusive relationships play out in the lives of undocumented women.

Flora is a 40 year old Mexicana who came to the U.S. 10 years ago because she was pregnant and "wanted my baby to be born here with its father." She lives with eight other people and feels her home is too crowded. She is not working right now, saying that IRCA had effected her "mucho". Her husband legalized under amnesty. He told her that he was having "problems" legalizing her. Flora is being battered by her husband, and told us that "I have to put up with the abuse because he threatens to deport me." Flora is talking about her problems with a social worker and beginning to learn about what her rights and options are.

Rosario is a 40 year old Guatemalan women. She has lived for 5 years with her compañero who is a permanent resident. When she asks about getting married so she can get her "papeles," he accuses her of only wanting to be with him so she can get her papers.

Ana is a 35 year year old women from Mexico. She and her husband came here 7 years ago because "we could not find work (in Mexico) and decided to come here and work". They have seven children and live with 12 other people. Ana works as a house keeper, and makes $1,000 per month. She has gone to several church programs for food and clothing for her family. Her husband's physical abuse has resulted in physical injuries. The violence has compelled Ana to call the police. She reports that her husband is much more angry in the United States, and he has become an alcoholic. Her children are having problems, and don't want to go to school. Before coming to the U.S., Ana thought things would be much different here -- much easier. She did not think she would have to work. Ana is still with her husband, but is participating in a battered women's support group.

Carolina had a very similar story to Ana's. In her case she decided to leave her abusive husband (a permanent resident). He sued for custody of the children, and won the case.

Rosa Maria is a 23 year women from El Salvador who left El Salvador because of "la situacion" and to be with the father of her second child. She has been in the U.S. two years and has two children. She was working, but lost her job because she did not have papers. Rosa Maria reports that since arriving in the U.S. her compañero threatened her, pushed her, causing physical injury. Eventually this man abandoned her. She is now getting temporary shelter and food from a friend.

Luisa is a 26 year old women from Guatemala. She has 5 children, two born in the U.S. since she came here 3 years ago. Luisa came to the U.S. to "reunite with my husband who was not sending any money to me and my children to support us." When Luisa got here she discovered that her husband had "una otra mujer" (another woman). Luisa is living with her husband, who batters her and reports that she has been injured from the abuse. Luisa is not working, because she was caught in a raid while working at McDonalds. Despite everything that has happened to her in the U.S. she wants to stay so she can "get an education for my children."

In the above scenarios, some of the women had finally sought help from an agency or friends. In other cases, women were very isolated and had never talked to anyone about their problem. One respondent said she had never talked to anyone about her situation except the interviewer and "Felt like like a weight had been lifted off her shoulders." This response underscores the importance of support networks for undocumented women, especially important for women dealing with domestic violence -- and in fact the importance of designing projects to increase undocumented women's connections with each other.

Nineteen percent of participants who were battered, said they had never talked to anyone about the violence. It is important to note that only 6 women in the sample had ever called the police for help. This is consistent with the fear of deportation in addition to many women's negative experiences with police in their countries of origin. Undocumented women are especially likely to avoid seeking outside intervention in a family violence situation because they do not want to cause their husband or partner's deportation. This puts the undocumented battered woman in a multiple bind; cutting her off from vital economic support, confronting her sense of cultural solidarity, andundermining traditional value systems.

Many project interviewers were shaken up by the violence they encountered working on the survey and felt a need to discuss it with us and other interviewers. During these

conversations we gained valuable insights into the undocumented battered women's circumstances and why many women may not have reported that they are being abused.

The following are quotes from project interviewers:

> Many of the women I interviewed were afraid to tell the truth about their husbands because they thought that someone would come and take him away to jail and she would not have anyone to support her and the children. For those who were willing to talk about the abuse --they felt a lot of pain, and would start to cry, but they also felt impotent to change their situation. They are financially dependent on their partners. They think they are still in their country of origin and that the partner can do whatever he wants with them. They lack information and have no protection.
>
> I did an interview with a single woman. When we got to the section on domestic violence she told me that she was single and did not have these problems, but I should talk to her sister, because she had this problem with her husband. When her sister came home I asked if she would like to do the interview. She told me everything was fine with her husband, no problems at all. At first I was shocked, because I knew in advance it was not true.
>
> I interviewed a woman with visible black and blue marks. She responded that everything was fine with her husband. I did not ask her about the black and blue marks, but clearly she felt uncomfortable about them and offered an excuse to me, that she had fallen down the stairs.
>
> I interviewed women who I know have problems with their husbands, but when it came to questions about problems at home, they were afraid to say anything. They were afraid that somehow their husbands would find something out. This was very difficult for me.

The issues discussed in the quotes, fear of husband being deported, lack of information about options in the U.S., fear of husband knowing she talked to someone, and denial, are all factors which make it very difficult to get accurate statistics on rates of domestic violence, particularly among immigrant women. What is all too clear from the findings of this study is that domestic violence is a problem among immigrant and undocumented women, and that intervention strategies must be developed to reach a population that is already vulnerable and living in fear because of their status.

The experience of one project interviewer demonstrates the importance of outreach efforts, and the need to inform women of their rights.

> One Sunday a woman from Oakland called me. She said that her husband had gone out to the store, and that she was taking advantage of the opportunity to call me. She is a woman I had interviewed a few days ago who told me she had no problems with her husband. She said she called me to say that her husband did abuse her, and that the most

> recent time had been three days before our interview. The day after the interview she told her husband that he better stop abusing her, because she now knew where to go (from the resource card the interviewer had given her). She told me that she did not feel so alone.

Social Service Needs

As one project interviewer put it,

> My overall observation of the interview process is that people do not go for help, because of fear or language. For example, if they call a service and they answer in English, they hang up. Also because people are thinking about the future, about trying to get some kind of legal status, and they think that getting services will prejudice their chances. There is "mala" (bad) information about this point in the community. For all of these reasons people don't look for help. Another thing is if we are not treated well at one place, we don't go to another. I know because I have personal experience with this.

Participant Service Utilization

The findings on participant service utilization were:

- 64% of participants said fear of deportation had kept them from seeking help (n=291)
- 29% of participants had **never looked** for any services (n=326)
- 35% of participants reported they encountered problems seeking services (n=326)

The three most frequently cited barriers to service delivery (n=345) were:

- 38% "Did not know that services existed."
- 31% "Did not speak my language."
- 21% "Service are too expensive."

Differences emerged among groups of Latinos in this area of the study: Central Americans reported they had encountered problems seeking services at a higher rate than Mexicans. The problem rate for Mexicana participants in the sample was 28%, Guatemaltecas, 42%, Salvadoreñas, 41%, and Nicaraguensas 48%.

In response to the question correlating fear of deportation with fear of seeking services, 82% percent of participants from Guatemala, 71% from El Salvador, and 66% from Nicaragua said that fear of deportation had kept them from seeking services, as compared to 54% for Mexican participants.

Barriers to Service Delivery

This findings of this study demonstrate that undocumented status itself, and the accompanying <u>fear of deportation associated with such status, was the primary barrier (64%) to seeking services.</u> Overall, respondents did not distinguish between use of government services or non-profit and community based services in this area. Access to these two service areas will be addressed in the service recommendations section. As one interviewer stated:

> There is a lot of misinformation in the community. For example,when I first came here (to the U.S.) the first thing people told me is that if I need any medical services, and I go to San Francisco General, the first thing they are going to is put my social security number in the computer. If it is a false number, right there on the spot they call la Migra and deport you. This is how news travels in the community, and people believe it. For this reason, people don't look for help.

Another project interviewer described a participant with 9 children, none of whom were attending school. When the interviewer asked her why she said "I am afraid to send them to school because because they ask for papers. My neighbor told me that she had to ask a person from here (U.S) to help put her children in school."

One participant identified her biggest problem as "I am four months pregnant and don't know where to go for help." This example demonstrates that service providers should not assume that in cases where women "really need help," they will find it. The case of this participant demonstrates that serious barriers exist for undocumented women to receive the most basic services. The project interviewer was able to provide the participant with resources, pointing once again the importance of outreach efforts with this marginalized population.

In the interview women were asked: "How has fear of deportation kept you from seeking services?" The two most common response to this question were: "The first thing they will do is ask me for papers" and "They will find out my situation and send me back to my country." Some specific responses were:

> My children need food, but I am too scared to ask for help, because I am afraid of deportation.
>
> When my children are sick, I am afraid to get medicine for them, because I don't want to be deported.

There are multiple factors which contribute to women's not knowing where to go for services. Many women in the community remain isolated because of their fear of going out of the house. One participant told us "I am afraid for me and my children to go out of the house because I don't have my papers." A project interviewer told the researchers about one participant who said "I am afraid to go out to the store because the Migra might get me." For some women, access to services is limited by their husbands/partners. As one

interviewer commented:

> The husbands tend to let the women go to Buen Samaritano for food or to the health clinic, because they see that as necessary. These are the places where it is easier for women to go. Some of the men are so macho that they don't let the women out of the house.

In addition to fear of the Migra, it is intimidating for immigrant and refugee women to go out in an unfamiliar city, especially if they don't speak English, and feel alienated from the dominant culture which is insensitive to their needs. these combined factors pose formidable barriers to seeking services.

Another problem discussed by participants is the high cost of services, especially health care.

> People think that if you go to the hospital to have your baby, that the price is so high you will be paying the bill for the rest of your life. A participant told me that when the labor pains started, she felt like crying. Not because of the pains, but thinking in how much the bill was going to be and how they were going to pay for it.

Many participants discussed fear of getting sick as their biggest problem in the U.S. Ana Maria commented, "I live in fear that one of our family members will get sick and we will not be able to cover the medical costs."

Carmen, a 33 year old Nicaraguan participant, is a single mother of two children. She told us "My biggest problem is health. I am very sick and I do not have the resources to cover my medical expenses." Carmen makes one thousand dollars per month as a housekeeper.

For some participants, negative experiences with service providers keeps them from seeking services. Seven percent of participants had experiences where they had not been treated with respect, and 8% said that the worker did not understand their situation. The following are a few examples:

Julia is a 45 year old Mexicana who came to the U.S. to reunite with her husband 4 years ago. When she got here her husband became abusive and she went to live with her sister. She has two children, one born in Mexico and one in the U.S. She said she has had trouble getting services because when she went to apply for foodstamps and Medi-Cal she was denied.

Julia's son is a U.S. citizen and is eligible for AFDC and Medi-Cal. He should not have been denied services. Obviously Julia did not know her legal rights, or was too intimidated to put pressure on the "system" that she feared would deport her. As one project interviewer put it, "We don't have a lot of rights here, but the little that we do have, people don't know about." Julia's story points once again to the urgent need to find ways to inform the undocumented community of what services they are legally entitled to.

One participant said a lot with a few words:

I was not treated well because I am Latina.

Another participant told us she was afraid to seek services because, as she put it:

> The bad orientation of the people who just fill you with fear about everything.

Services Used by Participants

Participants were asked to list three services they had used since coming to the U.S. Of the participants who had looked for services (71%), only 24% identified that they had used three services, and 43% had used two services. The top three services used were:

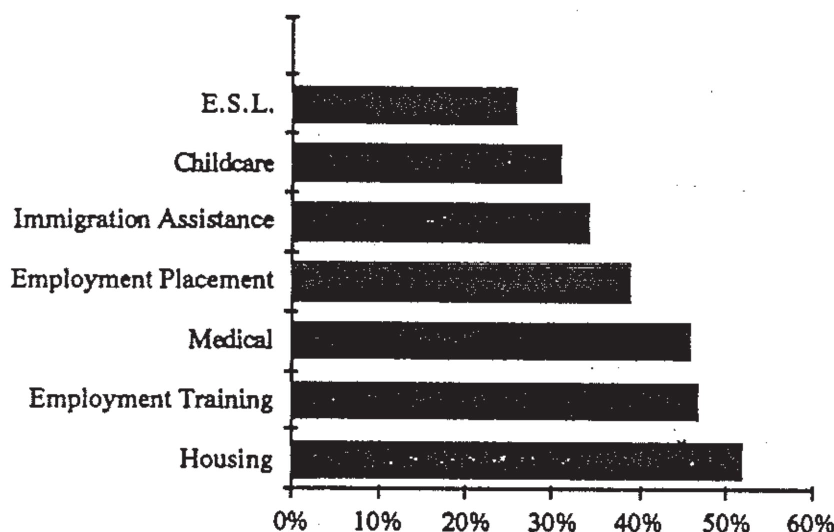
- 56%Medical
- 18% Food
- 16% School/ESL

(The researchers assumed that the majority of participants who put "school" were attending ESL classes)

Priority Service Needs (n=336)

In this section, the researchers provided participants with a list of twenty seven services (see Appendix 2C, p. 8). Participants were asked to choose the five that were the most important to them. Participants were not asked to rank order the selections. The top seven choices are depicted in the following table.

Table 9
Top 7 Service Needs of Latinas *



* The sample that answered this question included participants with and without children. A more accurate percentage would be obtained if the sample only included participants with children.

Expectations About Life in the U.S.

- 63% of participants said their expectations of life in U.S. had changed since they have been in the U.S.

Responses fell into two categories in this section. The first category included women who expressed that their conditions have improved since coming to the U.S. Herminia and Marta were two participants who expressed this perspective.

Herminia is a 26 year old Mexicana, who came to the U.S. with her husband and three children eight years ago. She had 7 years of formal education and came to the U.S.because "there were no job opportunities for me in Mexico." Her husband applied for amnesty, but she did not because they did not have the money. Herminia works full time in a factory making $650 per month. Herminia is afraid to seek services for her family, but has sought help at hospitals and ESL classes. Overall she feels that things are better for her and her family here in the U.S. because she has a job, and her children are doing well. She identified her biggest problem as difficulty with child care, because "there is a problem with my work schedule and my need for child care."

Marta is a 22 year old Salvadorean women,separated from her husband. She came to the U.S. because "la situacion es mas deficil cada dia." She was living in fear, could not find

work, and did not have food to feed her children. She crossed the border in Mexico after taking a bus, swimming, and walking to get to the U.S. Marta was not able to bring all her children with her. She has been in the U.S. for one year, but is not currently working. She lives with 7 other people, and feels the apartment is too crowded. She is getting help from a refugee center. Yet Marta feels life is better here because at least her children are not starving to death. She feels at home they would have died.

Marta and Herminia are representative of the participants in our Latina sample. They came to the U.S. fleeing conditions of extreme poverty, and/or a civil war. Relative to the harsh conditions in their country of origin, they have found more opportunities in the U.S. than at home.

In the second grouping of responses, participants expressed great disappointment in what they found in the U.S., or stated that things had gotten worse.

> I thought I was going to have a great future here and would be able to help my family back home. I never dreamed my husband would become an alcoholic and abuse me. I never thought any of this would happen to me.
>
> I came here to join my husband. I came to be with him because I thought he was making a lot of money. It turns out he only works a few days a week and we can barely make ends meet. I have not been able to find a job.
>
> I thought I was going to be able to bring my children here, but I can't because I can not support them. I'm not able to send them money as I planned. I am worried about them because they are staying with my parents who are very old.
>
> I have more problems than before.
>
> I am sad and alone and only with a desire to return to my country.

The desire to return to one's country of origin to live can be viewed as one indicator of satisfaction with life in the U.S. Forty percent of participants in this study said they wanted to return permanently to their countries of origin. The response for participants from El Salvador was lower at 31%. The researchers attribute the lower response rate to the ongoing civil war that has lasted over ten years, leaving many participants from El Salvador without hope of ever being able to return home safely.

This study has identified undocumented status (fear of deportation), lack of information, poverty and inability to speak English as key barriers to service delivery for undocumented Latina women. As a result, undocumented Latina women are a marginalized population with specialized service needs that have yet to be adequately met by existing services. In Chapter Eight, the data gathered in this study will be used to make recommendations to improve and expand services for this community.

Chinese Community

Access to both interviewers and participants in this community was extremely difficult. The outreach plan outlined in the Methodology section of this report addressed some of the major causes for this, but as some of the interviewers have made clear, the reasons for this minimal level of participation are complicated. Through discussions with service

providers and interviewers, researchers were made aware of some of the reasons that more participants did not come forward. As Isabel Hui, Chinese Community Outreach Coordinator put it:

> When I went to the community college to tell people about this, there were a lot of comments from people, like "What if I fill this out and the next day the INS will be there to take us?" As much as possible, I tried to make people trust me. I don't know how else to do it. But somehow, you have to have built up that trust.

This did not fit in with the experience of Theresa Wu, another service provider in the Chinese women's community. As she put it:

> Most of the women heard about this in the newspaper and then they called the YWCA. Through the phone conversation -- they feel kind of like "what's the result?" Not many people said they feared being caught the next day. It was more "what am I going to get out of this? Are you going to help me?" We said no -- we tell them the truth.
>
> May help in the future, but may not help immediately unless you need immediate referrals, which we have. The main thing people said, is "Oh, you give me the ten dollars...What now? What am I going to get from this?"

Another Chinese women's advocate agreed:

> We're very practical people.... We look for some immediate satisfaction -- something that we can see will help us.

And as Teresa continued:

> Money doesn't mean that much to them. People really want to change their status. Most of the people we contacted had some education. They know to call you and find out what resources are available. Sounds to me like they had contacted all of the legal agencies and knew what was out there. They knew that we could not help with their legalization through this interview. I have some basic knowledge because of my own experience, too, so I know for many of these women there is nothing we can do for them.

Isabel pointed out that a lot of women didn't see a connection between research and community development. It appeared that this was a difficult connection for many service providers to make as well. As she pointed out:

> I guess in the U.S. we do a lot of data collecting, to find out where the problem is and how to solve it, but this maybe doesn't happen so much in China or in Taiwan, so people wonder how it can help.

Advocates reinforced the risk involved in talking about the undocumented status, and that

for many women this risk was too great outside of their own family and friendship networks:

> Also, people feel that what direct benefit will I gain from divulging my private circumstances?. There's a risk involved in talking about this. Someday or somehow someone could use this information against me. Why should I take the risk? We did tell them that everything was confidential, but there is a lot of insecurity. I don't think they trust someone too easily from the public. I don't know you, why should I trust you? Unless you are a friend or someone they know.

Still another service provider who works with Asian battered women pointed out:

> For me it's different because they come seeking services. I help them and they feel comfortable with me. They know I will maintain their confidentiality.

A few women did come forward, hoping that through this interview they might find out more about resources or find some piece of information that would help their status. Some interviewers suggested that although the money wasn't seen as the only motivator, it was important to be able to give something to the participant to thank her for her time.

Because the sample size (n=12) was so small, it was decided that data elicited would not be analyzed statistically. What did emerge in reviewing the interviews, however, is that at least a few of the undocumented women in the current sample are engaged in a daily struggle just to make ends meet as undocumented women. Their stories must be considered. The following profiles illustrate some of the hardships that Chinese undocumented women are experiencing on many levels, and how these hardships play out in their daily lives.

Nancy

Nancy is in her early 20's and came from China just over a year ago. In the year she has been here, she has experienced many difficulties. She came to the U.S. to marry a young man she knew of through a family member. Although she did not know him personally, she looked forward to fulfilling the marital arrangement and coming to America. Nancy had graduated from high school in China, but made very little working in a restaurant. She hoped to improve the quality of life for herself and to have children.

Nancy found a job working in a restaurant within six months of her arrival. She knows basic English, which helped her somewhat -- but her husband did not follow through on petitioning for her, so she is limited to doing part-time work and making only $251-$500 per month. She feels that she has been discriminated against in her job because of her undocumented status and that changes in the immigration law in 1986 (employer sanctions) affected her ability to find work. In explaining this she said, "Because I don't have conditional green card yet, it is difficult for me to go elsewhere to get a better paying, good benefit job. Therefore I can only work there and get the low wage without any benefit." About her ability to survive on this income she says "It is very difficult for me to support myself."

After only a short while, it became clear that the marriage was not working out. Nancy reported being threatened, pushed, hit and physically injured by her husband. She feels that coming to the U.S. increased pressures on her and her husband, and caused difficulties in their relationship. "My husband change. People say he's different than he was before. We became separated, but had to divorce in order for me to receive my temporary green card. My family cannot accept this." Nancy was helped by an attorney at Cameron House, a Chinatown agency that provides legal and counseling services to battered women. Their staff, knowledgeable about both immigration and family law, helped Nancy to file a waiver of the joint petition for permanent residency -- which is why she had to divorce so quickly, since that is a stipulation in the current waiver clause. Nancy said that she has experienced no difficulties obtaining services, and that she has sought help only from Cameron House and a battered women's shelter.

Currently, Nancy lives with six other people -- possibly family members since she does have other family here. She feels that her house is too crowded and cited housing assistance as one of the services that would be most helpful to her. Other services she thought would be helpful included employment placement and training, legal services, church and religious organizations. She fears being deported, however, and that this fear has affected her in seeking services. She says she is "Afraid if they find out my status, they will turn me in."

Of life in the U.S., Nancy says that her expectations have changed, but she is not planning to return permanently to China. In addressing her daily life here she said, "The great problem is having no status here. I always feel sad about my life. On the other hand, I try to learn English to fulfill myself and work hard to make my living better."

May

May arrived in the U.S. less than one year ago. She is in her early 60's and lives in a small East Bay town. She was born in Hong-Kong, but moved to Madagascar for three years before coming to the U.S. to reunite with her sons who had been living in the U.S. and received their permanent residency through the Amnesty program. Unable to support herself with the small grocery store she managed, May came to the U.S. hoping to support herself and be near her children. May came with her husband who is also undocumented. So far, neither of them has been able to find work, but she said that she is looking for jobs every day. In the meantime, her son supports his parents -- which she feels is a burden to him.

May did not respond that she had sought any type of social service, saying that she had never looked. Of the potential barriers to her seeking services, May pointed out that she didn't know of the existence of services, and that transportation and language barriers might be a problem. The services that May thought would be especially useful for herself and her family include housing, employment placement, medical, health insurance and Immigration assistance. May said that she fears being deported and that this fear has affected her in seeking services. Addressing this she said, "I think people will ask me whether I have legal status, and they may report me to the immigration office." May said that she is unaware of her legal rights in case she is arrested.

In responding to issues about family pressures, May pointed out that a major pressure was financial dependence on her son who does not have much money. In spite of these difficulties, May's expectations about life in the U.S. have not changed in the few months she has been here. She does not plan to return permanently to her country of origin. In addressing her biggest problem, again May points to economic dependence. "The biggest problem is to look for jobs. I want to support myself, and I don't want to depend on my

son and add burden to him." Given her age and undocumented status, May will likely continue to have difficulty finding employment. While she has not made it clear whether she applied, she might be affected by family fairness avenues to legalization through her son.

Hwa

It has been just over two years since Hwa arrived in the U.S from Hong Kong. She is in her early 40's and is currently divorced with no children. Initially, she said she came as a tourist -- but met her husband and got married. She attended between 9 and 12 years of school in Hong Kong and is able to speak basic English. This helped her in finding her sales job in which she earns between $501 and $750 per month. She did have trouble though, finding work. It took her nine months -- and without a social security number it made it "very difficult".

Hwa sought help from Chinese Newcomers Service and eventually from Cameron House who helped her to file for divorce. In general, she said that it has been difficult obtaining services or help -- mostly because they are too expensive. Of the services that would be helpful, Hwa selected employment placement assistance, health insurance, immigration assistance, ESL classes and public benefits.

While she does fear being deported, Hwa said that this fear had not kept her from seeking services. She does not feel she knows what her legal rights were if she was to be arrested. Of family difficulties caused by her migration, Hwa says only "The marriage did not work out, and we got divorced." Currently, she lives alone, and has no other family here. For support, Hwa turns to friends, but says that being alone is difficult. In addressing how her expectations have changed about life in the U.S. Hwa said "It is hard to live by myself". The biggest struggle Hwa faces is related to both language and employment. About this she says "English is my biggest problem. If I know how to speak better English I might find a better job."

Grace

Thirty-nine-year-old Grace arrived in the U.S. seven years ago -- just after the deadline of the Amnesty program. She came from Hong Kong after the business she was part of failed. In describing what led to her decision to leave Hong Kong she said, "Facing economic difficulty, I want to start a new life. I heard it was easier to earn a living over here, and that the school is better for my children. If come to the U.S., children will have better life". Grace's husband left her and the children and returned to Hong Kong. She is currently divorced.

It took Grace approximately three years to find a job. During this time, she was forced to spend the last of her savings, renting an apartment for herself and her children. Finally, through a friend she found a job doing office work and earns approximately $800 per month. She feels she has been discriminated against in her job because of her undocumented status -- pointing out that co-workers earn more than she does, and that she will have no way to receive financial assistance such as workers compensation or social security if something happens to her. Grace said that changes in the immigration law had affected her, though she has had her current job since 1986. During this time, several other people have been promoted ahead of her and been given full benefits, even though she was working before employer sanctions went into effect. Her boss is currently trying to legalize his own status, and says he isn't sure whether he can continue to employ her. Grace fears that soon she will lose her job.

Grace has sought help from the Chinatown YWCA (especially their children's program) and from a San Francisco District Health Center. When asked what services she identified as potentially useful, she cited housing, medical services, legal, ESL classes and public benefits. Fear of deportation has affected her in obtaining these kinds of services, but she also pointed out that when she has tried to seek services she didn't always know where to go for help, felt that they were too expensive and that the social worker did not understand her situation. Additionally, she commented that it was difficult for her to go to classes or social services during the day because of her long hour work shifts. Many services were not available in the evenings. Grace has no other family here and no one to help her with child care, which also makes it difficult to get out of the house.

A few years ago Grace became involved with a man who was a U.S. citizen. They made plans to marry. He was kind to her initially, but soon became physically abusive and began hitting her regularly. Grace did not know where to go for help. She said she talked to a friend which was "not helpful" -- because her friend told other people about the situation and she said this "made me scared". Grace did not marry him and continues to live on her own with her children.

Grace's children are also undocumented and she fears this will affect their chances of going to college, even if they do get into college, there will be no money to send them and they will not be able to receive subsidies or loans. Grace's sons have lived the majority of their lives in the U.S. and do not want to leave, but Grace feels she is not earning enough money here to warrant staying, but also recognizes she cannot go back to Hong Kong even though she would like to. This vicious circle has created a painful situation in Grace's life. She was unable to go back to Hong Kong when her father died because she knew she would never be able to come back to the U.S. She says she "worries a lot" and is "upset all the time." Grace is concerned about the future -- for herself and her children.

For support, Grace turns to friends, but has not told anyone she is undocumented. She fears telling people how little money she makes for fear they will look down on her. Because she is unable to really discuss her circumstances with anyone, Grace says that she "mostly keeps quiet." Someday, she hopes to go back to Hong Kong, but because of the 1997 shift to Chinese control, she doesn't know if she will. In the meantime, Grace continues to worry about her children. For them, she hopes that life will be easier.

Each of these women experienced economic difficulties, fear of deportation and fundamental changes in family structure brought about by their migration. These profiles contradict the prevailing stereotypes about the affluence of Chinese newcomers who immigrate with ease with the help of family, friends and business associates into a life of wealth and prosperity. Clearly, the living conditions in Chinatown itself fly in the face of this stereotype. The median income in Chinatown is approximately half of the figure for San Francisco as a whole. Over 80% of Chinatown's residents were renters, sharing their living quarters with over seven times as many people as the city average. (Viviano and Silva, 1988). Given the salaries and working conditions of the women discussed above, it is obvious that the status of undocumented women is even lower than this.

Much more information needs to be gained before conclusions can be drawn about what the most urgent needs of undocumented women. Several of the interviewers felt very strongly, however, that the most pressing need is for employment. When asked the question "what do you think is the major need of Chinese undocumented women?" the four service providers presented stated in unison, "jobs." As one service provider clarified:

> The job is really important. Once you have that, you can get the housing, get the other services you need.

Another continued:

> Women do have that ability. Everyone who comes in can work -- they *want* to work and willing to work hard. Some have high education but they can only do housekeeping or elderly attendant work. Sometimes this is all they can get, but it's better than nothing.

Beyond employment, many of the interviewers agreed that there is a great need for services to help women who are experiencing the family difficulties that often result from migration. As Tina Shum pointed out, many of her clients are having problems with the Marriage Fraud Act, and that as difficult as it is for her clients she recognizes that there are many more women experiencing these problems who never seek help. As she explained:

> For women who try to legalize their status through marriage, there is no guarantee that just marrying the husband will help her. They work her as a slave, try to get her pregnant to get a boy -- and that's all -- that's all he wants. She has no status. She cannot work outside the house because she has no papers. She has to totally depend on the man. Some women leave -- but there's still nothing for her. We call this client "the floating leaf on the river" She just floats from here to there. Has to hide. Cannot stay in one place, because her husband or immigration could find her. The one exception (in the law) requires documentation. They have to have called the police. They have to have gone to the doctor. For many women, they don't speak English. They don't call for help so how can they prove anything? Many women do not have any records either. Phone bill, rent record -- nothing is in her name. All she has is her passport from China.

As another advocate pointed out:

> It's not only the poor people or the people who are uneducated who try to change their status when they marry. But there is no guarantee that the husband will help. A lot of these women are really treated like slaves. Women who have been here for many years, may start to take English class. We ask, "Why do you want to take English class now?" and she say -- "My husband doesn't let me out of the house." For some women this is the only time they get to get out of the house, they are restricted. Have to ask permission to go out. Only when he's in a good mood does he let her go out. Life is hard for them.

Interviewers and service providers agreed that educational programs are needed to let undocumented women know what services they are eligible for. These efforts should focus on the community organizations do not ask about immigration status as part of their intake procedure, and any public benefits that undocumented women might be eligible for. Interviewers concurred that many women do not know whether they can receive the most

basic of services for their children. As Isabel pointed out:

> One woman I was working with said she was afraid to apply for free lunches for her children, she could apply but didn't know what to put for the social security number. This woman's husband left her and went back to Hong Kong. She has to raise two boys on her own, and you know she could have used that financial help. As much as we don't want people to abuse the system -- we know that the rich are abusing the system anyway, so why not help the person who really needs the help?

Many interviewers said that often undocumented women are fearful to enroll their children in school. As one interviewer commented:

> Some really have concerns about their children, because they are illegal too. They are concerned that their children will not be able to get into college and they want them to have a good education. The children suffer much and what can they do?

Another responded:

> After children have been here a certain number of years and are ready to go to college -- can this person be given special status? They have grown up here. Haven't they been "illegal" long enough? They are actually American.

One service provider pointed out that there are programs such as the latch-key program in San Francisco that provide parents with no-fee child care and informed them about the services that were available to them, regardless of their immigration status. Interviewers agreed that there are services available in certain areas of need -- but many people, especially undocumented women who are likely to be very isolated, don't always know about them. Isabel pointed out:

> Some people don't know how to work the system. I think this kind of grassroots education would be helpful, letting them know where to go for help. In doing outreach to the community college, I found that many did not know where they could go for help. After a while I typed up a list. Why don't we get together all the directors of health and other services and see how they can help?.

All of the service providers agreed with this:

> Information about the services available to the undocumented women is really helpful. Before doing this study, I didn't know many of the health services women could get. I think this information is very useful. I didn't know that Medi-Cal was available to anyone who didn't have a green card. I didn't know that pregnant women could receive this.

Service providers and interviewers were not sure whether this educational program could be undertaken by undocumented women themselves, which pointed to a difference between the Chinese and Latina community. Within all of the services contacted for this research project, none included the involvement of undocumented women as outreach workers or volunteers, at least that service providers were aware of. One interviewer thought it would be a "luxury" for women to be able to get together and talk about service needs and community development, and that daily survival needs would make this difficult if not impossible. Others disagreed, but were not sure whether it would be better to do this on a door-to-door basis, through distributing a resource guide, or through developing house meetings in which women could begin by talking about their service needs among friendship networks. One of the limitations with the friendship network model is that many women do not talk about their undocumented status with friends. As one interviewer commented:

> Most women do not talk about their status. They are afraid to tell their friends they are without legal documentation. They feel ashamed.

In whatever way such an outreach program is undertaken, it is obviously very much needed within the Chinese community. If women knew of circles in which they could talk about their difficulties as undocumented women, perhaps the shame addressed above could be minimized. Certainly, there is a great need for outreach efforts into the community to let women know what their legal rights as undocumented women -- and as wives in the U.S.

The numbers of Chinese undocumented women reached to participate in this study were minimal, but in the process of talking to service providers and reviewing some of the women's stories a few important issues have emerged. There is much interest within the community to undertake a grass-roots educational campaign to let women know about essential services. Further research could uncover even more of these important issues.

CHAPTER 8: IMPLICATIONS OF FINDINGS FOR PARTICIPANT COMMUNITIES

Overview

The findings of this research project have addressed the largely unmet social service needs of undocumented women. Because the experiences and histories of the communities involved in this study were so different, most recommendations for service delivery, community development, and organizing must be considered within the context of the community in which they arose. This specificity is necessary in order to avoid the dangerous tendency toward overgeneralizing about the needs of all women -- regardless of class and ethnicity. There were, however, some emergent needs that are relevant to both communities. Most of these needs are related less to socio-cultural issues than they are to the undocumented status itself and the fear that this instilled in the majority of both Filipina and Latina participants.

Relevant to both communities is the need for education/outreach programs to inform women about the services they are eligible for regardless of their undocumented status. This campaign should include information about public benefits such as AFDC for U.S.-born children, WIC, and Medi-Cal, in addition to community-based services. Health care is also an important consideration in developing this outreach for this was a need that each community said was essential. Because service availability and language differences exist, recommendations for the development of specific outreach campaigns will be included in a section addressing each community.

Another central and immediate need that emerged in each community is for employment. The majority of participants in each community were working at low paying domestic jobs in spite of the vast differences in their education, skills, and employment histories. Non-profit employment co-operatives in each community could provide women with domestic employment and some protection against abuses within the domestic realm. As will be addressed in the section on each community, such programs are an important, though certainly limited, solution to a systemic problem.

Other central findings pointed to the ongoing need for culturally sensitive counseling services in each community. Post traumatic stress issues, domestic violence, separation from extended family and the transition into fast-paced Western culture create the need for such services. Service providers, interviewers and participants in both the Filipino and Latino community addressed that there is a need for counseling and mental health services, but that traditional cultural Filipino and Latino values

emphasize the resolution of family and personal conflict within the family system. Services must be prepared to include the family whenever possible in intervention efforts, with an awareness that many immigrant and refugee women are also isolated from their families.

Recommendations For the Filipina Community

Employment

Recommendations:

1. Professional Re-Certification Programs should be developed in order to address the disparity between Filipinos education and training and their avenues for employment in the U.S.

2. Development of employment cooperatives within the community to assist women in finding domestic jobs and regulate working conditions.

One of the most significant findings in the Filipina community was the great gap that existed between the education and training in the Philippines and employment for women here in the United States. The single largest grouping of participants (29%), were college graduates in the Philippines, though most are working as elderly companions or domestic workers in the United States.

Access to employment within the fields for which they have been trained is limited by both employment sanctions under IRCA and the lack of recognition for their education and training in the Philippines. Until sanctions are overturned, efforts to address this need will be extremely limited. As was pointed out in the findings section, however, professional re-certification programs would have a positive effect on the Filipino immigrant community as a whole, and in some ways have a "trickle down" effect on undocumented family members. As a stop-gap measure, women would benefit from the existence of a non-profit employment cooperative in their community which would help them secure domestic jobs on a regular basis, perhaps provide some child care, and regulate the pay and working conditions within these domestic jobs.

Community Education Campaign

Recommendation

1. Development of an outreach campaign to inform the undocumented about the public benefits, health and community based services they are eligible to receive

2. Targeted outreach in the Filipino community informing the undocumented about legalization issues their rights in case they are apprehended.

Over half of the Filipina participants (61%) expressed that they lived in fear of being deported. Fifty-seven percent said that this fear has kept them from seeking services for themselves and their families. Slightly less than half (48%) said that they do not know what their legal rights are if they are apprehended by the INS. A targeted outreach campaign informing the undocumented about the services they are eligible for would serve an important function in breaking down some of this fear. Services specific to the needs of women should be emphasized, since this is clearly a growing and underserved population. A woman seeking pre-natal care or an elderly woman calling an ambulance to assist her husband who has broken a hip do not have time to avoid seeking services due to fear of being deported. It is essential that people be made aware of those critical services they are eligible to receive in addition to other helpful community based services.

This outreach will be difficult to undertake because the Filipino community has no multi-service agency or single community center which draws large numbers of the undocumented. For this reason, it is important to target Filipino newspapers and possibly publish a small resource manual that could be made available at social service agencies, churches, and community businesses that attract members of the community.

Counseling/Mental Health Services

Recommendations:

1. Culturally sensitive counseling/mental health services must be made available in San Francisco and North San Mateo County to serve the Filipino community

2. The development of a multi-service agency providing support services to the community in general should include specific counseling and advocacy services for women

Many women talked about the isolation they felt in being separated from family in the Philippines, the family conflicts they were experiencing due to changes in their roles within the family, financial pressures and the strain of acculturation. Culturally sensitive counseling services could provide some measure of relief to women dealing with these difficulties, often in silence. Project interviewers pointed out that although traditionally women do not seek help outside the family, for many women this option is not available as their families may not be here or be responsive to their needs. As one interviewer pointed out:

> Separation from extended family puts women in contact with social workers and agencies. We've got to let these women know who they can go to, who they can trust. When they know where to go, women will go -- and they will tell their friends.

As another (anonymous) interviewer commented:

> I used to be a social worker in the Philippines. It is not altogether uncommon for a woman to seek help outside the family if she knows who to trust.

In doing the initial outreach for this project, the researchers were surprised that there were so few social services employing Filipino counselors and social workers. Additionally, the lack of specific services within the community was equally disheartening, given the increasingly large size of this community. Family, children's, and general social service agencies in San Francisco and North San Mateo counties should make every effort to hire bicultural Filipino staff in order to meet the needs of their communities. Information and referral agencies should be made aware of those agencies in which Filipino staff are employed. Staff should receive training from immigrant rights advocates about the specific needs of undocumented clients, and how to sensitively refer an individual for immigration assistance.

The development of a multi-purpose information and referral center within the Filipino community would provide an essential resource for Filipinos, particularly those who are new to the community. Financial resources must be put toward the development of this service. In developing a multi-service agency, organizers need to have an awareness of the specific needs of undocumented women, and develop strategies for responding to these needs based on some of the recommendations included here.

Numerous organizers and service providers within the Filipino community addressed the fact that people are not in a position to take up the issue of the undocumented in a pro-active way for a variety of reasons. Many organizers within the Filipino community have been involved for the last few years in the struggle to overthrow Marcos. This solidarity work was the primary focus of many community activists in the U.S. until very recently. It is only in the last couple of years that many organizers have begun to address the need for services within the community.

As large as the Filipino community is, it is still relatively young. Only in the last ten years has the Filipino community in San Mateo county has become this visible a population. Large numbers of Filipinos here were born in the Philippines, affecting the ability to build community. The fact that so many Filipinos are fluent in English upon entering the U.S. means that they do not require survival level information/newcomer services. General services are far from being available or fully developed within the community as a whole -- let alone services that are specific to women and/or the undocumented. The recommendations listed in each of the areas listed above can be applied to developing new services within the community, and to augmenting existing services that are in a position to serve Filipinos in their areas. Clearly the hierarchy of need in this situation is developing a general service agency that would benefit the entire community through providing information, referral, and emergency resources. While this program should consider the needs of undocumented women as it develops, it is likely that specific services for undocumented Filipino woman will not be developed until this immediate need is met.

Recommendations for the Latina Community

Employment

> The most important service is help finding employment. Because when they find work and have some money, they can start finding solutions to the mountain of problems they have (Project Interviewer).

Recommendations:

1. Alternative employment service such as employment cooperatives, require increased funding, in order to provide jobs to a greater number of undocumented women. These programs have proven to be effective in working with this population.

2. funding is needed to undertake feasibility studies that would lead to the development of new membership based projects for existing programs (such as a sewing or artisan cooperatives), that will create jobs, and will eventually function independently from the parent agency. The strength of these types of projects is that they create new jobs for the community, while allowing women to use and develop skills other than housecleaning.

In the list of the top five service needs identified by participants, employment related services appeared twice: 47% employment training, and 39% employment placement. This makes sense, given that 46% of project participants are unemployed, and of those working, 55% are working only part time. These statistics paint a clear picture of the need for increased employment opportunities for this community, yet since the passage of IRCA, 54% of participants responded that it has become more difficult to find work.

What can be done to improve this difficult situation?

Employment cooperatives open to all immigrants and refugees, regardless of status, have been developed by community and religious organizations as a response to these conditions. In Alameda, San Francisco and San Mateo counties, only 4 such programs exist, all functioning with minimal staff and funding. These programs have membership waiting lists, and are unable to provide extensive job training and ESL programs due to lack of funding. Most of the jobs provided by the cooperatives are housecleaning, although many members have other job skills and most would like to develop additional skills.

English as a Second Language (ESL)

Recommendations:

1. In order to increase women's participation in ESL classes, child care should be offered. The most convenient times for classes are in the morning, for women who are not working, and in the evening, for women who are working.

2. ESL classes at agencies based in the immigrant and refugee community will attract more students. These are setting that are trusted in the community, and fear of deportation and of the system in general will not deter participation as often. Participants reported that some ESL programs, (especially community Colleges) ask for social security numbers. Clearly, this will keep undocumented people from participating.

3. Vocational ESL classes would be highly appropriate for this community, given the desire to learn English as a vehicle to improve employment opportunities. Vocational ESL classes could be developed as the first part of a comprehensive job training program.

4. Development of ESL classes with targeted outreach and special curriculum for women who are illiterate in Spanish.

Forty eight percent of participants in the study spoke no English, and 38% spoke basic English. There was a strong desire among participants to learn English. This desire was expressed clearly in response to the question: "What is your biggest problem?" The most frequent response to this question was, "No English and no job". This response indicates that participants link the ability to speak English with the ability to get a job or get a better job.

The fourth recommendation was based on the response of one participant in the study was forthcoming enough to say that her biggest problem was "I am illiterate". Given that 16% of our sample reported having no formal education, and only 9% have graduated from high school, we have strong reason to believe that many women in this community are illiterate in Spanish. This has implications for methods of ESL instruction for this population. If special curriculums are not developed to meet the educational need of this group of women, they will drop out of classes and never learn English.

Community Education Campaign

Public Benefit Recommendations:

1. Bilingual materials are needed to inform women of their right to apply for public benefits such as AFDC and Medi-Cal, including telephone numbers of advocates and attorneys to contact for further information.

2. Use of Spanish speaking radio and television stations to sponsor forums by attorneys explaining the legal right to public benefits. A call in show format would allow women to get immediate feedback.

All U.S. born children are eligible to receive public benefits such as AFDC and Medi-Cal. When the parents are undocumented, however, there are risks associated with applying and receiving these benefits. For undocumented women accepting such benefits may effect ability to legalize their status in the future, and there is obviously a great deal of fear that in applying the woman exposes herself to potential deportation.

Despite these very real problems associated with seeking public benefits, too many women make the decision not to apply based on fear, without knowing all the facts. In this study, only twenty participants reported receiving public benefits, while 113 participants (23% of sample) had U.S. citizen children. The authors' perspective is that more information needs to be made available to the community so that informed decisions can be made based on each undocumented women's individual situation.

Another fact that is not well known in the undocumented community is that pregnant women can apply for Medi-Cal. Increased outreach efforts must target pregnant women in order to ensure the health and well being of the mother and children of the community.

Community-based organization Recommendations:

1. Publish resource lists (by county) of non-profit agencies offering low cost Spanish speaking services. The resource list should include an introduction defining what a community based organization is, and provide a statement that clients will served without regard to their immigration status.

2. Distribute resource lists at hospitals, clinics, bulletin boards, etc., in Latino neighborhoods.

The findings of this study show that 38% of participants did not seek services because they did not know they existed, and 29% had never sought any service. These findings indicate that participants are fearful of seeking help from non-profit community agencies as well as government agencies, and

that non- profit services need to extend outreach efforts to reach this marginalized population. Additionally, consideration needs to be given to evaluating what types of services and intervention strategies will be most effective in this community.

Child care

Recommendation:

1. Provide funding to conduct a feasibility study on starting child care cooperatives run by and for immigrant and refugee women. This project would create jobs in the community and at the same time provide a service for the community.

Thirty one (31%) percent of participants identified child care as a service need. Since this percentage is based on all participants, including those without children, a more accurate (higher) percentage would be obtained if the sample only included participants with children. Participants cited inability to find affordable child care as a barrier to employment. It is difficult to make specific recommendations in this area, given the shortage of affordable child care in the Bay Area, although it is clear that there is a need for more bilingual day care providers. One recommendation did emerge in our discussions with community leaders and project interviewers.

Counseling/Mental Health

Recommendations:

1. Staff in mental health settings need to be sensitized to needs of immigrant and refugee communities. Training about PTSD is needed, in addition to issues facing women recovering from sexual abuse, trauma, and domestic violence. This is especially important for service providers in emergency psychiatric facilities.

2. Outreach to at risk populations needs to be conducted by existing mental health agencies, in order to involve clients in treatment before situations reach a crisis state.

3. Increased funding is needed for self-help programs in the Central American community such as the "Community Health Promoters" program which trained Central American Refugees in a peer group model for identifying and treating mental health issues in the community.

Although only 5% of participants identified counseling as a service need, the prevalence of border abuse/problems (36%), domestic violence (34%), and exposure to violence in country of origin (29%) indicate that undocumented Latina women could benefit from counseling services.

Luisa, a 45 year old Mexican participant, told us that she feared seeking services because "I am afraid they will catch me and send me home, and I have a lot of fear about crossing the border again given my experience". Luisa was robbed at gunpoint by bandits, crawled through "los tubos," and spent the night in the pouring rain inside a garbage can with her two year old daughter. Luisa's vivid and detailed account of what happened to her at the border demonstrate that the trauma she suffered 3 years ago is very much still part of her life.

For refugees from Central America, forced migration and prolonged exposure to violence and or torture and rape, lead to a high incidence of post traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). It is essential that service providers working in communities effected by PTSD, are aware of the special problems faced by this population. If this awareness is not present clients may be misdiagnosed as paranoid, when in fact they are responding to a re-stimulation of a traumatic experience.

Even though participants did not choose counseling services as a high priority, the authors believe that mental health services for this community are important. Given the issues of poverty, unemployment, and inadequate housing, it is easy to see how counseling would fall to the bottom of the priority list. Additionally, many women from Latin America did not have access to counseling services in their country of origin, and tend to view counseling as outside the cultural framework of seeking help and support from with in the family structure. Isolation from family support networks makes the need for these services even more critical.

Specific Needs of Central American Refugees

Recommendations:

1. Increase funding to programs based in the Central American Community providing services to this traumatized community with special social service needs.

Central American refugees have unique social service needs based on their forced migration, exposure to violence, and the refusal of the U.S. government to recognize them as legal refugees. Central American participants in this study were less likely to have family in the Bay Area (60% Central American, 79% Mexican), and are more likely to be living in overcrowded housing (Central

American 51%, Mexican 37%). These conditions make it extremely difficult for newly arriving refugees to find housing and integrate into informal support networks which provide mutual aide and "survival" skills.

Additionally, Central American Refugees arrive to the U.S. in a traumatized state, and are in urgent need of support. This study found that despite the great need for help and services Central Americans who do seek help have encountered problems (Central American 41%-48%, Mexican 28%). A critical factor that affects service delivery to this community, is fear of deportation. The vast majority participants from Central America reported that fear of deportation kept them from seeking services (El Salvador 71%, Guatemala 82%, Nicaragua 66%, Mexican 54%). Given these factors, Central American refugees have special needs which can be best met by services base in their own community where confidentiality can best be maintained.

Housing

The average household size of participants was 5.4 people and 43% of participants feel that their home is too crowded. In light of this, it is not surprizing that housing assistance was identified as the most important service need (52%) by participants. The need for affordable housing is a critical issue for all low income communities in the Bay Area, since Bay Area rents are among the highest in the nation. Given this reality, it is difficult for the authors to make any specific recommendations. Our perspective is that by focusing on efforts to increase the economic self sufficiency of the community, housing conditions will improve.

Medical Services

More participants in the study (56%) used medical services than any other type of service. However, 46% of participants listed medical services as a top service need, indicating that health care needs are not being met. Research indicates (Chavez 1985, McKay, 1985) that the pattern of medical service utilization for undocumented Latinos is to seek treatment at hospital emergency rooms, or clinics only when a serious problem arises, rather than seeking ongoing preventative and pre-natal care. While making recommendations on this topic is outside the scope of this study, since we did collect data on service usage, the authors felt it was important to restate the need for increased access to health care for this population, since participants identified this as an urgent need.

Community Organizing

Recommendation:

1. Funding is needed to develop self-help networks, by and for undocumented women. The format of the groups could be informal, using house meetings, the goal of which would be providing basic survival information about legal rights, community services, how to register children for school, pros and cons of applying for AFDC, etc., Through the exchange of information and support, group participants will become less isolated and fearful. As self confidence grows through the group process, more women will become involved in advocating for changes to improve the conditions of their families and the community as a whole.

2. All programs developed to serve the undocumented community should be staffed by immigrants and refugees. In the process of migration, many immigrants and refugees are stripped of their dignity and self respect, and feel powerless in the dominant culture. Immigrants and refugees in the best position to understand this dehumanizing process, and are able to serve as strong role models and catalysts for change.

The success of this project is due to the direct participation of undocumented women as project interviewers. The recruitment of both project interviewers and participants was accomplished through using extensive and varied organizing methods including house meetings, use of friendship and service provider networks, and individual meetings with key informants to gain introduction into new networks.

The motivation for undocumented women to work on this project as interviewers came from their desire to help the community. They viewed the opportunity to conduct interviews with other undocumented women as a vehicle to educate women in their community about their rights, not just an opportunity to gather data. However, the need to collect data was also recognized as important by project interviewers on two levels. The first level is the need for the community to identify problems faced by women, so that the community can develop strategies to improve conditions and develop women's leadership. One project interviewer told us:

> One important thing about the survey, is that it gave an opportunity to women to say that they want to change, that they have goals and expectations for their lives. That they want to work,to earn money, through the process they gain more independence

The second level is recognizing that the process of documenting the reality of an invisible community heightens awareness and visibility. The hope is that the increased visibility of the undocumented community will move concerned individuals, government officials, and foundations to become involved in providing resources to improve conditions in the community.

The direct involvement of undocumented women in the project made it possible for the researchers to realize the project's goals. For example, the researchers set up a meeting at an employment cooperative, to recruit both interviewers and participants. The project was discussed, emphasizing how confidentiality would be maintained, etc., As was expected, the women were receptive to the project, but very cautious. Then a women stood up to speak, waiving the Coalition's know-your-rights card. Addressing the group, she said:

> Compañeras, I want to tell you that this group (CIRRS) is truly a group helping the community. When I was applying for Amnesty we did not have enough money to apply for all of my children. This group helped me with free legal advice and to raise money for all of us to apply. These people are really for the community. "Son muy buena gente".

Her enthusiasm was like a tornado sweeping through the room. These brief, but compelling words did more to build trust and generate enthusiasm for the project than anything the researchers could have said. This woman was a part of the community and the other women trusted her. Eight interviewers were recruited at that meeting. The interviewers, in turn, used the trust their friends had in them to gain access to participants.

The lesson from this example is clear. Undocumented women are the obvious leaders in organizing other women in their community, though this is often overlooked by organizers and service providers who serve on their behalf. The lesson from the project as a whole is that despite the underground nature of the undocumented community, it is possible to identify and reach out to undocumented women. The challenge in continuing forward with this project is to use the data gathered and the lessons from the organizing methodology to empower undocumented women to develop their leadership. In a community living an "underground" existence, knowledge is power. Access to information, is a critical first step towards individual and community empowerment for the undocumented Latino community.

CHAPTER 9: IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

One of the strengths of this research project was its breadth, providing the researchers with a comprehensive view of the problems faced by undocumented women in meeting essential needs for themselves and their families. This approach has the potential to broaden our understanding about the ways in which problems such as fear and social isolation interrelate in participants daily lives, and the larger implications of these issues if they are not taken up by society as a whole. A limitation of this approach, however, is that it does not yield a substantive amount of information in any one area of service utilization or need. This effort should be seen as a first-step in an area in which all too little research has been done.

Research addressing undocumented women has largely been undertaken with Mexican women in areas of health care utilization and mental health. Presumably, Mexican women have been the subjects of this inquiry due to their large numbers in California, particularly in Los Angeles. Central American, Filipina and Chinese undocumented women constitute growing populations in the Bay Area. Further research is needed on specific patterns of service utilization and need among these groups to provide communities with well needed information as services are developed. Subsequent research would do well to focus on one or two specific areas addressed within the scope of this report, and examine them in further detail utilizing the community-based approach that guided this research project.

Health care utilization, domestic violence and substance abuse services are some areas of service need which require further investigation. Although this study did not specifically address the issue of substance abuse, project interviewers reported that many participants discussed their partner's alcoholism as a problem. Given the desperate economic and emotional problems faced by undocumented communities, it is easy to see how many may turn to alcohol or other drugs to cope. A needs assessment research project on substance abuse in the immigrant and refugee community would yield useful information about this important issue.

Within the scope of this research project, efforts were made to examine experiences of undocumented battered women. The authors' work with immigrant and refugee battered women provided a springboard for some of this inquiry. A guiding principal within this study was that pressures of migration and accompanying unemployment impact a woman's experience of violence in her family. Specifically, it was thought that women who were abused in their country of origin

and migrated with their abusive partner might experience an increase in the level of their partner's violence once in the U.S.. This concept is supported in the literature (Giorino & Rino, 1985; Lai, 1985; Lovell & Tran, 1987; Lum, 1988). Though there have been no quantitative studies focusing on this problem. Because the response to the domestic violence questions in general illicited fewer responses than probably reflect reality, it is impossible to draw conclusions about this phenomenon based on the actual data. Further research is needed to examine this issue. Undertaking this study with women who are already self-identified immigrant battered women (perhaps in a shelter setting) would yield more information on this important area of concern. Through working with immigrant battered women, the authors have been made aware of the critical needs of this population and the inadequacy of most existing resources to meet those needs. Research that would feed back into programs specifically for this population is especially needed.

The access to participants within the Chinese community is another area of concern in evaluating this study. In spite of outreach efforts that targeted virtually every Chinese agency serving women in San Francisco and Oakland, the researchers were unable to elicit participation from more than a few service providers, who themselves had minimal access to undocumented women. The difficulty in accessing networks of undocumented Chinese women points to a potential stumbling block for future research that attempts to employ Cornelius' (1980) snowball sampling technique among networks of undocumented women. Long-term outreach efforts are clearly called for to replicate this study in the Chinese community. Accessing one or two undocumented women through church or other community-based settings, and working closely with them to access participants may yield better results. The initial access is obviously difficult -- but it is paramount. This research must be "owned" by the community in order to gain essential access. Efforts must be made early on to gain endorsements of the project from within the community and illicit outreach efforts from community members, which might require snowballing techniques itself.

A final suggestion in the replication of this study within the Chinese community is the possibility of reframing the focus and title. A study that would focus on *immigrant* women, not requiring women to identify as *undocumented*, might elicit increased participation. Such a study could examine most of the same issues contained in the current research project -- though the examination of fear would obviously be framed differently. Posing the question "Did you ever feel fear of deportation -- and has this effected you in the past in seeking help for you or your family?" might provide a way to get around the great barrier that appears to exist for women identifying themselves as undocumented, particularly in the Chinese community. Regardless of the approach, the issue of community ownership is essential. The potential for social research to contribute to community building must

be clear to all who are engaged in the process. This "ownership" is perhaps more important than any other factor.

Community-based research fills a void often left empty by academic research. The involvement of community members in setting the research agenda, and using the information in developing strategies for action, is an exciting, dynamic process. The strategies for action currently being discussed as a bi-product of this project, include the creation of a grassroots community education project by and for undocumented women. Such a project would inform undocumented women about their legal rights and services available to them, as it strengthens their support networks. Eventually this project would work toward the creation of alternative self-help services. The potential for community building among undocumented women is an area of interest to all who have become involved in this project. This research project has provided the Immigrant Women's Task force of the Coalition for Immigrant and Refugee Rights and Services with a means in which to organize with undocumented women and develop their leadership in new ways.

As has been shown, community connections and supportive services are essential to the well being and survival of undocumented women. Community building and the development of services alone, however, is a limited response to the needs of undocumented communities -- and our work must not stop there. Individuals concerned with the plight of the undocumented must concern themselves with the policies of the U.S. government that create the conditions causing their migration. U.S. military intervention in Central America funds the senseless violence from which so many have fled, seeking refuge in the United States. The U.S. State Department's response to this forced migration is the wholesale deportation of Salvadoreans and Guatemalans. These policies must be confronted.

People within helping professions such as social work, could provide their best help by working to stop U.S. military intervention in Central America and the brutal repression it fosters. The U.S. government must be forced to recognize Salvadoreans and Guatemalans as political refugees, those who work most closely with these populations are in the best position to advocate on their behalf. Another area in which reform is needed immediately is employment sanctions imposed under IRCA. Besides the widespread anti-Asian and Latino discrimination this law has brought about, it is creating a permanent underclass of immigrants (including large numbers of children and elderly) whose conditions will continue to degenerate unless this policy is overturned.

Social workers are mandated by the code of ethics of their profession to advocate for changes in social policies that promote social justice, though the profession often ignores this mandate. Unless U.S. policies of military intervention and economic exploitation of third world countries are

successfully confronted, social workers will continue to experience the effects of these policies in the lives of those they are attempting to help. Without avenues of redress to improve the conditions of immigrants and refugees, social workers feel powerless to help as their efforts are frustrated. The choice is clear and the need is obvious. Social workers must become involved as a profession in the struggle to recognize the self-determination of today's "huddled masses" or it will only continue to reinforce the status quo of inequality.

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4-5

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4 f En promedio, cuanto gana usted cada mes?

(Entrevistadora: Lea la lista a la entrevistada y digale que le indique cuando llegue a su ingreso y marque uno. Si la persona no puede estimar su ingreso mensual, calculeo en base de cantidad por cada hora, horas trabajadas cada semana, y semanas trabajadas cada mes.)

1.	0-$250	6.	$1,251-$1,500
2.	$251-500	7.	$1,501-$1,750
3.	$501-$750	8.	$1,751-$2,000
4.	$751-$1,000	9.	$2,001-$2,250
5.	$1,001-$1,250	10.	$2,251-$2,750

(Si la entrevistada no sabe su ingreso mensual, llene lo siguiente)

Horas trabajadas por semana ___________ Cantidad que recibe por hora __________
Semanas que trabaja al mes ___________________

4 g Siente que ha sufrido de abuso o discriminacion en su trabajo a causa de su estado migratorio? SI/NO

(Si su respuesta es NO, vaya a la pregunta 4i)

4 h Por favor, describa: ____

____

____

4 i Trabajo usted fuera del hogar en su pais de origen? SI/NO

(Si su respuesta es NO, vaya a la pregunta 4k)

4 j Que tipo de trabajo realizo en su pais de origen?

____

(No pregunte 4k, si el participante esta trabaja actualmente)

4 k Si no esta trabajando, como se sostiene? Por favor, explique:

____

____

5 a En 1986 se introdujeron cambios en la ley de Inmigracion que declaran ilegal que las empresas contraten personas sin permiso de trabajo. Ha afectado esta nueva ley su capacidad de encontrar trabajo?

SI/NO

(Si no, vaya a la pregunta 6)

5b Como le ha afectado este ley en su habilidad para encontrar trabajo?

____
____
____

6a Estamos interesados en saber que clase de servicios o ayuda ha necesitado y continua a necesitando para usted y su familia. Podria nombrarnos tres lugares o agencias donde usted ha acudido para solicitar ayuda o servicios para usted o familia desde que llego a los Estados Unidos?

(Entrevistador: Si el participante indica el nombre de alguna agencia, escriba el "tipo" de servicio al lado de la respuesta)

6a1. ______________________________
6a2. ______________________________
6a3. ______________________________

6b Ha tenido dificultad en obtener servicios o ayuda?

1. Si
2. No
3.. Nunca busco servicios publicos o ayuda en los Estados Unidas

(Entrevistador: Aun cuando la entrevista conteste "no" o "nunca busco servicios" a lo anterior, continue con la pregunta 6c)

6c Voy a leer una lista de problemas que usted haya podido enfrentar en su busqueda de ayuda. Por favor, digame cuales, si alguno, ha experimentado usted.

1. No sabia que existia la ayuda o servicio.
2. Demasiado caro
3. Tuve miedo de establecer contacto con ellos
4. Muy dificil de llegar alla - transportacion
5. No hablaban mi idioma
6. El trabajador social no entendio mi situacion
7. No me trataron con respeto
8. Tuve miedo que pudiera afectar mi legalizacion o amnistia

Otros contratiempos (Por favor, especifique) ______________
____

7. Estamos interesados en los servicios que usted identifique como especialmente utiles para usted y familia. Voy a darle una lista de servicios generales o tipos de ayuda. Por favor lea esto cuidadosamente y piense en cuales de estos son los servicios mas importantes para usted y su familia. Despues de que haya leido la lista, marque los cinco que usted sienta que son especialmente importantes.

(Entrevistador: entregue la lista de servicios al participante. Si no sabe leer, por favor leale la lista y dele tiempo para que identifique los cinco servicios mas importantes)

POR FAVOR SOLAMENTE MARQUE CINCO

LISTA DE SERVICIOS

1. Asistencia en Programas de Vivienda
2. Asistencia en la Consecucion de Empleo
3. Capacitacion para Conseguir Trabajo
4. Cuidado de ninos
5. Servicio de Apoyo a la Juventud
6. Servicios Medicos
7. Seguro Medico
8. Cuidado Medico Pre-natal y Reproductivo
9. Servicio de Emergencia - 911
10. Asistencia en asuntos de Inmigracion
11. Asistencia Legal
12. Comida
13. Ropa
14. Servicios de Planificacion Familiar
15. Aconsejoamiento individual
16. Consejeria Matrimonial
17. Otros tipos de consejeria para la familia
18. La Iglesia/Organizaciones Religiosas
19. Alcoholismo/Programas de rehabilitacion de Drogas
20. Hogares Santuario para mujeres (Refugios para la Mujer)
21. Servicios Contra el Abuso de los ninos
22. Servicios de "Ingles como Segunda Lengua" (Aprendizaje del Ingles)
23. Educacion Superior /Tecnica Para Adultos(Community Colleges)
24. Universidad Estatal
25. Ayuda de las companias de Telefono y Gas
26. Transportacion
27. Asistencia con los Beneficios Publicos como:
    - Seguro de Desempleo
    - Beneficencia (Welfare)
    - Gastos Medicos (Medi-Cal)
    - Estampillas de Comida

Otro: ____________________

Otro: ____________________

Otro: ____________________

8a Muchos inmigrantes reportan que, a veces, tienen miedo de la deportacion. Ha sentido usted alguna vez miedo de ser deportado? SI/NO

(Si no, vaya a la pregunta 8d)

8b Le ha impedido el miedo a la deportacion buscar servicos o ayuda para usted o su familia? SI/NO

(Si no, vaya a la pregunta 8d)

8c En que forma le ha impedido?

____

____

____

8d Siente usted que conoce cuales son sus derechos legales, en caso de ser arrestada?

SI/NO

9a Siente usted que dejar su pais y venir a los Estados Unidos ha incrementado las presiones sobre los miembros de su familia? SI/NO

(Si no, vaya a la pregunta 10a)

9b Siente que estas cambios han causado dificultades o problemas en las relaciones dentro de su familia? SI/NO

(Si no, vaya a la pregunta 10a)

9c Si su respuesta es si, por favor explique:

____

____

____

10a Como le explicamos anteriormente, este proyecto busca identificar las necesicades de servicios publicos de las mujeres indocumentadas como usted. Otra meta es informar a cada participante sobre su derecho a usar los servicios que existente. Un tipo de servicio que las mujeres indocumentadas puedan necesitar es un lugar para refugiarse de la violencia en el hogar. Muchas mujeres tienen miedo de buscar proteccion en una Refugio para mujeres maltratadas especialmente si no saben donde quedan o ni siquiera saber que existen. Pensamos que este es un tema que vale la pena discutir con todas las mujeres, aun cuando es un tema muy delicado. Nos gustaria saber si usted ha sufrido de violencia en el hogar. Alguna vez ha sido:

(Entrevistador: Lea la lista y marque las respuestas apropiadas)

1. Amenazada
2. Empujada
3. Golpeada
4. Encerrada con llave en su casa
5. Lastimada fisicamente de alguna manera
6. Nada de lo anterior

(Si la respuesta a esta pregunta corresponde a ninguna de las categorias anteriores, vaya a la pregunta 10h)

10b Si estuviera con el mismo esposo /companero en los dos paises, diganos si esto ha sucedido:

1. Solo en su pais de origen
2. Solo en los Estados Unidos
3. En los dos paises
4. No he estado con el mismo esposo/companero en los dos paises

(Entrevistador: Si la entrevistada respondio al numero 1 o 2, vaya a la pregunta 10e)

10c Si estas agresiones sucedieron en los dos paises, ha aumentado el nivel de violencia o su frecuencia desde que llego usted a los Estados Unidos? SI/NO

10d Por favor, explique:

____
____
____

10e Estamos conscientes que este es un asunto muy delicado del que muchas mujeres nunca hablan. Ha hablado usted alguna vez de esto con:

(Entrevistadora: Lea la lista y marque las preguntas afirmativas)

1. Miembros de la familia
2. Amigas
3. Miembros de la iglesia o templo
4. Medicos o enfermeras
5. Alguna persona en el Hogar Santuario (o Refugio) para Mujeres
6. Miembros de otros programas para la mujer
7. La Policia
8. La trabajadora social
9. Maestra
10. Nunca ha hablado de esto

Otro ____________________________

(Entrevistador: Si la respuesta a lo anterior fue "nunca hable de esto", vaya a la pregunta 10g)

10f Cual fue el resultado de haber hablado sobre esto?

____
____

10g Continua usted con el esposo/companero que abusaba de usted? SI/NO

10h En general, con quien habla cuando tiene problemas?

1. Miembros de la Familia
2. Amigos
3. Miembros de la Iglesia/Templo
4. Medicos/Enfermera
5. Trabajador Social
6. Maestra
7. Con nadie

Otro: (especifique)________________________

11a Han cambiado sus expectativas sobre la vida en los Estados Unidos desde que usted esta aqui? SI/NO

(Si no, vaya a la pregunta 11c)

11b Si su respuesta es si, como han cambiado?

____
____
____

11c Tiene planes de regresar permanentemente a su pais de origen? SI/NO

12. Cual es el mayor problema o la lucha mas dura que usted enfrenta en su vida diaria en este pais?

(Entrevistadora: deje completamente libre esta respuesta)

____
____
____
____
____
____
____
____
____
____

Gracias por el tiempo que se ha tomado para contestar estas preguntas. Su participacion ha aportado informacion sobre las necesidades y luchas de la mujer indocumentada. Pensamos usar esta informacion para influenciar politicas que lleven mas servicios al alcance de los indocumentados. Si usted siente que le gustaria hablar mas sobre los temas que tocamos este dia, aqui hay una lista de lugares donde puede ir por asistencia o ayuda. Aun cuando usted esta indocumentada por el momento, usted tiene el derecho de buscar ayuda para usted y su familia a traves de las organizaciones comunitarias. Aqui esta una tarjeta de "Conoce tus Derechos." Esta tarjeta contiene informacion de los derechos legales que usted tiene en caso de que la arresten. Por favor, llevela con usted y recuerde llamar a la linea de asistencia para el imigrante, telefono 554-2444, si necesita mas ayuda.

Informed Consent Form

The purpose of this study is to gain first-hand information from undocumented immigrant and refugee women like yourself, about the kinds of social services you use, the bariers or problems you find with existing services and what kinds of services would better meet your needs. This project is being sponsored by the Immigrant Women's Task Force of the Coalition for Immigrant and Refugee Rights and Services, funded in part by the Women's Foundation of Northern California. Information gathered in this study will be used to educate service providers, communities, and policy makers about the unique experiences and needs of undocumented women.

We estimate that this interview will take approximately one hour to complete. In order to compensate you for your time, we will pay you $10. This is a one-time-only interview. You will not be contacted in the future for any further research purposes.

In order to protect your confidentiality, your name will not be used on your survey. All surveys will be coded by number. All information you share with your interviewer is strictly confidential. If you have questions about the study, would like more information or a copy of the report when completed, contact the Coalition at 626-2360, or Dr. Felix Rivera at San Francisco State University, who is supervising this project, at 338-1005. You will also be given a "Know Your Rights Card" and an emergency resource card, whether or not you decide to participate in this study.

I understand that I will not experience any loss of social services or benefits, including the $10 for my voluntary participation in this study, should I decide to terminate my participation during the course of the interview. I understand that I may terminate my participation at any time.

I, the undersigned, participant in this research project, assert by writing my initials that I have read this or it has been read to me and I fully understand its meaning.

____

(initials)

____

(Date)

Interviewer ______________________________

For Office Use Only
Questionaire number__________

Needs Assessment Survey of Undocumented Women
Interview Schedule

Section 1 Demographic Information:

1. *What city do you currently live in?* ______________

2. *What is your country of origin?* ______________

3. *What is your age?:*

(Interviewer: show list of age ranges to participant and allow her to circle range)

1. 18-20	9. 42-44	17. 66-68
2. 21-23	10. 45-47	18. 69-71
3. 24-26	11. 48-50	19. 72-74
4. 27-29	12. 51-53	20. 75-77
5. 30-32	13. 54-56	21. 78-80
6. 33-35	14. 57-59	22. 81-83
7. 36-38	15. 60-62	23. 84-86
8. 39-41	16. 63-65	24. 87-89

4. *What is your current marital status?*

(Interviewer: please read & check one)

1. Single
2. Married
3. Separated
4. Divorced
5. Living Together
6. Widowed

5a *How many children do you have ?* __________

(If none, skip to question 7)

5b *How many of your children were born in the U.S.?* __________

5c *How many of your children were born in your country of origin ?* __________

6a *Are any of your children living outside the U.S.?* YES/NO

(if no, skip to question 7)

6b *Do you have children under 16 outside the U.S.?* YES/NO

7. *How many years have you been in the U.S.?* ___________

8. *How much English do you speak?*

(interviewer read & check one)

1. None
2. Basic
3. Intermediate
4. Advanced

9. *How many years have you attended school? (formal education)*

(Interviewer: read the list & check one)

1. 0
2. 1-4
3. 5-8
4. 9-12
5. High School Graduate
6. Some College/Technical School
7. College Graduate
8. Masters Degree
9. Doctorate

10a *Have you applied for amnesty or any legalization program?* YES/NO

(If yes, skip to question 11)

10b *What were your reasons for not applying?* ___________

____

____

____

11. *Do you have other family here?* YES/NO

12. *How many people does your income or you & your spouse's / partner's income support ?* ___________

13. *How many people live in your house with you?* ___________

14. *Do you feel that your current home is too crowded?* YES/NO

15a *Did anyone in your family legalize under amnesty or some other legalization remedy?* YES/NO

(if no, skip to question 17)

15b *Please specify what program they legalized under*

____

15c *If yes to above, was it your husband or children?* ___________

(skip to section 2 if respondent is unmarried)

16. *What is the immigration status of your spouse?*

(Interviewer, please show the list to respondent)

1. undocumented
2. temporary conditional resident
3. citizen
4. permanent resident
5. provisional permanent resident
6. temporary resident
7. SAW (Special Agricultural Worker)
8. legal refugee/political Asylum
9. student
10. business/ work visa
11. tourist
12. unknown

17a *Has your spouse petitioned for you?* YES/NO

(If no, skip to section 2)

17b *Has dependency on your spouse for legalization been a problem?* YES/NO

(If no skip to section 2)

17c *Please comment:* ______________________________
____

Section 2

(Interviewer: Questions 1 - 3c Apply only to most recent trip accross the border)

1a *What were the reasons that you came to the United States ?*

(please read the list to respondent, they can select more than one reason)

1. Political Repression
2. To improve Economic Condition
3. Family Reunification
4. To Attend School

Other (please specify)______________________________

1b *Please explain about your decision to leave your country*
____
____
____

2a *What kind of transportation did you use to get to the U.S.?*

(Please show the list to respondent, they should check all transportation used)

1. Airplane
2. Bus
3. Train
4. Van/car
5. Swimming
6. Walking
7. Boat

Other (Please specify) ________________________________

2b *What countries did you pass through to get to the U.S.?*

(Interviewer: Do not include countries passed only in airplane.)

____

____

2c **INTERVIEWER, please put total number of countries respondent passed through to get to the U.S. ______ (not inluding by air)**

3a *Did you come with any family or friends?*

(Interviewer: Please show list to respondent)

Did you come:

1. Alone
2. With husband
3. With husband and all of your children
4. With husband and some of your children
5. With all of your children
6. With some of your children
7. Sister
8. Brother
9. Other relative
10. Friend

Other (Please specify) ________________________________

3b *Along the way or at the border, did you experience any of the following?*

(interviewer read & check all appropriate responses)

1. Robbery
2. Bribery
3. Violence
4. Sexual abuse
5. None

Any other problems that you experienced
(specify)________________________________

____

____

3c *Please explain what happened to you at the border:*

____

____

____

4a *How many months did it take for you to find your first job when you came to the U.S.?*

____

4b *Who helped you find that job?*

(Interviewer please read to respondent and check one response)

1. Family Member
2. Friend
3. Church/Temple organization
4. Social Service Agency
5. Self

Other (please specify) ______________________

4c *Are you currently working?* **YES/NO**

(if no, skip to question 4k)

4d *What is your current job?* ______________________

4e *Is your current job:*

1. Full Time
2. Part Time

4f *On the average, how much do you earn each month?*

(Interviewer: read list below and ask respondent to tell you to stop when you get to her income & check one category. If woman cannot estimate her monthly income, please indicate amount per hour, hours worked per week, and weeks worked per month for net (take home) income.

1. 0-$250
2. $251-$500
3. $501-$750
4. $751-$1,000
5. $1,001-$1,250
6. $1,251-$1,500
7. $1,501-$1,750
8. $1,751-$2,000
9. $2,001-$2,250
10. $2,251-$2,750

(If respondent does not know monthly income, fill out the following)

Hours worked per week______ Amount per hour ________Weeks per month________

4g *Do you feel you have suffered any abuse or discrimination at your job because of your immigration status?* YES/NO

(If no, skip to question 4i)

4h *Please describe:*____

____

____

4i *Did you work outside the home in your country of origin?* YES/NO

(If no, skip to question 4k)

4j *What kind of work did you do in your country of origin?*

____

(Do not ask 4k if respondent currently has a job)

4k *If you are not working, how are you supporting yourself? Please explain*

____

____

5a *In 1986, changes in the immigration law made it illegal for employers to hire people without work permits. Has this new law affected your ability to find work?*

YES/NO

(if no, skip to 6a)

5b *If yes, how has this law affected your ability to find work?*

____

____

____

6a *We are interested to know what kinds of services/help you have used and continue to need for you and your family. Can you name three places or agencies that you have been to for services or help for you and your family since you have been here?*

(Interviewer: if respondent indicates name of an agency, please put the "type" of service next to it)

6a1.____________________________
6a2.____________________________
6a3.____________________________

6b *Have you had difficulty obtaining services or help?*

1. Yes
2. No
3. Never Looked for Services or help in the U.S.

(interviewer, even if respondent answered "no", or "never looked for services" to above question, ask question 6c.)

6c *I am going to read a list of problems you may have faced in seeking services or help. Please tell me which ones, if any, you have experienced.*

(Interviewer: please read list below and check all appropriate responses)

1. I didn't know the service/help existed
2. Too expensive
3. I felt afraid to contact them
4. hard to get there - transportation
5. Did not speak my language
6. Worker did not understand my situation
7. Did not treat me with respect
8. Feared it would affect my legalization/amnesty

other (specify) ______________________________

7. *We are interested in the services that you identify as especially useful for you and your family. This includes services or help you would like to have now or would have liked to have had at some point since you have been in the U.S. Please read the list I am going to give you carefully, and think about which of these are the most important services for you and your family. After you have read the list, please check the five that you feel are especially important.*

(Interviewer: give services list to respondent. If she does not read, please read the list to her, and allow time for her to identify the five most important services.)

PLEASE SELECT ONLY <u>FIVE</u>

1. Housing assistance
2. Employment placement assistance
3. Employment training
4. Childcare
5. Youth support services
6. Medical
7. Health insurance
8. Pre-natal/reproductive healthcare
9. Emergency services -- 911
10. Immigration assistance
11. Legal assistance
12. Food
13. Clothing
14. Family planning services
15. Individual Counseling
16. Marriage counseling
17. Other family counseling
18. Church/religious organizations
19. Alcohol/drug programs
20. Women's shelter
21. Child abuse services
22. English as a second language courses
23. Community College
24. State university
25. Assistance with PGE/Telephone
26. Transportation
27. Public benefits such as:
    - unemployment insurance
    - medi-cal
    - welfare
    - foodstamps

other______________________________

other______________________________

other______________________________

8a *Many immigrants report that at times they are fearful of deportation. Have you ever been afraid of being deported?* YES/NO

(If no, skip to question 8d)

8b *Has fear of deportation ever kept you from seeking services or help for you or your family?* YES/NO

(If no, skip to question 8d)

8c *IF YES, in what ways?*

____
____
____

8d *Do you feel that you know what your legal rights are if you were to be arrested?* YES/NO

9a *Do you feel that leaving your country and coming to the United States has increased pressures on family members?* YES/NO

(If no, skip to question 10a)

9b *Have these changes caused any kind of difficulties or problems in relationships within your family?* YES/NO

(If no, skip to question 10a)

9c *If yes, please explain:*

____
____
____

10a *As we explained earlier -- this project seeks to identify social service needs of undocumented women like yourself. Another goal is to inform each participant about her right to use what services do exist. One type of service that women may need is a place to seek refuge from violence in the home. Many women are afraid to seek refuge from a shelter, especially if they do not know where they are or even if they exist. We think this is a subject worth talking about to <u>all</u> women, even though it is difficult. We would like to know if you have ever experienced violence in the home. Have you ever been:*

(Interviewer: read list and check all appropriate responses)

1. threatened
2. pushed
3. hit
4. locked in your house
5. physically injured in any way
6. None of the Above

(If answer to this question is none of the above, skip to question10h)

10b *If with the same spouse or partner in both countries, did this happen:*

1. Only in your country of origin
2. Only in U.S.
3. In both countries
4. Was not with same spouse/partner in both countries

(Interviewer: If respondent answered 1 or 2, skip to question 10e)

10c *If this happened in both countries, has the level and/or frequency of violence increased since you have come to the U.S.?* *YES/NO*

10d *Please explain:*

____
____
____

10e *We are aware that this is a difficult issue, that many women never talk about. Did you ever talk about this with::*

(interviewer: read list and check "yes" responses)

1. Family Members
2. Friends
3. Church/Temple
4. Doctor or Nurse
5. Women's Shelter
6. Other Women's Program
7. Police
8. Social Worker
9. Teacher
10. Never Talked About It

Other (Please Specify) ______________________

(Interviewer: If response to above was "never talked about it", skip to question 10g)

10f *What was the result of talking about it?*

____
____

10g *Are you still with the spouse/partner who abused you?* YES/NO

10h *In general, who do you talk to when you have problems?*

1. Family Members
2. Friends
3. Church/Temple
4. Doctor/Nurse
5. Social Worker
6. Teacher
7. No-one

Other (Please Specify) __________________________

11a *Have your expectations about life in the U.S. changed since you have been in the U.S.?* YES/NO

(Interviewer: If no, skip to question 11c)

11b *If yes: how have they changed?*

____
____
____

11c *Do you plan to return permanently to your country of origin?* YES/NO

12. *What is the biggest problem or struggle you face in your daily life in the U.S.?*

(interviewer: leave completely open ended)

____
____
____
____
____
____
____
____
____
____
____
____

Thank you very much for your time in answering these questions. Your participation has added to our information about the needs and struggles of undocumented women, which we plan to use in influencing policy to make services for the undocumented more available. We know that many of these questions were sensitive ones. If you feel that you would like to talk more about some of the things we talked about today, here is a resource listing of places to go for help or assistance. Even though you are currently undocumented, you have the right to seek help for you and your family through community based organizations. Here is a "know your rights card". This informs you of the legal rights you have in case you are apprehended. Please keep this with you, and remember to call the immigrant assistance line 554-2444 for further assistance.

*************end***********************end*****************

Appendices

3A - 3E

COALITION FOR IMMIGRANT AND REFUGEE RIGHTS AND SERVICES

2111 Mission Street, Room 401 • San Francisco, California 94110 • (415) 626-2360

December, 1989

Dear Friends,

Thank you for your interest in "*A Needs Assessment of Immigrant and Refugee Women*", which will be conducted through the Immigrant Women's Task force of CIRRS.

The Immigrant Women's Task Force formed in the Fall of 1988, to create a multidisciplinary response to the needs of immigrant and refugee women. Participants in the task force represent a wide-range of service providers and advocates, including women's rights, immigration, and family law, domestic violence, and community based employment alternatives. The information we will gain from this study will provide the Task Force with essential information about the needs of immigrant and refugee women. This information will assist us in refining our activities and objectives.

The goals of this project are:

- To raise awareness about the needs (social service and community support) and circumstances of undocumented women. This study will focus on Filipina, Chinese and Latina women in Alameda, San Francisco and San Mateo Counties.

- The Identification of barriers that immigrant and refugee women face in seeking services, as well as gaps in services.

- To provide service providers and funding sources with critical information that can be used in allocating scarce resources.

- To gather data on undocumented women as a vehicle to provide communities with information that can be used to organize to better meet the needs on undocumented women.

Enclosed is a more detailed description of the research project, and information about the Coalition for Immigrant and Refugee Rights and Services.

Thank you again for your interest in this project. With your help, this can make a significant contribution to our knowledge about the needs of immigrant and refugee women, a marginalized and underserved population. Please complete the attached response form to let us know how you can help. We look forward to working with you.

Sincerely,

Chris Hogeland
Research Co-Coordinator

Karen Rosen
Research Co-Coordinator

P.S. Please fill out the attached tear off and let us know how we can work together.

Yes, I want to help with the Project.
Name______________________________
Address____________________________
City______________State________Zip_______
Phone (   )______________
❒ Please call me, I would like more information.
❒ I am able to interview women for the survey.
❒ I am willing to be interviewed as a service provider.
❒ I suggest you contact the following people, who may be able to help with the project.

Name______________________________
Address____________________________
City______________State________Zip_______
Phone (   )______________

Name______________________________
Address____________________________
City______________State________Zip_______
Phone (   )______________

Please return to:

CIRRS
2111 Mission Street, Room 401
San Francisco, CA 94110
(415) 626-2360

SURVEY OF THE NEEDS OF IMMIGRANT WOMEN

We are proposing to carry out a comprehensive survey of immigrant women in the Bay Area. Our focus will be on undocumented women, as this is a growing and neglected population, and the group of persons, numbering **several hundred thousand** in the Bay Area alone, most harshly affected by the new immigration law. This is also a population about which little is known, and much is assumed. We can speculate about who they are, where they live, what their greatest needs and fears and desires are, but we do not have the data to back that up, or to make us feel sufficiently confident that our proposed response to these perceived needs, is as a result of what we have learned directly from them, rather than from the service providers or community advocates who always tend to "speak for them".

Many researchers have already raised the specter of a permanent underclass created as a result of the "fallout" of IRCA. We can already see evidence of this in our communities. More and more women and children are traveling to the US on their own, without legal status, and are finding employment hard to come by since the implementation of sanctions. Facing increased physical and legal threats by authorities both at the border and inside the US and greater economic hardship, this community has become increasingly poor and marginalized. And, while some researchers at prestigious institutes are studying the impact of IRCA on those who did not qualify, no one, to our knowledge, is focusing specifically on women, who do face many different obstacles.

We are proposing to do face-to-face interviews with 360 undocumented women in San Francisco, Alameda, and San Mateo Counties. Until we have gathered more demographic information we have not finally identified which ethnic groups we will focus on. As a result of preliminary discussions we have identified Latina women, Chinese and Filipina women as the focus groups.

We will rely on existing community groups/agencies (cooperatives, shelters, day care, health clinics) and other community networks (churches, schools) to reach the target population. We will be depending on our network of trusted persons who know that community well and speak their language (service providers, community leaders, health care workers) to both give us access to the participants, to help us gain their trust, to educate us about their cultural and emotional responses, and to actually administer the survey. In order to be able to compensate these individuals and the participants for their time and successfully carry out the survey, we have budgeted a small amount to be able to give something back, rather than simply take from the community.

we are interested in learning more than simply numbers (although a thorough estimated demographic review will be compiled) or service needs. We want to understand what are the obstacles, perceived or real, to services. How can services be more accessible, culturally and otherwise? Where are the sources of support and trust in the community, formal or informal? Why did they come here? What have they found? What are the needs and experiences of their children? What kind of abuse did they face at the border? Do they trust the police and other law enforcement or public officials to report crimes or other violations of their physical and legal rights? What are their sources of happiness or despair, and what is the role of whom to respond to this? Their prioritization of service needs, (health care, child care, employment, mental health, domestic violence, legal service, ESL, etc.) will also be a very useful guide to providers and funders about the best way to allocate sparce resources.

The study is scheduled to begin immediately, to be completed by May 1990.

COALITION FOR IMMIGRANT AND REFUGEE RIGHTS AND SERVICES
2111 Mission Street, Room 401 • San Francisco, California 94110 • (415) 626-2360

INTERVIEWER TRAINING FOR IMMIGRANT AND REFUGEE WOMEN'S NEEDS ASSESSMENT PROJECT

February 14th
12 noon - 1:30pm
Coalition for Immigrant and Refugee Rights and Services
2111 Mission Street, 4th floor, #401
(Enter on 17th Street at Gentle Winds Futon).
San Francisco

For directions call: 626-2360

February 15th
12 noon - 1:30pm
Spanish Speaking Unity Council
2nd Floor Conference Room
1900 Fruitvale
Oakland

For directions call: 534-7764

February 16th
12 noon - 1:30pm
Catholic Charities
Adult Day Care Center, Room A
600 Columbia Drive
San Mateo

For directions call: 579-0277

We will provide beverages and snacks at the trainings

• If you are unable to attend any of the trainings, please give one of us a call. •

COALITION FOR IMMIGRANT AND REFUGEE RIGHTS AND SERVICES

2111 Mission Street, Room 401 • San Francisco, California 94110 • (415) 626-2360

February 1, 1990

Dear Friends,

Thank you for your support for our project *" A Needs Assessment of Immigrant and Refugee Women"*. We are very happy with all of the community support and input we have received so far. With all of your help, this study will be provide us with new and valuable information, that will help us organize as communities and social service providers to better meet the needs of undocumented women.

So...Yes we are really getting started!!!!

We would like to invite you to a training session for project interviewers. At the training we will answer any questions you have about the study, as well as go over how to administer the questionnaire, so that all of us are asking the questions the same way.

As we have discussed, we estimate that each interview will take approximately one hour. Some may take a little more and some a little less. You will be paid $10 per interview you do, and we will be providing you $10 in cash to give to each women you interview. At the meeting we will provide you with an invoice to bill the Coalition for your time.

We want to conduct the interviews in a three week period of time, from February 15th- March 7th. We hope with this advance notice, you will be able to begin to schedule your time for the interviews and begin to contact women you plan to interview.

We would appreciate it if you come to the meeting with an estimate of how many interviews you will be able to do in this time period. This will assist us in projecting the total number of women we will interview, as well as our budget.

Once again, thank you all for your interest in the project, and for your time. We know that all of you are busy people who are working on this project because of your commitment to improve the quality of life for ALL immigrants and refugees.

We look forward to meeting you soon, and please call us with any questions.

Sincerely,

Chris Hogeland
Research Co-Coordinator

Karen Rosen
Research Co-Coordinator

P.S. If you have any friends that are interested in being interviewers, please have them call us, and invite then to the training.

COALITION FOR IMMIGRANT AND REFUGEE RIGHTS AND SERVICES

2111 Mission Street, Room 401 • San Francisco, California 94110 • (415) 626-2360

19, Febrero, 1990

Estimadas Compañeras,

Aqui estan las encuestas en Español. Tambien tenemos las tarjetas de recursos para mujeres.

Ya, terminamos con todas los entrenamientos. ¡Estimamos que vamos a tener mas de 400 entrevistas en la comunidad Latina! No podemos hacer este estudio sin la participacion de ustedes.

Queremos acordarles que vamos hacer la encuesta en las tres semanas que vienen. Entonces, el ultima dia para terminar con las encuestas es el **12 de Marzo.**

Vamos a llamarle antes de este dia para ver como va su trabajo con la encuesta y hacer una tiempo para recojer en persona las encuestas. Por favor, no nos mande las encuestas por correo. ¡Tenemos miedo a perdirlas en el correo!

Por favor que nos llama si necesita mas copias de la encuesta, mas dinero para las entrevistadas, o tiene problemas o preguntas sobre el estudio.

Buena suerte y gracias para su ayuda en este proyecto. Esperamos hablar con usted pronto.

Sinceramente,

Chris
Chris Hogeland
621-1929 (w)

Karen Rosen
664-7176 (h)

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Appendices

1A - 1E

Media List used for Distribution of Chinese Press Release

MAILING LIST

Sing Tao Newspaper
625 Kearny Street
San Francisco 94108

OCTV
844 Folsom Street, Suite 202
San Francisco 94107

KPST
475 El Camino Real, Suite 308
Millbrae 94030

Chinese Television
2 Waverly Place
San Francisco 94108

KTSF
100 Valley Drive
Brisbane 94005-1350

TV Daily News
546 Kearny Street
San Francisco 94108

Chinese TV Guide
811 Sacramento Street
San Francisco 94108

Sino Broadcasting Corp.
137 Waverly Place, 2nd Floor
San Francisco 94108

The Young China Daily
49-51 Hang Ah Street
San Francisco 94108

The Newcomer News
775A Commercial Street
San Francisco 94108

Chinese Times
686 Sacramento Street
San Francisco 94111

China News
821 Sacramento Street
San Francisco 94108

World Journal
231 Adrian Road
Millbrae 94030

International Daily News
721 Commercial Street
San Francisco 94108

Translation of Chinese Press Release

3-17-20

"Since 1862, a worldwide association of women committed to the empowerment of all women and the elimination of racism wherever it exists"

(本刊訊)

華埠女青年会协助移民及難民权利与服务联盟蒲埠女青年進行的「無居留身份婦女问卷研究」訂於三月廿四日結束。此項活動在西班牙語区反應良好；華人婦女響應者較少。女青年会表示，該項问卷纯係為無居留身份婦女爭取权益，該会保証絕無身份曝光问题，籲請華人婦女支持。並電(415)397-6883女青年会，個别约定填表時间。該会備有通華語工作人员协助填问卷，費時約一小時，並有車馬費補充津貼。

女青年会向来热心爭取婦女权益，此问卷将反映出無身份婦女面对的困难问题，以利爭取移民立法改進及作為移民及難民权利服务联盟擬訂服务计劃及劃撥经费的依據。

又，該会每月的初一和初三个星期四晚五點半至七點半，有為低收入者提供的免費移民律师諮詢及填表服务。

CHINATOWN / NORTH BEA
COMPLEX
965 Clay Street
San Francisco, CA 94108
(415) 397-6883

ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICES
620 Sutter Street
San Francisco, CA 94102
(415) 775-6502

MARIN COUNTY CENTER
1000 Sir Francis Drake Blvd
San Anselmo, CA 94960
(415) 456-0782

SAN MATEO COUNTY CEN
191 School Street
Daly City, CA 94014
(415) 756-3877

WESTERN ADDITION CEN
1830 Sutter Street
San Francisco, CA 94115
(415) 921-3814

MISSION CENTER
1855 Folsom Street
San Francisco, CA 94103
(415) 552-6790

MISSION GIRLS' SERVICES
Mission Education Center
2641 25th Street
San Francisco, CA 94110
(415) 648-2826

Mabel Jung
President

Affiliated with YWCA Apartn

First Chinese Press Release

January 29, 1990

CONTACT: Isabel Huie
415-673-5509
415-982-0801

RUN IMMEDIATELY

Survey To Help Undocumented Women

The Coalition For Immigrant and Refugee Rights & Services and Isabel Huie, Outreach Coordinator for the Coalition, have asked Ms. Teresa Wu, Center Director of the Chinatown Y.W.C.A, to assist in conducting a survey to determine what services are needed by undocumented women and the problems they face because of their non-status.

The information from this survey will help the Coalition to introduce legislations that will improve the welfare of undocumented women, will help service providers to plan programs accordingly to meet specific needs and will provide funding sources with critical information that can be used in allocating funds to community based organizations.

All undocumented women are welcome to participate in this survey at the Y.W.C.A., 965 Clay Street where they will be given a list of questions to answer. Bilingual interviewers will be available to assist with the questionnaire.

All the information received is kept confidential by the Coalition and is not given to the Immigration Department.

Since this questionnaire may take about an hour to answer, the Coalition For Immigrant & Refugee Rights & Services will pay each undocumented woman $10.00 to participate in this survey.

The survey will be conducted on February 22, March 1, 8, 15 and 22 (third Thursdays of the month) from 5:00 to 8:00 p. m. Please call the Y.W.C.A., 397-6883, to confirm your attendance so that interviewers can be scheduled to provide assistance. If you are unable to attend any one of these sessions, you may make individual appointments at your convenience with our staff.

In addition to this survey, the Y.W.C.A. also conducts an Immigration Clinic on the first and third Thursday of the month from 5:30 to 7:30 p.m. Volunteer attorneys are available to answer questions and to provide current information on immigration.

If there are any other questions, you may call the Immigrant Assistance Line: 415-554-2444 or Isabel Huie at Chinese For Affirmative Action, 982-0801.

世界日報 金山僑聞

中華民國七十九年三月二十二日 星期四

黨協會召開大會 議員連任兩屆為限

[illegible]

女青年會協辦 婦女問卷調查

【本報舊金山訊】華埠女青年會協助華民及移民權利與服務聯盟進行的「無居留身份婦女問卷研究」……

亞洲婦女服務中心 各項課程下月開課

【本報舊金山訊】亞洲婦女服務中心舉辦的各項課程將分別於四月份開課：

、實用英語班：四月九日開課，課程分為四級，由ESL 50—400程度，內容注重日常會話為主，學生除上課時間外，並有多位義務老師負責為學生分組輔導。中心另備有錄音帶及錄影帶供中心學生練習聽和講之用，使能克服語言上的障礙及適應新環境。該班為期十週（四月九日至六月十六日）費用十元。另中心於星期六上午九點半至十一點設有高級英語會話班，為在職人士提供進修英語的機會。

、國語會話班：四月七日開課，由經驗豐富的張余煜珠女士任教，該班上課時間為星期六上午十點半至中午十二點上課。

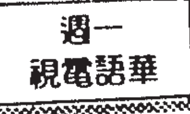
、粵語會話班：四月七日開課，由張大明老師義務任教，課程純粹為講國語人士而設，內容為常用會話及普通成語，一期十週（四月七日至六月九日），費用二十元，逢星期六上午十一點半至中午十二點上課。

有意參加上述課程者請預早報名，上課地點於華盛頓街九四〇號，並請電：八一·〇〇八查詢。

中華文化院華文學校 演講比賽名次揭曉

【本報舊金山訊】中華文化院華文學校，為紀念中華民國國父孫中山先生逝世六十五週年，舉行全校分組演講比賽。

[illegible]



週一 華語電視

太視連續劇播「一門英烈穆桂」

華視新推出國語連續劇「今」

海視國語連續劇播「春去」

△太平洋電視（六十六台）：周一至周日晚八時至八時半，播映太視國際新聞及「中華民國中視新聞」……

[illegible]

中國晨報 中華民國七十九年二月二十日(星期二)

Press Release as it appeared in Newspaper

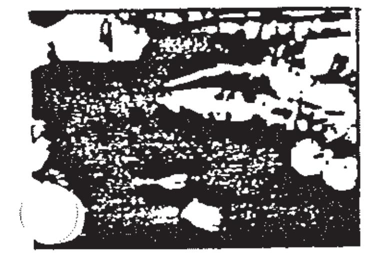
黃仁俊公畢返美 會特設茶會洗塵

協助無身分婦女 女青會問卷調查

新僑中心免費服務 為低收入戶填稅表

第四衛生局 辦孕婦講座

今年春宴 盛長者咸集



金山新聞

Appendices

2A - 2C

同意書

這項調查的目的，是希望從一些像你一樣，有移民或難民背景的婦女，獲得與以下有關的第
一手資料： 你所用的社會服務是甚麼，有甚麼阻礙或問題，以及甚麼樣的服務更能切合你
的需要． 這個計劃，由移民及難民權利及服務聯盟贊助；部份經費，由北加州婦女基金會
支持． 所得資料，將用以教育社會服務機構，不同社區及立法者，俾便他們明白無身份的
婦女的獨有經驗和需要．

我們估計，這個訪問需時約一小時． 為了補償你的時間，我們致酬十元． 訪問是一次過的
我們不會因為要作更進一步的研究，將來再麻煩你．

為了保障受訪人，我們不會在問卷上記上你的名字． 問卷將以號碼，而不是用接受訪問的
婦女的名字作記． 如果你接受了訪問，事後有問題，或者需要知道更多的資料，又或者
想要一份報告，你可以聯絡移民及難民聯盟，電話 626-2360． 你也可以聯絡三藩市州立大
學的利維拉博士 (DR. FELIX RIVERA) (電話 338-1885)． 他是負責監督這個研究計劃的．
聯盟的電話，也見於 "知道你的權利" 的卡片上． 無論你參不參加這個研究，我們都給你
一張卡片．

我知道，如果中途我改變主意，我不會喪失任何社會福利或服務，包括參加這次研究的十元
報酬． 我知道，我有權隨時停止參與．

我，下面簽名者，參與這個研究，謹簽上英文名字的頭一個字母， 証實有人解釋或讀過上
面的聲明給我知道，而我完全明白聲明的意義．

____

簽名者英文姓名頭一個字母

____

日期

訪問員: ______________________________

下面問卷號碼，由辦事處職員負責填寫
問卷號碼 ______________

無証件的移民婦女所需要服務評估

訪問卷

I. 人口統計資料:

1. 你現在住在那個城市? ______________________________

2. 你來自那一個國家? ______________________________

3. 你的年紀? (訪員: 讀出示受訪人下列年齡類別，由受訪人自己圈定)

1. 18-20
2. 21-23
3. 24-26
4. 27-29
5. 30-32
6. 33-35
7. 36-38
8. 39-41
9. 42-44
10. 45-47
11. 48-50
12. 51-53
13. 54-56
14. 57-59
15. 60-62
16. 63-65
17. 66-68
18. 69-71
19. 72-74
20. 75-77
21. 78-80
22. 81-83
23. 84-86
24. 87-89

4. 你現在的婚姻狀況? (訪員: 請讀出下列各項，并圈出一項)

1. 獨身 2. 已婚 3. 分居 4. 離婚 5. 同居 6. 寡婦

... 你有多少個子女? ________

(如果沒有，請問第 7 題)

5b. 在美出生的子女數目? ________

5c. 在原居國出生的子女數目? ________

6a. 有沒有子女在美國國外居住? 有/沒有

(如果沒有，請問第 7 題)

6b. 有沒有子女年齡是十六歲以下在美國國外居住? ________

7. 你在美國已經有多少年了? ________

8. 你講英文的能力怎樣? (訪員請讀出并圈出一項)

1. 不懂　2. 基本　3. 尚佳　4. 很好

9. 你在學校受教育有多少年? (指正規教育)

1. 0
2. 1-4
3. 5-8
4. 9-12
5. 高中畢業
6. 大專/技術學校肄業
7. 大學畢業
8. 碩士學位
9. 博士學位

10. 你有沒有曾經申請大赦或其他合法化的計劃？ 有/沒有

(如果有，問第. 11 條)

10b. 不申請的理由是甚麼呢？ ______________________________
____
____

11. 你有沒有其他家人在這裏？ 有/沒有

12. 你或你與配偶/同伴的收入要養活多少人呢？ __________

13. 你的家人，有多少人和你住在一起？ ________

14. 你認為你家裏現在，是否太多人住在一起，太擠擁呢？ 是/不是

15a. 你家中有沒有人因大赦或因其他合法化的途徑而成為合法居民呢？ 有/沒有

(如果沒有，問第 17 條)

15b. 如果有，請說明途徑 ______________________________

15c. 如果上述是有，是不是你的丈夫，或是子女呢？ ________

(如果受訪者未婚，請問第 11 部份)

16. 你的配偶的移民狀況怎樣？(訪員請出示下列各項與受訪人看)

1. 沒有文件
2. 臨時居民，有條件所限
3. 公民
4. 永久居民
5. 臨時永久居民

6. 臨時居民
7. SAW（特別農工）
8. 合法難民
9. 學生
10. 商業/工作簽証
11. 遊客
12. 不知道

17a. 你的配偶有沒有申請你來美呢？ 有/沒有

（如果沒有，問第 11 部份）

17b. 有沒有甚麼問題呢？ 有/沒有

（如果沒有，問第 11 部份）

17c. 請說明 ____

____

____

II. 自由問答

（訪問員： 第 1-3c 題，只限最近一次入境的資料）

1a. 你來美國的理由是甚麼呢？

（請讀出各項，受訪人可選多過一項）

1. 政治壓制
2. 改善經濟狀況
3. 家庭團聚
4. 入學讀書

其他理由（請說明）________________________________

1b. 請說說你要離開你的國家的決定

____

____

2a. 你是用甚麼交通工具來美呢？

（請出示下列各項，受訪人應選出所有曾經用過的交通工具）

1. 飛機
2. 巴士
3. 火車
4. 小巴/汽車
5. 游泳
6. 行走
7. 船
8. 其他（請說明）________________________________

2b. 你經過那幾個國家進入美國呢？

(訪員：不包括飛機飛過的國家)

____

____

2c. 訪員：請寫下受訪人經過的國家數目 ________ (乘機所經國家不包括在內)

3a. 你有與家人或朋友一同來嗎？

(訪問者請讀出下列各項并圈出一項)

你是：

1. 自己來
2. 與丈夫來
3. 與丈夫及所有的子女一同來
4. 與丈夫及部份子女一同來
5. 與所有的子女一同來
6. 與部份子女一同來
7. 與姊妹同來
8. 與兄弟同來
9. 其他親戚
10. 朋友

其他（請說明）______________________________

3b. 在途中或在邊界的時候，有沒有以下的經歷呢？

(訪員請讀出下列各項，并圈上所有適合的項目)

1. 賄賂
2. 搶劫
3. 暴力
4. 性騷擾
5. 沒有

其他 (請說明) ______________________

____

____

3c. 請說在邊界發生甚麼事？

____

____

____

4a. 你花了多少時候才找到工作呢？

(訪員： 請用多少個月註明)

____

4b. 誰幫助你找到工作？

(訪員： 請讀出各項，圈上一項)

1. 家人
2. 朋友
3. 教會/廟宇
4. 社會服務機構
5. 自己

其他 (請說明) ______________________

1. 我不知道有服務或幫助
2. 太昂貴
3. 我怕去聯絡他們
4. 到那裏不方便 -- 交通困難
5. 他們不懂我說的語言
6. 那裏的人，不明白我的情況
7. 不尊重我
8. 恐怕於合法化/大赦有影響

其他（請說明） ______________________________

7. 我們有興趣知道甚麼樣的服務對你和你的家人最有幫助. 這包括你現在想有，或來美後曾經希望有的服務或幫助. 請細讀下列的服務，看看那些對你和你的家人最有幫助，然後圈上五項你認為最重要的.

（訪問員： 請將服務名單交給受訪問者. 如果她不能閱讀，請讀出，并給她方間選出最重要的五項）.

請圈出五項

1. 房屋
2. 就業
3. 就業培訓
4. 托兒
5. 青少年輔導
6. 醫藥
7. 健康保險
8. 產前產後健康護理
9. 緊急服務 -- 911
10. 移民服務
11. 法律援助
12. 食物
13. 衣物
14. 家庭計劃
15. 個人諮詢
16. 婚姻諮詢
17. 其他家庭項目諮詢
18. 教會/宗教團體
19. 戒酒戒藥物計劃
20. 婦女庇護中心
21. 受虐兒童服務
22. 英語班
23. 社區學院成人教育
24. 州立大學
25. 傳譯/電話協助
26. 交通
27. 公共福利，例如：
    失業保險
    政府醫療保險
    福利
    糧食券

其他 ____________________

其他 ____________________

其他 ____________________

8a. 很多移民說他們常常害怕會被勒令出境．你有沒有曾經害怕呢？ 有/沒有

(如果沒有，問 8d)

8b. 曾否因為害怕被勒令出境，使你不敢尋求服務或幫助呢？ 有/沒有

(如果沒有，問 8d)

8c. 如果有，請說明

____

____

____

8d. 你知不知道，如果你被逮捕，你的法律權利是甚麼呢？ 知/不知

9a. 離開你的國家來美，你自己有沒有感到，你和你的家人增加了壓力呢？
有/沒有

(如果沒有，問第 10a 條)

9b. 如果有，請解釋：

____

____

____

10a. 我們先前說，這個調查訪問的目的，是想知道好像你這樣沒有証件的婦女所需要的服務是甚麼．另外一個目的，是想告訴受訪人她的權利，有些甚麼的服務可用．其中一項服務，是有些婦女需要庇護的地方，以離開家庭，不受暴力的傷害．很多婦女卻怕尋求庇護，特別是她們不知道這些地方在那裏，或者甚至不知道有這些地方的存在．我們覺得值得同所有的婦女談談這個題目，雖然是困難的事．我們想知道，你在家裏有沒有遭遇過暴力對待？有沒有曾經：

(訪問員：請讀出下列各項，在答有的項目上圈記)

1. 被恐嚇
2. 被推
3. 被打
4. 被鎖在家裏
5. 身體被傷害
6. 都沒有

(如果答都沒有，問 10h 條)

10b. 在那裏發生：

1. 只在原居國
2. 只在美國
3. 兩地都有

(訪員： 如果答 1 或 2，問 10e 條)

10c. 如果兩地都有，暴力發生的次數，是否來美以後有增加呢？ 是/不是

10d. 請說明

____

____

____

10e. 我們知道這不是容易啟齒的事，很多婦女都忍隱不談。 你有沒有與人談過呢？

(訪問員： 請讀出下列答案，并圈上答是的項目)

1. 與家人談過
2. 與朋友
3. 與教會人士
4. 與醫生或護士
5. 婦女庇護中心

6. 其他歸支計劃
7. 警察
8. 社工
9. 教師
10. 從來沒有和別人談過
其他 ______________________________

10f. 交談後的結果怎樣？

____

____

10g. 你仍然和虐待你的配偶/同伴一起嗎？　是/不是

10h. 總括來說，你需要支持的時候，找誰人呢？

1. 家人
2. 朋友
3. 教會/廟宇
4. 醫生/護士
5. 社工
6. 教師
7. 沒有人
其他 ______________________________

11a. 你來美以後，對原來期望在美國的生活，有沒有改變呢？　有/沒有

(如果沒有，問第 11c 條)

11b. 如果有，是甚麼改變呢？

____

____

11c. 你有沒有計劃回到原居國呢？ 有/沒有

12. 總結來說，你面對的最大問題和掙扎是甚麼呢？

(訪問員： 讓受訪人盡情直說)

很多謝你花這麼多時間回答問題. 你的參與，使我們知道得更多沒有証件的婦女的需要和掙扎，幫助我們計劃，影響政策，為無証件的婦女爭取更多的服務. 我們知道，很多問題都很敏感. 如果你想多談一些我們今天所談的項目，這裏有一個名單，你可以去找尋幫助. 雖然你現在沒有証件，但你有權為你和你的家人，通過社區機構，得到幫助. 這是一張 "知道你的權利" 的卡片： 卡片告訴你，如果你被拘留，你有甚麼權利. 請保留卡片，如果需要甚麼幫助，記得打電話給移民熱線 (554-2444)

Consentimiento Informado

La intencion de este estudio es obtener informacion de primera mano de las mujeres inmigrantes y refugiadas, como usted, sobre el tipo de servicio social que usted usa, las barreras y problemas que encuentra en los servicios existentes y que tipo de servicio satisfaceria sus necesidades propias. Este proyecto esta auspiciado por la Coalicion para los Derechos y Servicios de los Imigrantes y Refugiados y financiado en parte por la Fundacion para la Mujer de California del Norte. La informacion que se recopile de este proyecto de investigacion se compartira con los proveedores de servicios sociales del Area de la Bahia con el objetivo de educar a las agencias sobre las necesidades especiales que usted defina como mujer inmigrante o refugiada.

Estimamos que esta entrevista tomara aproximadamente una hora de su tiempo. Para compensarla, nosotros podemos pagarle $10. Esta es una entrevista que se llevara a cabo una sola vez. No estableceremos contacto con usted en el futuro para ampliar la investigacion.

A fin de proteger su confidencialidad, no escribiremos su nombre en el cuestionario. Los cuestionarios seran numerados, sin el nombre del participante. Toda la informacion que usted comparta con la persona que la entreviste es estrictamente confidencial. Si despues de haber participado en este estudio, usted tiene preguntas sobre el, quiere informacion adicional o una copia del informe, llame a la Coalicion par los Derechos y Servicios de los Inmigrantes y Refugiados al telefono 626-2360. O usted puede comunicarse con el Doctor Felix Rivera, de la Universidad del Estado en San Francisco (San Francisco State University) al numero 338-1005, quien esta supervisando este proyecto. El numero de la Coalicion tambien esta listado en la tarjeta "Conoce tus Derechos", copia de la cual recibira participe o no en este estudio.

Entiendo que no perdere ningun beneficio ni servicio social, incluyendo los $10 dolares de compensacion por participar en este estudio, si decidiera no continuar con este proyecto durante el transcurso de la entrevista. Entiendo que puedo dar por terminada mi participacion en cualquier momento.

Yo, participante suscrita en el proyecto de investigacion "Un Estudio para Determinar las Necesidades de Servicios de la Mujer Indocumentada," certifico con mi firma que se me ha explicado o leido lo anterior y que comprendo a cabalidad su significado.

____

Iniciales del Participante

____

Fecha

Entrevistadora_______________________________

No Se llena Aqui Por Favor
Numero de Inquesta______________

Estudio Sobre los Necesidades de Mujeres sin Documentacion

Section 1. Informacion Demografica:

1. En que ciudad vive actualmente? ____________________

2. Cual es tu pais de origen? ____________________

3. Que edad tiene:

(Entrevistador: ensene la lista al participante y dejele senalar un grupo)

1. 18-20	9. 42-44	17. 66-68
2. 21-23	10. 45-47	18. 69-71
3. 24-26	11. 48-50	19. 72-74
4. 27-29	12. 51-53	20. 75-77
5. 30-32	13. 54-56	21. 78-80
6. 33-35	14. 57-59	22. 81-83
7. 36-38	15. 60-62	23. 84-86
8. 39-41	16. 63-65	24. 87-89

4. Qual es su estado civil actual? **(Entrevistadora: lea y marque uno)**

   1. Soltera
   2. Casada
   3. Separada
   4. Divorciada
   5. Unida/En Pareja
   6. Viuda

5a Cuantos hijos tiene usted? __________

(Si ninguno, vaya a la pregunta 7)

5b Cuantos de sus hijos han nacido en los Estados Unidos? __________

5c Cuantos de sus hijos han nacido en su pais de origen? __________

6a Esta alguno de sus hijos viviendo fuera de los Estados Unidos? SI/NO

(Si no, vaya a la pregunta 7)

6b Tiene algun hijo menor de 16 anos viviendo fuera de los Estados Unidos?

SI/NO

7. Cuantos anos ha estado usted en los Estados Unidos? ___________

8. Cual es el nivel de sus conocimientos de Ingles?

(Entrevistadora: lea y marque uno)

1. Ninguno
2. Basico
3. Intermedio
4. Avanzado

9. Cuantos anos ha asistido a la escuela? (educacion formal)

(Entervistadora: lea y marque uno)

1. 0
2. 1-4
3. 5-8
4. 9-12
5. Graduado de escuela secundaria (high school)
6. estudios en la universidad/tecnicos
7. Graduado universitario
8. Maestria
9. Doctorado

10a Aplico para legalizarse a traves de la amnistia o cualquier otro programa de legalizacion? SI/NO

(Si la respuesta es si, vaya a la pregunta 11)

10b Cuales fueron sus razones para no aplicar? ___________________________

____

____

____

11. Tiene familia en los Estados Unidos? SI/NO

12. Cuantas personas mantiene usted con su ingreso o el ingreso de usted y su esposo/companero? ___________

13. Cuantos personas viven en su casa con usted?_________

14. En su casa, siente usted que vive demasiada gente? SI/NO

15a Hay alguien en su casa que se haya legalizado a traves de la amnistia? SI/NO

(Si no, vaya a la pregunta 17)

15b Por favor especifique bajo que programa se legalizo:

____

15c. Si su respuesta a lo anterior es afirmativa, fue su esposa o sus hijos? __________

(Si no es casada, por favor vaya a la Seccion 2)

16. Cual es el estado migratorio de su esposo?

(Entrevistadora: ensene la lista a la participante y marque uno)

1. Indocumentado
2. Residente temporal condicionado
3. Ciudadano
4. Residente permanente
5. Residente permanente provisional
6. Residente temporal
7. SAW (Trabajador agricola especial)
8. Refugiado legal/Asilo politico
9. Estudiante
10. Visa de negocios/trabajo
11. Turista
12. Desconocido

17a. Ha solicitado su esposo la permanencia legal de usted en el pais? SI/NO

(Si la respuesta es no, vaya a la seccion 2)

17b. Ha sido un problema depender de su esposo para la legalizacion? SI/NO

(Si la respuesta es no, vaya a la seccion 2)

17c. Por favor, explique:

____
____
____

Seccion 2

(Entrevistadora: Las preguntas 1-3c son aplicables a la ultima vez que cruzo la frontera)

1a Cuales fueron las razones por las culaes emigro usted a los Estados Unidos?

(Por favor, lea la lista al participante, puede seleccionar mas de una razon)

1. Repression politica
2. Por mejorar su condicion economica
3. Para reunirse con su familia
4. Para asistir a la escuela

Por otros motivos, por favor especifique______________________

1 b Por favor explique la decision de dejar su pais:

____

____

____

2a Como llego usted a los Estados Unidos?

(Por favor ensene la lista alparticipante, puede marcar <u>todos</u> los **tipos de transportacion usados)**

1. Por avion
2. Bus
3. Tren
4. Camion/Van/Coche
5. Nadando
6. Caminando
7. En barco

De otra manera: (Por favor especifique) ____________________

2 b Que paises cruzo para llegar los Estados Unidos?

(Entrevistador: No incluya los paises que solo paso en avion)

____

____

2 c **ENTREVISTADOR: por favor escriba el numero total de paises que el entrevistado haya cruzado para llegar a los Estados Unidos______________ (sin incluir los paises que paso solo en avion)**

3 a Quien mas vino con usted?

(Entrevistador: Ensene la lista al participante)

Usted llego a este pais:

1. Sola
2. Con su esposo
3. Con su esposo y todos sus hijos
4. Con su esposo y algunos de sus hijos
5. Con todos sus hijos
6. Con algunos de sus hijos
7. Con su hermana
8. Con su hermano
9. Con otro pariente
10. Con algun amigo

Con otra persona: (Por favor, especifique) ________________

____

3b En el camino o en la frontera, experimento usted lo siguiente:

1. Robo
2. Soborno
3. Violencia
4. Abuso sexual
5. Ningun problema

Cualquier otro problema (especifique) ____________________

____

____

3c Por favor explique lo que le paso en la frontera:

____

____

____

4a Cuantos meses tardo en encontrar su **primer** trabajo cuando llego a los Estados Unidos: ____________________

4b Quien le ayudo a encontrar ese trabajo?

1. Un familiar
2. Amigo
3. Organizacion religosa/templo
4. Agencia de Servicio Social
5. Usted mismo

Otro (por favor, especifique) ____________________

4c Esta trabajando actualmente? **SI/NO**

(Si no, vaya a la la pregunta 4k)

4d En que trabaja? ____________________

4e Es su trabajo actual:

1. A tiempo completo
2. A tiempo parcial