

Highlander
Research and
Education
Center

Building Immigrant Leaders in the South: INDELI 2004-06



An Evaluation of the Institute for Immigrant
Leadership Development (INDELI)
2004-06

by Mónica Hernández
with Francisco Argüelles

Acknowledgements

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BUILDING IMMIGRANT LEADERS IN THE SOUTH: AN EVALUATION OF INDELI, 2004-06

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

From October 2004 to October 2006, the Highlander Research and Education Center (Highlander) implemented the Institute for Immigrant Leadership Development (Instituto para el Desarrollo del Liderazgo Inmigrante, or INDELI, in Spanish) to promote and support the effort of Latin@ immigrant organizing in the Southeast through leadership development, political education and strengthening immigrant led grassroots organizations. This report describes and evaluates INDELI, provides feedback from participants and offers some recommendations and best practices for those wishing to implement similar programs.

The Context

The immigrant community has increased rapidly in the Southeast over the last 15 to 20 years. Latinos are the largest group to migrate to the South because of the prevalence of low wage jobs and employers willing to hire undocumented workers in order to maximize profits. Forced to leave their countries of origin because of dire economic need and with few opportunities to migrate legally, these immigrant workers often accept wages that are lower than the minimum or prevailing wage, and are mostly afraid to demand higher wages and better working conditions. Employers take advantage of this to maximize their profits and to use divide and conquer tactics to pit immigrant workers against other poor people, so that they blame each other instead of focusing on the root causes of their poverty.

In addition to the economic context, two other factors are key to understanding the Southeast's response to immigrant newcomers: the September 11 attacks, which unleashed an intense wave of anti-immigrant sentiment, and the historical legacy of racism in the region, which had primarily viewed the issue of race through a black and white lens. Communities across the South were unprepared to receive these newcomers, lacking the infrastructure to provide basic services, and facing growing resentment from community members, who perceived the immigrants as a drain on already scarce jobs and services, and as lawbreakers, troublemakers and criminals. Politicians capitalized on this resentment by scapegoating immigrants for every imaginable social problem.

As migrant communities grew, organizations were established to address their needs. Most of these early organizations focused on meeting the survival needs

of immigrants by providing crucial services. Few of these organizations were led by immigrants and most did little or no organizing. Over time, small grassroots organizations and informal groups of immigrants began to emerge.

Pueblos de Latinoamérica and INDELI

Highlander created the Pueblos de Latinoamérica program in the late 1990s to support these emerging grassroots Latino immigrant groups in the South by providing an opportunity to gather and network with each other and break their geographical and psychological isolation. Pueblos offered workshops and gatherings on issues such as globalization and immigration law as well as skills building around fundraising and planning. As critical as it was to provide these groups with a space and context to network and build relationships among each other, there was an enormous need to help immigrant leaders and groups build their organizations locally. Highlander designed INDELI as a leadership and organizing program that could help Latin@ leaders and organizations to build their grassroots organizing skills.

INDELI took place from October 2004 to October 2006 and consisted of nine workshops at Highlander as well as follow up visits and phone calls with the participating groups. Originally designed as a one year, four-workshop program, the implementation of the curriculum was slower than we had planned, so INDELI was extended for a second year. Most of the original participants continued and a few new ones joined. In December 2005, shortly before the start of the second year of INDELI, the House of Representatives passed the Sensenbrenner-King Bill, which would have made it a felony to be an undocumented immigrant or to provide services to the undocumented. This bill was a lightning rod that sparked some of the largest marches and rallies seen in decades in this country. The political events provided the perfect opportunity for INDELI participants to apply what they were learning.

INDELI Objectives

- 1. To open up a space affirming dignity, personal growth and leadership development*
- 2. To strengthen and support the development of democratic, immigrant led grassroots organizations*
- 3. To develop a shared analysis with a vision of social change based on justice and human dignity*
- 4. To develop organizations' capacity to defend and promote human rights in their communities*
- 5. To advance the development of a collective political agenda that leads to common actions and helps builds a movement*

Participants

A total of 14 organizations participated in INDELI¹. Participants came from five states: Kentucky, Mississippi, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Texas. About 22 percent had a lot of organizing experience, and 41 percent had some experience. One third of those who had organized had done so in their country of origin, 55 percent in the United States, and 9 percent in both countries.

Curriculum

The INDELI curriculum focused on three areas:

1. Vision of leadership
2. Community organizing skills
3. Development of social consciousness

INDELI primarily used popular education as a methodology and it integrated the central concepts of dignity, human rights, power and exclusion structures, personal and collective leadership, community organizing, popular movements, democracy, liberty and justice. Conducted entirely in Spanish, INDELI was one of the few Spanish language leadership and organizing programs in the region.

What worked

1. INDELI helped participants build or strengthen critical *organizing skills*, such as: planning, facilitating, team work, forming groups, developing new leaders, understanding and teaching others about rights
2. Many INDELI participants were *transformed* by the experience, by rebuilding their self-esteem, breaking through their feelings of isolation, or shifting their perception of themselves as leaders
3. Family members who accompanied participants were integrated into the program; INDELI had a *positive impact on these families*, especially on the youth, whose identity as Latinos and immigrants was validated
4. INDELI helped participants *create a sense of community* with other immigrants across the region and *redefined victory as constituting many levels*: personal, family and community, all of which are necessary to create a structural victory
5. As a two year program, INDELI acknowledged that *leadership development is a process* which requires sustained engagement with participants over time

¹ 13 organizations were accepted into INDELI: 1 left the program after the first workshop, one of the participants left his organization and formed a new one, and an additional group joined during the second year. In addition, a women's support group participated as 1 team the first year, but as 2 teams the second year. They are being counted as 1 group.

6. INDELI had a *clear methodological method and format* which integrated participants' experience in the field as a starting point, and was flexible enough to adapt to the political events and the immediate survival needs of the group.
7. Through INDELI we produced, modified and adapted tools *that have been used and shared* in many other places and contexts

What did not work

1. We had **limited capacity to do follow up** in the field with participants
2. Despite a fairly thorough recruiting process, it was difficult to gauge where participants were in terms of social justice and the role of organizing, and ended up with *some participants stuck in a strictly service providing mode.*
3. It was *hard to maintain consistent participation* over two years because of complicated work schedules, family issues, health issues, and organizational instability.
4. We *lacked a clearly designed documentation and evaluation* process.
5. INDELI was *not well integrated* into Highlander's other educational programs.
6. A number of participants were never able to consolidate their teams and *ended up coming alone.*
7. The *short amount of time per workshop* (1 ½ days) left us little time to build and practice skills, provide a theoretical framework, and undertake a political education process

Recommendations

1. If Highlander were to launch a second Institute, it would be crucial to establish partnerships with organizations or immigrant rights networks that can help with the accompaniment process
2. As it becomes more dangerous for immigrants to travel or drive because of state and federal policies, the INDELI model should be implemented locally. Highlander has already partnered with the Tennessee Immigrant and Refugee Rights Coalition (TIRRC) to help its organizing staff implement key parts of the INDELI curriculum through local Justice Schools.
3. To successfully implement a multi-workshop program such as INDELI, it is necessary to have a team that is fully integrated in all of its stages, from planning to implementation to evaluation.
4. The process of documentation and evaluation should be developed in advance and integrated into each stage of the program. Documentation should be designed in a way that it can be shared with people who cannot attend the trainings; this is especially critical if it becomes harder for people to travel or to gather physically.
5. If Highlander were able to offer a stronger accompaniment process, that would help participants to engage in concrete campaigns to change policy and could

- have a powerful impact. This has significant implications for the role of Highlander's staff and of Highlander itself.
6. Highlander should both continue to integrate immigrants and refugees into its multiracial leadership and organizing program (Threads) and continue to invest in immigrant leadership development specifically.
 7. A new immigrant-focused leadership development program should expand beyond the Latino immigrant community to include other immigrants and refugees in order to address the wedges that divide immigrants and refugees from each other.
 8. The INDELI, Know Your Rights workshops and Justice Schools process and materials should be written out and published as a curriculum that can be shared and adapted by other organizations in the South and elsewhere. The curriculum should be made available electronically and through the Internet.

BUILDING IMMIGRANT LEADERS IN THE SOUTH: AN EVALUATION OF INDELI, 2004-06

In order for us as poor and oppressed people to become part of a society that is meaningful, the system under which we now exist has to be radically changed... It means facing a system that does not lend its self to your needs and devising means by which you change that system.

Ella Baker

INTRODUCTION

From October 2004 to October 2006, the Highlander Research and Education Center (Highlander) implemented the Institute for Immigrant Leadership Development (Instituto para el Desarrollo del Liderazgo Inmigrante, or INDELI, in Spanish) to promote and support the effort of Latin@ immigrant organizing in the Southeast through leadership development, political education and strengthening immigrant led grassroots organizations. This report describes and evaluates INDELI, provides feedback from participants and offers some recommendations and best practices for implementing similar programs.

The Highlander Research and Education Center

The Highlander Center is a residential popular education and research organization housed on a 106-acre farm in the foothills of the Great Smoky Mountains, twenty-five miles east of Knoxville, Tennessee.

Since 1932, Highlander has gathered workers, grassroots leaders, community organizers, educators, and researchers to address the most pressing social, environmental and economic problems facing the people of the South. Highlander sponsors educational programs and research into community problems, and offers a residential Workshop Center for social change organizations and workers active in the South and internationally. Generations of activists have come to Highlander to learn, teach, and prepare to participate in struggles for justice.

Highlander's work is rooted in the belief that in a truly just and democratic society the policies shaping political and economic life must be informed by equal concern for and participation by all people. Guided by this belief, we help communities that suffer from unfair government policies and big-business practices as they voice their concerns and join with others to form movements for change.

Highlander serves as a catalyst for grassroots organizing and movement building in Appalachia and the South. We work with people fighting for justice, equality and sustainability, supporting their efforts to take collective action to shape their own destiny. Through popular education, participatory research, cultural work, and multilingual capacity building we help create spaces -- at Highlander and in local communities -- where people gain knowledge, hope and courage, expanding their ideas of what is possible. We develop leadership and help create and support strong, democratic organizations that work for justice, equality and sustainability in their own communities and that join with others to build broad movements for social, economic and restorative environmental change.

The founding principle and guiding philosophy of Highlander is that the answers to the problems facing society lie in the experiences of ordinary people. Those experiences, so often belittled and denigrated in our society, are the keys to grassroots power.

Today, that philosophy is reflected in the educational programs and services offered by the 21st-century Highlander Center. Highlander serves Appalachia and the South with programs designed to build strong and successful social-change activism and community organizing led by the people who suffer most from the injustices of society. Highlander helps activists to become more effective community educators and organizers, informed about the important issues driving conditions in communities today.

I used to think before that being a leader was like the people who work in the Latino Center... just give orders and not see the needs of each person... and I learned that many times for people to understand, you have to be like this... basically put yourself at their level and understand where they're coming from and all that. It's not about just being all dressed up and that... act you're some kind of fancy person... not like a boss or leader where they're going to follow you... I thought that's how it worked. That's why I wanted to be a leader more before than I do now... (laughs) I'm joking!

The Context

Sociopolitical context

Over the last fifteen to twenty years, the Southeast has seen a rapid increase in immigrant populations, both in small and large communities, rural and urban. Though there are immigrants from all over the world, Latinos are by far the largest and most noticeable group to migrate to the South. This is due largely to the prevalence of low wage jobs in industries that have been more than willing to look the other way if applicants do not have the required immigration documentation allowing them to work. This lack of documentation coupled with the dire economic circumstances that has forced so many of these workers to migrate in the first place has made them willing to accept wages lower than the minimum or prevailing wages, while at the same time making

them unwilling to demand higher wages and better working conditions. U.S. immigration policy, which provides very few opportunities for poor immigrants to migrate legally, has created an underclass that serves the economic interests of the wealthy, small business owners and farmers, and even the middle class (by keeping consumer prices low). By keeping wages low, business can maximize its profits and use divide and conquer tactics to pit this underclass of workers against other poor people, thereby blaming each other and keeping both from focusing on the root causes of their poverty.

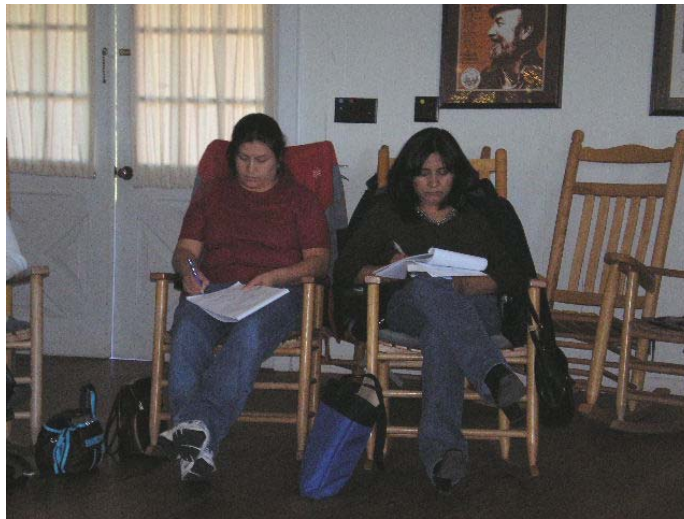
In addition to the economic dynamics of immigration, three other factors have contributed to a less than welcoming reception for the new migrants. First, few Southern communities had the infrastructure to support immigrant newcomers. The influx of immigrants taxed public services that were in many localities already inadequate to meet the needs of the original residents, and even when they were available to immigrants, language issues made them largely inaccessible. Second, the 2001 attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon unleashed a tremendous wave of xenophobia. For many Americans, all foreigners were considered potential terrorists and therefore were to be feared, mistrusted and hated. Politicians and “citizens” alike blamed the attacks on lax border and immigration policies, and all levels of government tried to outdo each other in passing the most restrictive anti-immigrant laws and policies. Finally, although the backlash against immigrants was widely felt throughout the country, immigrants living in the South had to contend with the historical legacy of racism in the region, and the fact that Southerners had primarily dealt with race as a black and white issue.

Community context

As migrants settled throughout the South, communities found themselves with inadequate infrastructure to deal with these newcomers. Some tried to stretch their already limited resources to serve the new population; others had no idea where to even begin. Overall services for immigrants (and in many communities for the native born population) were unavailable, insufficient and inappropriate. In addition to tensions around economics fed by employers (they are taking our jobs or undercutting our pay), resentment and tension grew around culture and language, about the impact the newcomers were having on basic services such as education and health, and about the perception of the migrants as law breakers, troublemakers and criminals. Eager to find a scapegoat for community problems, politicians and others seized on this resentment and perpetuated the dehumanization of immigrants. The hostile sociopolitical and community environment fostered immigrant communities living in fear, as much under the radar as possible and disempowered.

Organizational/organizing context

As migrant communities grew, organizations specifically designed to address their needs began to surface. The unfathomable extent of needs meant that these first organizations naturally focused on providing services, often out of a charity model. As could be expected, few of these organizations were led by immigrants; when they were led by immigrants, it was often by 1 or 2 well intentioned leaders, usually professionals who lacked the vision or the skills to promote authentic grassroots leadership. Other organizations serving immigrants were led by white non-immigrants with a traditional paternalistic model of helping the needy. In either case, the majority of these organizations serving immigrants were in precarious conditions, underfunded and under structured, focused on meeting the most immediate survival needs of their clients, and doing little if any organizing. There were some notable exceptions as well as some organizing success stories. Several farmworker groups, including the Farmworker Association of Florida, the Coalition of Immokalee Workers and the Farm Labor Organizing Committee started organizing migrant workers long before Latinos began to settle in the South permanently. In Durham, the Centro Hispano was established by a group of Latino immigrants to both address the urgent service needs of their rapidly growing community and to begin to build economic and political power. They were critical in founding a credit union/cooperative at a time when mainstream banks were unwilling to open accounts for undocumented immigrants. And in Tennessee, immigrant and allied groups formed the first statewide immigrant rights coalition in the South: the Tennessee Immigrant and Refugee Rights Coalition (TIRRC).



Individual/family context

Immigrants face enormous challenges as they settle in new communities. Most begin their lives in their new homes in survival mode, spending most if not all of their time trying to earn a living, navigating the bureaucracies in their new

communities in order to get the services they need, such as health and education, figuring out transportation, etc. Many see their stay in the United States as temporary: they hope to earn enough money to improve their economic lot when they go back home. Increased backlash and crackdowns against immigrants leaves them fearful and mistrusting. Many immigrants suffer from Post Traumatic Stress Syndrome, either from their grueling experiences coming to this country or because of experiences back home. Additionally, their experiences as migrants in communities where they are rejected or at least blamed for a whole range of problems leads many to experience a tremendous sense of isolation, disempowerment, and even hopelessness. The isolation is exacerbated by language issues, which make it extremely difficult to navigate daily life and build relationships with people outside their own immigrant communities. All of these factors, plus a belief shared by many migrants that they have no rights in this country because of their legal status, and little or no political analysis about their situation make it particularly challenging to organize the immigrant community. At the same time, the high degree of skills needed for survival can be transferable to organizing and activism. Many immigrants rely on extensive networks, both formal and

My idea [was] that if people get organized it was because of a professional who knew how to do it... not to organize among all of us, meeting, instead one [person] who directs, someone from above who is giving orders to someone else to do something. At least that was my idea. But little by little my idea changed...[organizing] became very familiar... and I think we can do it. I have always had in my mind that after a certain time at the center we had to organize something with those that are the same as me... start leaving [our situation]. It's a process...

informal, of other people from their hometowns, to find jobs, housing, services, to help them become familiar with their new communities, to break their isolation and to provide a sense of connection to their places of origin.

Pueblos de Latinoamérica

Highlander created the Pueblos de Latinoamérica program in the late 1990s to support grassroots Latino immigrant organizations in the South by providing an opportunity to gather and network with each other and break their geographical and psychological isolation. The Pueblos program offered workshops and gatherings in Spanish on a wide range of topics, including globalization, immigration law and policy and skills building in areas such as fundraising and planning. Participants came from all over the South and represented many different types of organizations: relatively well established

service providers and organizing groups who had been around for many years, fledgling groups in communities with large numbers of Latinos and a number of individuals with leadership qualities who were just beginning to build a base. Besides deciding on workshop topics, Pueblos participants formed the Southeast Workers Coordinating Network. The Network's vaguely defined goal

was to serve as a venue for participating groups to organize collective actions to advance an immigrant rights agenda in the region and to share and support each other in their local struggles. Participants created a traditional leadership structure for the network, naming a President, Vice-President, Secretary and Treasurer.

Although the Network had a formal leadership structure, it was unsustainable for a number of reasons: it had no clear vision or plan, no goal or objectives; the Pueblos program underwent a number of staffing changes that undermined Highlander's ability to support the network and the groups on the ground; and most participants were struggling to build their own organizations at a local level with few if any resources. Additionally, although Pueblos workshops responded to participants' particular needs and interests, there was no coherent plan or curriculum, and some of the groups were doing very little organizing. As political and economic conditions deteriorated, especially after September 11, participation in Pueblos dwindled.

I learned to listen to people's stories. I can put that into practice at work. Sit people down and start from their stories. If there's something that mobilizes [its] being able to listen. Listen how it affects them... that also motivates other people. I liked that [at Highlander] we would sit and talk.

In 2002, Highlander shifted the program's focus to helping build grassroots immigrant organizations locally, while still providing a space to network with other immigrants from the region. We felt it was critical to rebuild relationships with immigrant groups in the South and build new ones. We developed a three tiered plan. First, we organized Know Your Rights workshops as a way to introduce ourselves to communities that knew little or nothing about Highlander. This allowed us to offer something much needed and concrete, and provided us with an opportunity to recruit. As a second tier, we then planned on doing Justice Schools, local political education and "organizing 101" workshops in part modeled after the Citizenship Schools of the 1960s. The third tier was a regional leadership institute that would bring together Justice School participants for a more a more advanced training process. We successfully implemented the Know Your Rights by partnering with local organizations serving immigrants. However, we realized that launching the Justice Schools required a deeper commitment from local partners and a major level of investment from Highlander. We decided to move forward with the regional leadership institute, and rethought of the Justice Schools as a model or tool that participants in the leadership institute could help implement.

At the same time, Highlander was instrumental in establishing the Tennessee Immigrant and Refugee Rights Coalition. As one of the founding organizations, Highlander played a critical role in helping TIRRC to establish its mission, founding values and principles, including prioritizing community organizing and making a commitment to build grassroots immigrant leadership. Pueblos staff member Mónica Hernández chaired the TIRRC coordinating committee, served

as the founding Board President, and played a key role in designing TIRRC's structure and programs. Highlander's Multilingual Capacity Program also provided interpretation support for key TIRRC events, including the Founding Convention.

INDELI: Institute for Immigrant Leadership Development

INDELI was designed to help reduce the isolation of Latin@ leaders and organizations in the region through workshops, trainings and gatherings that helped them develop the tools to undertake their organizing work. Grassroots leadership in communities is critical. We felt that leaders had the potential to transform how organizing was approached and to spur more organizing. INDELI would help participants understand why organizing as a strategy was important and why it was crucial to build their own organizing skills as well as those of their members.

I learned to love myself, personally. I learned to respect myself and to respect the differences among others and to tolerate more things than I did before. I also learned that as human beings one has rights, which I didn't know before. I thought that by being in this country... I didn't deserve anything. Because that's the way things were. But now I realize that it's different.

INDELI took place from October 2004 to October 2006 and consisted of nine workshops at Highlander and follow up visits and phone calls. INDELI was originally conceived as a one year, four-workshop program. However, at the end of the first year, the facilitators decided to ask participants if they would like to continue participating for an additional year, in order to pursue parts of the curriculum that had not been covered during the first year. Most but not all of the participants decided to continue their participation for the second year. Additionally, a few new participants, mostly connected to the existing participating organizations, were integrated for the second year. Although we planned to continue with the curriculum we had initially designed, making the necessary adaptations as the Institute evolved, in December 2005, the immigrant community confronted an unprecedented legislative assault that deeply affected the plans for the second year of INDELI.

The political landscape 2004-2006: heightened repression

INDELI took place during one of the most repressive, anti-immigrant waves to sweep the country in several decades. For the most part, the battles were fought at the state and local levels as these governments, dissatisfied with what they believed was an inadequate federal response to the "illegal immigration problem" decided to take matters into their own hands. Under the guise of "national security," many of the proposals were focused on denying undocumented immigrants the right to obtain drivers licenses. This changed

drastically in December 2005, when the House of Representatives passed HR 4437, the Sensenbrenner-King bill, which proposed to make it a felony to be an undocumented immigrant or to provide services to the undocumented. We had scheduled a special workshop in January to help integrate new participants in the process, but we changed the purpose of the workshop to focus on informing participants about the legislation and encouraging them to educate and organize their communities against it. At this workshop, participants developed plans to mobilize their communities, and the group decided to support and participate in a rally in Knoxville at the following workshop in February. This action was one of the earliest mobilizations against HR 4437 in the country.

The scope of the bill and its potentially devastating consequences was a lightning rod that mobilized a historically unprecedented number of immigrants and their allies through the largest marches and rallies of any kind seen in decades. In addition to supporting the local Knoxville action, INDELI participants were actively involved in helping to plan and organize mobilizations in their communities and their states (please see Appendix C).



As momentum grew and immigrants and allies took to the streets in the smallest communities as well as the largest cities, grassroots communities seized the opportunity to demand legalization for the undocumented. Suddenly policy experts who had spent years telling immigrants and their allies on the ground that legalization was unattainable with the existing political climate, jumped on the

bandwagon and put all their eggs in the basket of an “obtainable” immigration reform that many progressive immigrant rights groups considered problematic. However, the mobilizations clearly shifted the debate in Congress, at least temporarily, as the Senate rejected the extremist provisions of the Sensenbrenner-King bill and tried to strike a balance between the various political forces exerting pressure on Congress to do something about immigration.

While the Senate’s proposals for “comprehensive immigration reform” were as much about border and interior enforcement and restriction as they were

about offering an opportunity for undocumented immigrants to regularize their status, the right wing was successful in painting the various bills as “amnesty” programs. This perception, combined with the image of thousands of immigrants taking to the streets created a popular backlash against not only immigrants and Congress, but the President, who had been pushing for his own version of immigration reform. As a result of this pressure, the federal government stepped up one of its most visible enforcement activities: workplace raids. Politicians also took advantage of the backlash to unleash legislative proposals at the state and local levels that further put groups on the defensive and made the challenge of building something long term even more daunting. The combination of raids, legislative attacks and calls from the experts to lay low while they negotiated for reform sent the immigrant community back underground and created a high degree of disillusion about their participation in the political process.

The political events of late 2005 to 2006 shaped the direction of INDELI and presented a challenge as well as an incredible opportunity for participants to apply what they were learning in INDELI workshops. On the downside, it was hard to have the time to cover many of the themes identified as crucial by both

facilitators and participants.



THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS

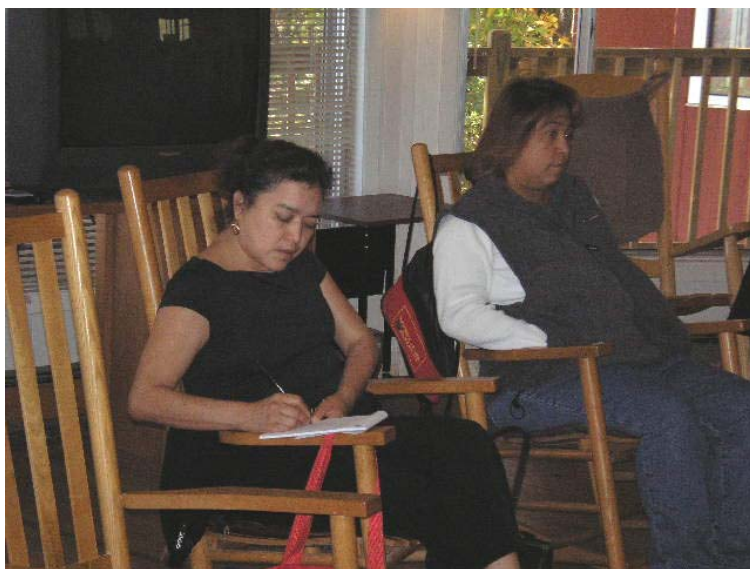
In this tradition, the connections between education and the larger movements and struggles for freedom and justice are clear – the way Septima Clark treated literacy and voter registration as means to an end, not merely as political ends in themselves. Ms. Clark drafted the Highlander statement of purpose that speaks of “broadening the scope of democracy to include everyone and deepening the concept to include every relationship.”

---Peter C Murrell, Jr.²

Popular education

The INDELI process and curriculum is based on a long history and tradition of using education as an agent of personal liberation and social structural change. The central methodology of INDELI is popular education. In the global South, popular education is not only a methodology for educating and organizing, but a philosophy that builds popular movements focused on bringing about structural change.

Popular education is based on people’s experience and knowledge and uses dialogue and sharing personal stories to help us see how those stories connect and help explain the wider context of what people are living through. By putting things in context, we begin to understand our reality and take the



necessary steps to be able to change it. By introducing political and historical tools into the process, we see that the issues that affect us have a lot to do with policies and decisions made over time by people in power for their own benefit.

Popular education is about putting our own experiences in dialogue with history as well as other people in our community, and then putting that collective experience in dialogue with the wider context, with history, with structures and other communities and other issues. It is also about personal transformation, collective organizing and a commitment to resist and transform. To resist is the affirmation of our own humanity and the humanity of others. It is a radical political statement in a society that systematically denies our humanity. Popular educators open up

² Peter C. Murrell, Jr., *Concept Paper for Discussion: Defining the Community Teacher*

spaces where people can bring their whole humanity into the room, celebrate it, acknowledge it, and then commit to work together and organize, to make leadership collective and to confront problems personally and collectively through a cycle of action-reflection-action: it is radical.

From personal transformation to social change

Social transformation is a multi-layered process that begins when as individuals we start to believe in our own self worth and that we have some control over our destiny. That sense of dignity and self-esteem is enhanced by sharing our life experiences with others. When we come together to dialogue and share these experiences, we begin to recognize that to resolve our needs and issues as individuals and as families we have to come together as an organized community. Through a continuous process of action and reflection, we realize that it is not enough to resolve today's emergency, but that we have to work to change the structures of inequality and oppression that are the root of so many problems that we face daily. We also begin to see that community organizing is a long road and we can get lost if we are unclear about our values and principles. It is not enough to create power: we want to create a different type of power, one that comes from the people and serves the people.

As popular educators and organizers, it is imperative that we address every level of transformation. Although we are ultimately trying to build strong grassroots organizations that can challenge dominant systems and structures, for that to happen it is critical to support individuals in their process of personal transformation.

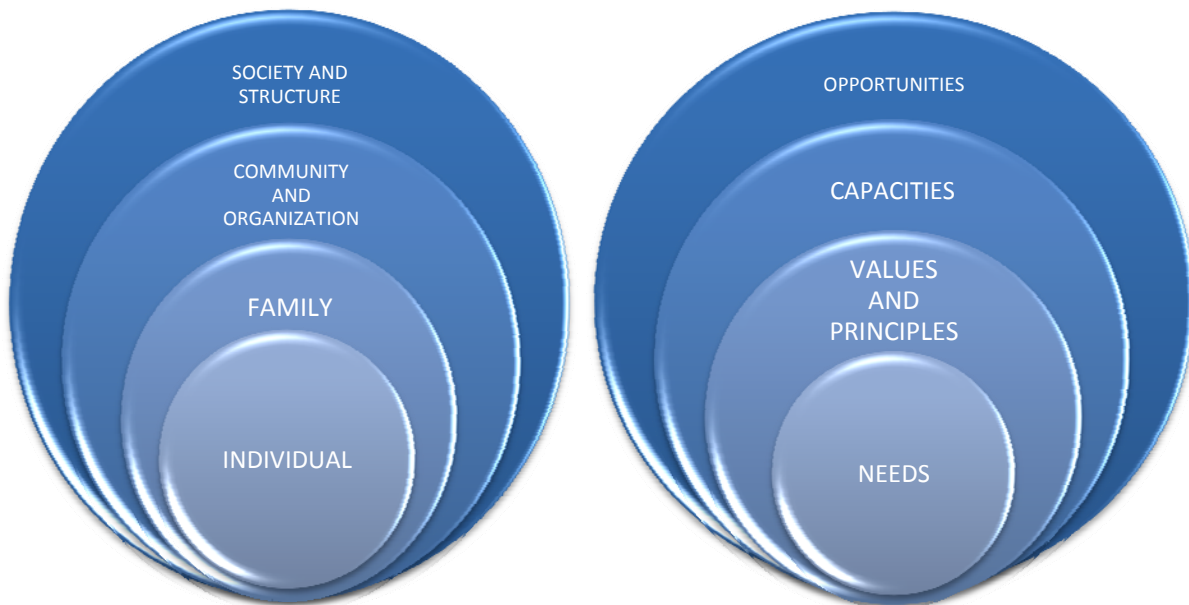


Figure 1

Adapted by Pancho Argüelles from Maire Dugan "A Nested Theory of Conflict", in Lederach: "Building Peace", p. 56 for INDELI, Highlander Center, TN. February 2005

Transforming leadership and power: to command by obeying

I have always felt it was a handicap for oppressed peoples to depend so largely upon a leader, because unfortunately in our culture, the charismatic leader usually becomes a leader because he has found a spot in the public limelight. . .

There is also the danger in our culture that because a person is called upon to give public statements and is acclaimed by the establishment, such a person gets to the point of believing that he is the movement.

Ella Baker

The Zapatista definition of political leadership is “to command by obeying”: if no one is behind you, whom are you leading? By contrast, many mainstream organizations are obsessed with a very narrow form of power, which ends up replicating the prevailing structures of oppression around race, class and gender. Likewise, based on the Western notion of leadership as personal, many leadership development programs promote an individualistic model that is based on the idea that the system works and if leaders can find a way to be heard, everything will be all right. Once again this type of leadership tends to come from above and has a sexist, male, heterosexual and capitalist core, replicating the same kind of oppressive power that popular movements have resisted.

Many contemporary immigrant rights organizations buy into the individualistic, charismatic, top-down, “system works” model of leadership. INDELI, on the other hand, offered a more radical model—democratic or collective leadership—following in the footsteps of educators and organizers such as Septima Clark Ella Baker, Myles Horton as well as those working in popular movements in Latin America. Democratic leadership works to create *poder popular*: collective or “people’s power” based on local, grassroots organizing capable of mobilizing to win concrete victories and to resist and/or transform specific policies, institutions and structures. *Poder popular* is in stark opposition to the power of elites. It means popular organizations with a clear political agenda and the capacity to move



through existing structures while having the ultimate goal to change those structures. The Civil Rights Movement offers many examples of *poder popular*, such as the Montgomery Bus Boycott, which rather than being an example of the enlightened, individualistic leadership of a brave woman who took a stand, was an example of the capacity of a community to organize and resist at the local level, while being tied into a wider movement. Today, given the level of decomposition of democracy in the United States, *poder popular* means restoring democracy at the local, state and federal levels.

Organizing for Movement building

Some traditional organizing models differentiate between organizers and leaders. Organizers are often paid professionals who bring people together, identify community members with leadership potential, help them develop their leadership and accompany them as they motivate their followers into action. But many of our communities do not have the luxury of separating organizing from leadership—the leaders are the organizers because there are very few opportunities to get paid for organizing, and even when leaders have a paid job helping the community, it is more than likely as a service provider, so they have to do the organizing on their own time or sneak it in within the purview of their job. For this reason, our approach to leadership development is as much about developing leadership abilities as it is about training concrete organizing skills.

Our approach also reframes what it means to have a victory—we see campaigns as a strategy for long term change, rather than winning specific campaigns as an end in itself. Shifting the focus from winning specific campaigns, legislation, etc. to obtaining structural, systemic change requires an intentional political education process that helps us see beyond the immediate or even medium term win and connects our struggle to the struggles of others. Each step that we take to strengthen our ability to resist, to hone what we are trying to build, to assert our vision of what we are trying to achieve, based on our own values and principles is a victory. At the same time, campaigns done in a movement building way help build the skills and analysis for structural change.

INDELI's theory of change

Ultimately we are trying to help change the communities where our constituents live, and we are also trying to change the policies that affect the quality of life of these communities and the structures (political and economic) that shape those policies. To do that however, change needs to happen at several basic levels:

Individuals

We seek to create and strengthen new social actors from the immigrant community that will participate in the struggle for social justice in their communities. At the individual/family level this means:

- Breaking the isolation
- Building self-esteem and a sense of empowerment (I have rights, I can demand my rights, I can contribute to my community)
- Building a political identity (I am an immigrant not only because of my individual choices, but because of policies and practices back home; my experiences are connected to others who are also suffering from oppression)
- Building political skills (I can recruit people, plan and facilitate a meeting, speak to my community and to decisionmakers, develop strategies and campaigns, make my voice heard)
- Changing political behavior (I am an active participant in changing things that affect my life, I can lead others in their efforts to become actively involved)
- Encouraging life long activism (even if my own circumstances change, I am in it for the long haul and for my community)

Organizations

We seek to strengthen grassroots immigrant led organizations by:

- Shifting from (or strengthening) individual to collective leadership
- Shifting from (or strengthening) service providing to organizing (or combining both in a way that they complement and strengthen each other)
- Strengthening organizational infrastructure (planning, implementing, evaluating, fundraising, etc.)
- Emerging movement consciousness--- how the organization fits into a broader social justice movement

Organizing

- Helping create/strengthen immigrant led grassroots organizations
- Helping these organizations build a critical base of movement conscious immigrant activists
- Helping them develop/plug into campaigns
- Helping them to network/build alliances

How will this help change the community?

- It will help build a critical mass of individuals and organizations which will speak out and organize for their rights
- It will help put immigrant issues on the community agenda
- Immigrants will play a more prominent role in other organizations and in decision-making, policymaking entities

- Policies and priorities around immigrants will change
- The perception of immigrants will change
- Collective leadership and movement consciousness will spread within the immigrant community

Figure 2: INDELI Theory of Change



DESCRIPTION OF INDELI

Objectives

1. To open up a space affirming dignity, personal growth and leadership development
2. To strengthen and support the development of democratic, immigrant led grassroots organizations
3. To develop a shared analysis with a vision of social change based on justice and human dignity
4. To develop organizations' capacity to defend and promote human rights in their communities
5. To advance the development of a collective political agenda that leads to common actions and helps build a movement

Recruiting process

Before initiating the leadership institute, Highlander spent two years in the field using Know Your Rights (KYR) workshops as a calling card to introduce ourselves to new immigrant communities or communities with whom we had no previous relationship with or to strengthen our relationship with organizations which had already been involved with us. The workshops provided critical information to immigrant community members, and were a tool to motivate people to think about the role of organizing in defending their rights. It also helped us identify potential candidates for our leadership program.

INDELI applicants filled out a written application and were then interviewed by phone. Our specific recruiting priorities were women, youth (defined broadly as under 30), and indigenous people. A fourth priority included LGBTQ folks, but

I learned that in this you have to struggle, you have to struggle in this life... if you don't struggle you don't win. That you have to unite, being united is the most important... that's what I learned from Highlander. You have to struggle to survive in this country, to be someone you have to struggle. One never, never stops struggling. I don't know how but you really have to struggle. When it's necessary you have to use all your sharpness and everything (laughs)... that's what I learned from Highlander. You can't be satisfied... you have to struggle for what you seek... one has to struggle to be someone, for our rights, for our dignity. Before Highlander I didn't know all of this. Before going there... I am always that last one to talk... I wait for everyone to talk and then I talk. Or I don't talk at all. I am afraid to say things—but what if I say something wrong...what if they laugh at me. Or maybe I have good ideas...but I wouldn't dare [speak]...what if they make fun of me... so I didn't dare raise my hand...I wouldn't say anything so I wouldn't become embarrassed... because I am very shy and get embarrassed easily... that's how I am... but when I see that the group accepts me, no one shuts me up! (laughs)

at that point in time we did not have sufficient contacts with queer Latin@ immigrant organizers/organizations.

Participating organizations

<i>Organization</i>	<i>Location</i>
<i>Both years</i>	
Asociación Latina	Clarksville, TN
Tennessee Immigrant and Refugee Rights Coalition (TIRRC)	Memphis, Nashville, Knoxville, Morristown
North Carolina Farmworkers Project	Benson, NC
La Asociación de Inmigrantes Latinos en Acción (LAILA)	Houston, TX
Centro de Asistencia Social y Acción	Morganton, NC
Mujeres Latinas de Louisville (unofficial name-formed by clients of the Center for Women and Families)	Louisville, Shelbyville, KY
Centro Hispano La Esperanza	Bowling Green, KY
American Friends Service Committee Project Voice	Charlotte, NC
<i>Year 1</i>	
YWCA Poder de Mujer	Memphis, TN
Mujeres Mejorando el Futuro (a project of Coalition for Family Peace)	Siler City, NC
Tri County Community Health Clinic	Newton Grove, NC
Trinity United Methodist Church	Forest, MS
Comité Serafín Olvera	Bryant, TX
<i>Year 2</i>	
Coalition for Family Peace	Siler City, NC
Grupo Comunitario Hispano de Tennessee (formed by former TIRRC organizer)	Nashville, TN
Mujeres Latinas de Shelbyville (unofficial name)	Shelbyville, KY
Comunidad Oaxaqueña de Dayton (unofficial name)	Dayton, TN

Types of organizations participating

We designed the INDELI application process to help us identify participants with a strong commitment to social justice organizing. The interviews asked questions such as, “What does social justice mean to you?”, “Why do you work or want to work for social justice?” and “What do you see as the difference between offering services or information and organizing the community?” We also asked about the role of organizing in participants’ organizations and the roles that grassroots immigrants and refugees played there. We found that applicant organizations were using a combination of methods/activities to do their work, and that a small number were doing direct community organizing. Figure 3 shows the percentage of participant organizations engaging in each type of activity prior to participating in INDELI, while Figure 4 illustrates their primary focus.

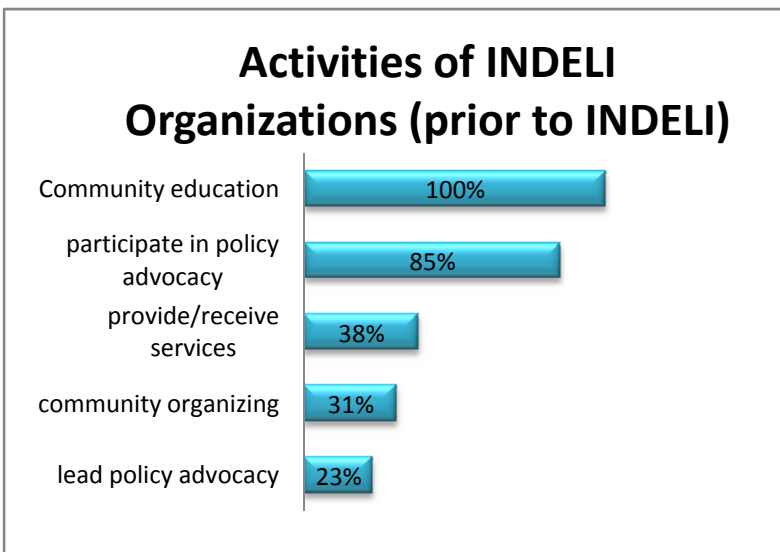


Figure 3

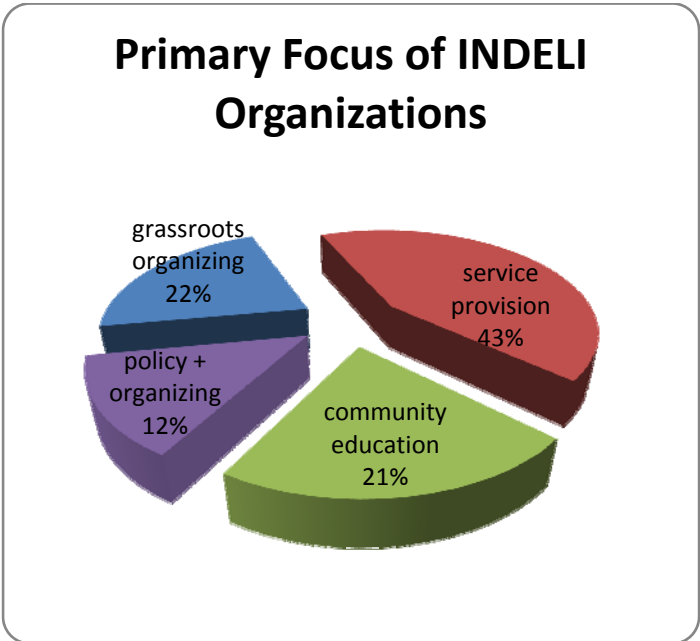


Figure 4

Profile of participants

	Organization	Gender	Age	Country of origin	How long in US	Yr 1	Yr 2	# wksps	% attended
1.	LAILA	F	40	Mexico	8	✓	✓	9	100%
2.	CASA	F		Peru		✓	✓	9	100%
3.	TIRRC	M	20	Mexico		✓	✓	8	90%
4.	NC Farmw	M	43	Mexico	4	✓	✓	7	80%
5.	NC Farmw	F	27	Mexico	9	✓	✓	7	80%
6.	Shelbyville	F	33	Mexico	14	✓	✓	7	80%
7.	Louisville	F	36	Mexico	9	✓	✓	7	80%
8.	Louisville	F	34	Peru	6	✓	✓	7	80%
9.	Asoc Latina	F	37	Panama	16	✓	✓	6	65%
10.	TIRRC/GCHT	M		Bolivia		✓	✓	6	65%
11.	Ctro La Esp	F	27	Pto Rico	12	✓	✓	5	55%
12.	CASA	M		Guatemala		✓	✓	5	55%
13.	TIRRC	F	43	US	n/a		✓	5	100%
14.	Shelbyville	F		Mexico			✓	5	100%
15.	YWCA	F	31	Mexico	6	✓		4	100%
16.	AFSC	M		US	n/a	✓	✓	4	45%
17.	Trin UMC	M	48	Peru	1 ½	✓		3	75%
18.	Fam Peace	M		El Salv			✓	3	60%
19.	CASA	F		Guatemala			✓	3	60%
20.	Ctro La Esp	M		Peru			✓	3	60%
21.	MM Futuro	F	45	Mexico	13	✓		2	50%
22.	NC Farmwks	F	34	Pto Rico	17	✓		2	50%
23.	Tri City	F	15	Mexico	15	✓		2	50%
24.	Tri City	F	17	Mexico	6	✓		2	50%
25.	Tri City	M	21	Honduras	5	✓		2	50%
26.	Ctro La Esp	M		Colombia	3 mo	✓		2	50%
27.	MM Futuro	F		El Salv		✓		2	50%
28.	Fam Peace	F		US			✓	2	40%
29.	TIRRC	M		Mexico			✓	2	40%
30.	Oaxaca Dytn	M		Mexico			✓	2	40%
31.	Asoc Latina	F		Dom Rep		✓		1	
32.	MM Futuro	F	36	Mexico	17	✓		1	
33.	MM Futuro	F	40	Mexico	8	✓		1	
34.	MM Futuro	F	26	Guatemala		✓		1	
35.	Tri City	F	50	Mexico	30	✓		1	
36.	Ctro La Esp	F		Colombia	9 mo	✓		1	
37.	Cte S Olvera	F		Mexico		✓		1	
38.	Fam Peace	M		El Salv			✓	1	
39.	Ctro La Esp	F		Mexico			✓	1	
40.	Ctro La Esp	M		El Salv			✓	1	

	Organization	Gender	Age	Country of origin	How long in US	Yr 1	Yr 2	# wksp	% attended
41.	GCHT	M		Mexico			✓	1	
42.	GCHT	M		Mexico			✓	1	
43.	GCHT	F		Mexico			✓	1	
44.	Shelbyville	F		Mexico			✓	1	

Guests

1.	spouse	M		Guatemala			✓	2	
2.	daughter	F	15	Mexico			✓	✓	2
3.	daughter	F		US			✓	✓	2
4.	son	M	14	US				✓	1
5.	son	M		US			✓		1
6.	daughter	F		US				✓	1
7.	daughter	F		Guatemala	1 mo		✓		1



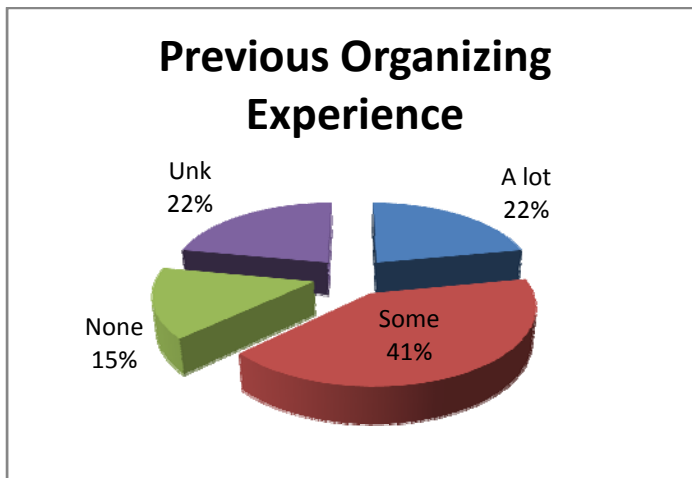


Figure 4

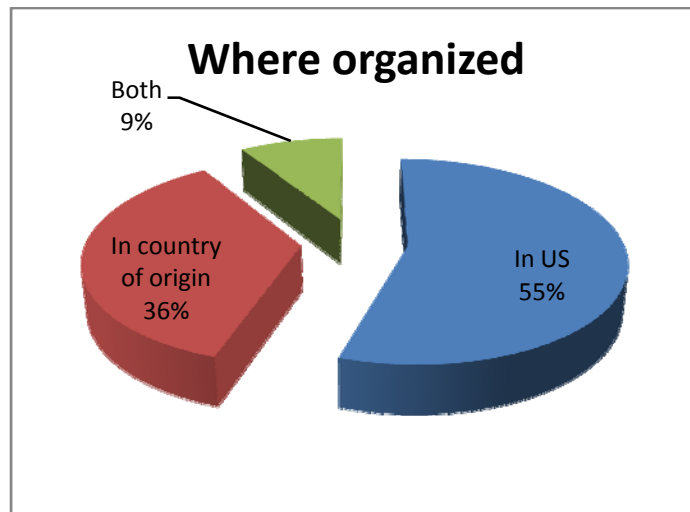


Figure 5



Figure 6

Expectations/needs from applications and interviews

Why do you want to participate?

I have heard that you have a long time working for equality in this country and you are very good at doing it

I am convinced that I am an innate leader and I wish to develop my leadership abilities

The Latino community in this country needs more laws to protect it and help it have a life with dignity. We are not different from the people born here and yet we are very often discriminated against and treated as if we are inferior and that is not right.

Because I am from Latin America and I have a desire to support this growing population in the United States

Because I am very interested in knowing more in order to help our Latino community

To learn more about how to better survive and have a more just life for the community

It's an opportunity that I want to take advantage of to learn more about leadership.

I am working arduously to improve services for Hispanic immigrant women here in Memphis and I need support

The community needs people that have education in how to deal with the public in every sense of the word. Your organization offers that basic education for the community.

Because it is an opportunity for training to improve and learn how to serve and organize the community

I think that this institute will give me that opportunity, in addition to the follow up that it offers, it will help me improve and strengthen my weak areas

Because I need to perfect and develop some leadership qualities as well as facilitate and lead larger groups

I think a real leader/teacher never stops learning. I began this work for the growing need that exists in our community. I don't know everything, I have a lot to learn, but I think that this workshop gives me the opportunity to obtain a good base. It will help me understand what leadership really means.

To have good preparation or training and to try to motivate groups for a legalization and to know more about the rights of immigrants

For me it was a way to understand... to open my eyes, basically... The first time with the Know Your Rights workshop, I didn't know my rights, because I never felt the need to know them.

What do you want to learn and obtain from this experience?

Knowledge, strategies, how to plan projects, activities, how to convert bad experiences into constructive activities that promote change. But especially how to capture the attention of the Hispanic population for a more active participation in the creation of activities (or call them projects, development of groups, laws, etc.) that promotes the acceptance of Hispanics in society, equality towards us, consideration and especially respect.

I am familiar with the issue of human rights and I would like to learn more. I would like to learn from other experiences and at the same time share my experiences that I have lived in Mississippi.

How to organize campaigns in favor of immigrants and how to work on the problems and needs of our community

Learn by listening from the experience of other people... listen to their ideas

I want to learn to struggle effectively and strengthen my work for the benefit of the community

I would like to learn the laws, history and regulations that govern how to be a leader

I would like to learn to train community leaders so that together they can know their rights. Also to organize the community so that they can be a stronger support and they can open roads in difficult situations. Learn from the experiences of others attending.

New methods to teach, to motivate the community, how to work as a team and how to generate new ideas so that the people that are under my responsibility can feel that they have the freedom of expression and not live always with intimidation on top of them

I would like to have the opportunity to know other people that are going through the same circumstances. Have the opportunity to learn from each other. Obtain a clearer plan for my community. I would like to learn what works and what doesn't.

A lot of learning and more participation.

How do you plan to use what you learn in your community or your organization?

What we look for in the group the domestic violence group is to organize ourselves as a group, plan our activities (without help from our counselors who are excellent people) work in a more active way and especially in a way that is more visible to our community because we want to

INDELI has been a very good experience... I haven't had any other training that has helped like this... as a youth and as a leader...I think I've learned more here than in school... it's opened my eyes to some things that if I hadn't come here I wouldn't have any idea that they existed... such as, for example... LGBTQ... for example Know Your Rights... how to organize and all that... it opened my eyes to many things...

I think that all [the topics] were very interesting. There were things I had never heard about before... and there were many things that we learned. For example this whole thing about how to relate [to people]... or how to be different types of leaders. What is the best type of leader? ... these are things that one says, "aha!".. because you think that a leader is he/she who says "You do... you do... You do..." and since you have ideas that are completely wrong... and then we learned how to deal with the process... how to see the different points of view, how to consider them... to work in community. My idea was that the person who helps decides for everyone. In other words, who's at the head of everyone [and tells everyone what to do] and that's it! There is violence [in that idea] and the one who gives orders is someone and not you... and you don't have an opinion or anything. That was my idea. And now little by little I have learned to take the opinions of others into consideration...to reach a common agreement. It's not only a decision but a common agreement... that's really interesting.

accomplish changes, and to develop respect towards women and children; we want more women to lose their fear and to seek help when they are victims of domestic violence, learn that it is not healthy for children to live in "violent" homes; that we women have the power to control our own lives

First of all, it will be good to inform immigrants that they are not alone, that there are people that worry about them. Everything that I will learn in the workshops I would have to share with them and the people in my organization, with the aim to raise their consciousness

Sharing it with other people

Improve our support system, speak more effectively with government public service entities so that they acknowledge the needs and establish services that benefit the victims of this silent crime that is domestic violence

The experience that I obtain in this institute will be shared with people who will do good in the community

I hope to identify leaders that can influence those around them and work with them to identify those immediate or long term needs that exist in the community. Take among all solutions based on the principles learned.

First, recruit volunteers, then they themselves will have to be the means of information within the community and in that way make it so that the leadership capacity increases and extends quickly and it gets to a point where we all benefit

I plan to share this information with people in my community whether personally or through the newspaper. I also plan to put into practice in my community everything learned.

Organizing the community putting into practice everything learned

Curriculum

The INDELI curriculum focused on three areas:

4. Vision of leadership
5. Community organizing skills
6. Development of social consciousness

INDELI primarily used popular education as a methodology and it integrated the central concepts of dignity, human rights, power and exclusion structures, personal and collective leadership, community organizing, popular movements, democracy, liberty and justice.

Beginning with the second workshop, we developed a formula that we used throughout the Institute:

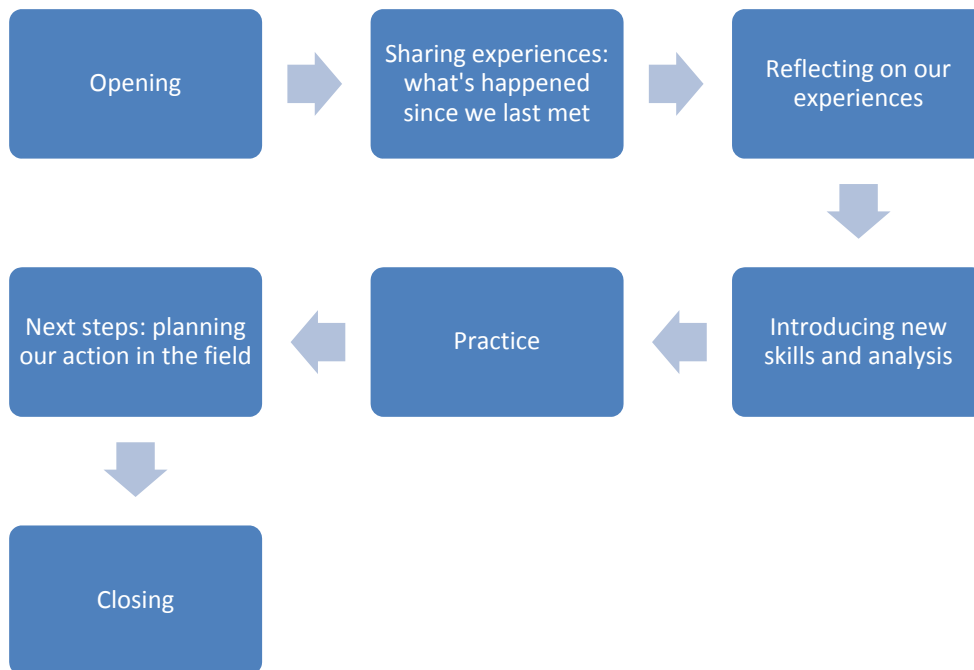


Figure 7: INDELI workshop structure

This workshop structure is consistent with Highlander historically starting with participants' experiences and with the tradition of dialogical education, where this experience interacts with a process of reflection, adding new knowledge and skills, practicing those skills and planning for action.

Summary of workshop topics

<i>Year 1</i>	
<i>Workshop 1: October 2004</i>	<i>Workshop 2: February 2005</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Introduction to INDELI ▪ Know Your Rights workshop ▪ Human Rights ▪ The Know Your Rights workshop as an organizing tool ▪ How to organize a workshop ▪ Cultural night ▪ An organizing model ▪ Community mapping and interviewing ▪ Short term plans 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Group presentations on applying past workshop skills: community mapping, Know Your Rights, actions ▪ Power and oppression structures: Soccer for Suckers ▪ Facilitating and planning meetings ▪ Readers' Theater: A Nation of Strangers (history of immigration) ▪ Good leaders/bad leaders ▪ Action plans
<i>Workshop 3: May 2005</i>	<i>Workshop 4: August 2005</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Group presentations: pros and cons of working in teams ▪ The Hungry Woman: the role of organizing in social change ▪ Intersection with the Civil Rights Movement: The Montgomery Bus Boycott ▪ New knowledge/skills: working in teams, building collective leadership, popular movements ▪ Next steps: what are we doing to build/develop organizations that are part of a broader struggle or in building a social justice movement 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Group presentations ▪ Organizing process/ structures ▪ Criteria for choosing issues ▪ Practicing recruitment ▪ Trip to the past: the farmworker movement ▪ Work plans, plan for continuing INDELI for second year

<i>Workshop 5: Jan. 2006 (special workshop)</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Opening: integrating new participants, recreating the space ▪ How legislative process works ▪ HR 4437: what it is ▪ Revisiting Soccer for Suckers ▪ HR 4437: power analysis, conversation about values, concrete responses to this attack ▪ Intesection of the Movement: the Nashville sit-ins ▪ Short-term plans to defeat HR4437

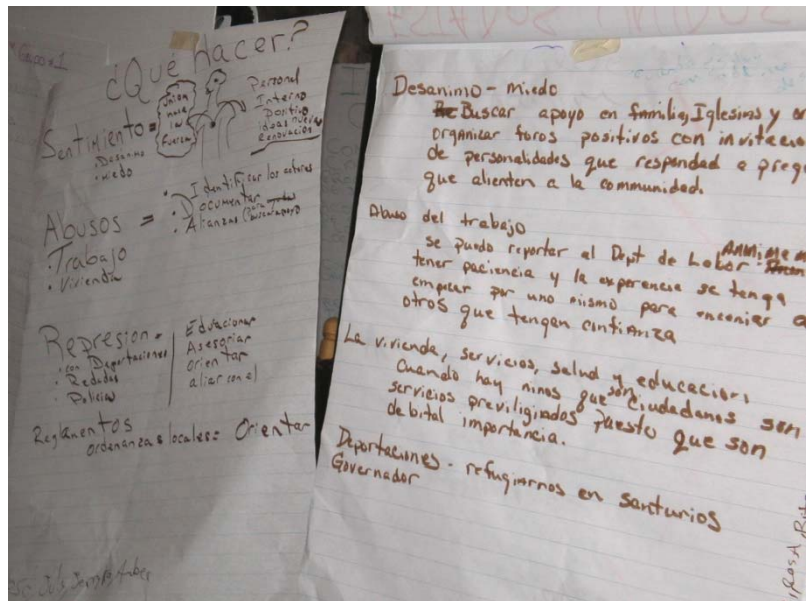
<i>Year 2</i>	
<i>Workshop 6: February 2006</i>	<i>Workshop 7: May 2006³</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Preparing for Knoxville rally ▪ Knoxville rally: NO HUMAN BEING IS ILLEGAL ▪ Analysis and debrief of rally ▪ Update/action planning on HR 4437 ▪ Revisiting the Know Your Rights Workshop 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Reports on local mobilizations: what happened, how do you feel, what does it mean to you ▪ Lessons from the actual moment: what worked, what did we learn, what are the organizing challenges and opportunities? ▪ Policy analysis: where are we in the legislative process? ▪ Responding to the challenges: reflecting and learning about different organizing models ▪ How do we sustain ourselves in this work: reflection and visit to the Smoky Mountains National Park
<i>Workshop 8: August 2006</i>	<i>Workshop 9: October 2006</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Political and legislative update: an analysis of immigration bills from INDELI's ethical-political perspective ▪ Group reports of local activities: identifying issues, threats and organizing opportunities ▪ Organizing models: membership, ways of working, decision making, mission, vision ▪ Next steps 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Political update: the national landscape ▪ Group reports: what's happening locally and by state ▪ Reviewing the steps in organizing; sharing concrete organizing models ▪ Important questions/next steps for our groups ▪ Review materials, topics in small groups and plenary ▪ Cultural celebration and graduation ▪ Evaluating INDELI



³ See Appendix C for discussion notes for this workshop, reflecting on the historic mobilizations



I have always wanted to learn, I know that every day I learn something new.... Someone from an organization that doesn't exist anymore was telling us what to do, but I didn't like it because they didn't give us follow up. They would just say "let's do this..." and it was as if they were just using us. And that's what I didn't like. And since I was just then learning things, it's like I didn't have a lot of... like now that I tell [people] let's do this... because I have the foundation of knowledge of what I learned in INDELI. So now it is easier to facilitate anything... before it wasn't. Before I would stay quiet, because, I didn't know if what I was saying was correct or it could hurt.



EVALUATION

How INDELI was evaluated

Several tools were used to evaluate INDELI:

- A self-assessment of leadership and organizing skills and knowledge was given to participants at the first and fourth workshops
- Written evaluations for each workshop
- Written evaluations at the end of the first and second years
- Extensive interviews (in person or over the phone) after the end of the program
- A rubric for measuring or identifying areas of change... created by the School of Unity and Liberation (SOUL) and the Movement Strategy Center (see Appendix A)

An assessment of objectives

1. To open up a space affirming dignity, personal growth and leadership development

INDELI opened up a space for participants to have a dialogue about their own experiences, to reaffirm that they are not alone, to discover their shared humanity, and to fit their experiences into a political and historical context. This allowed participants to redefine what might

*More than learning, it's as if they had touched my conscience...
"What are you going to do? What are you going to continue to do?... I didn't learn this just to learn it; this has to serve a purpose..."*

seem like a personal or individual issue into a structural problem. As we weaved personal stories with the history of social movements for dignity, participants connected their present day experiences with the efforts and struggles of other communities and other generations. Understanding this history helped re-affirm participants' confidence and hope: "if others could, so can we."

Because we are working with people whose dignity, self-image and self-esteem are under attack by the media and through everyday interactions with the community at large, a key priority for INDELI was for the process to constantly re-affirm participants' self-esteem, to help them connect with their anger and pain and transform it into the power to keep going despite the repression, to help each other heal. Rather than serve as a therapy session or a support group, we are very clear that this healing process and in fact the process of organizing and building a movement has to help people connect to their personal power and create the kind of collective power that can transform the structures and power that oppresses us. In other words, we cannot separate personal transformation from our efforts to change power and structures.

INDELI was critical in helping participants redefine and reappropriate what it means to be a leader and challenge dominant assumptions about leadership even within our own immigrant rights movement. It started by recognizing that we all have leadership abilities and we exercise this personal leadership within our own spheres of influence: our families, communities and society. But leadership is not an individualistic attribute: it is about connecting our own power, our own capacity to resist and transform to that of others, turning it into a collective process and action. It's not about being the voice of the voiceless but about listening and having enough power to force those who don't want to

I think it's important to create consciousness, that we all become conscious and organize ourselves...because we can't complain our whole lives without doing anything...We have the problem of domestic violence...and yes, I've already been through that. But I don't want other women to go through the same thing.... I am doing something, I am giving information... I am passing out papers... maybe some people don't find that very attractive, but for me, yes. Because changes don't happen overnight, but are produced little by little and that's why you have to learn to start from the bottom.

listen to the voice of the excluded or oppressed of our communities. Challenging dominant assumptions about leadership is also dismantling the idea that leaders are supernatural people who act in a vacuum. Throughout INDELI we reframed the myths of leaders such as Rosa Parks and Cesar Chavez, who are often portrayed as almost accidental superheroes. Instead, participants learned that they were regular folk who were part of a larger community and movement with a clear identity built around values and needs and with an intentional strategy to challenge the status quo.

2. To strengthen and support the development of democratic, immigrant led grassroots organizations

This was a critical strategic goal and one of the main reasons for starting INDELI. Throughout the process we had continuous dialogues about why this was important and how it could look. Many participants made this goal a priority. However, participating

organizations were all over the spectrum in terms of their stages of organizational development and the integration of immigrants from grassroots communities into leadership roles. About two-thirds of the participating organizations were less than three years old and almost half were less than a year old or were started during the INDELI process. This reflects the relatively recent history of Latino immigrants and organizations in the region. Participants faced very different challenges and developed very different strategies or approaches in pushing their organizations to be more democratic and immigrant led:

- One participant who worked for an organization that had an immigrant led board but whose paid leaders were white battled around how to integrate the immigrant base into decisions around strategy and policy options. When he felt that his organization was taking its cues from the Latino elite instead of the grassroots community, he left his organization to form another one that was exclusively focused on the grassroots (he continued his participation in INDELI under his new organization and others from his old organization continued as well)
- A founder of a Latino community center wanted to create a structure where the center's clients and other community members could make decisions that would guide the center's work, especially as it tried to add organizing to its service and advocacy work. At the same time she struggled as her board and the local university that was providing the bulk of the financial resources to sustain the center reached a stalemate around the direction of the organization. Ultimately the center lost its funding and the founder was forced to shut it down.
- A group of women who were members of a support group for domestic violence survivors decided that they wanted to form their own organization that would help Latina women to find economic alternatives that would help them leave their abusers. They were enormously grateful to the organization that offered the support group and to the counselors and social workers that had supported their leadership development, but they felt they were at a point where they needed to exercise that leadership.

I am always giving them the little cards about remaining silent when they are detained, which is what we are more or less going through now. And I continue to build a grassroots committee... but it's very difficult because people are very afraid... but no, we don't take our fingers off the pulse. There we are... in fact, one of the members made the cards in English and Spanish... like business cards.

As previously emphasized, immigrant communities were under siege during the INDELI period. This forced our participants into a continuous pattern of reacting to wave after wave of attack and left few resources or energy to look inward and proactively build their organizations.

To help build and strengthen grassroots organizations it is necessary to have an intensive accompaniment process, which requires a whole other level of investment that we were unable to make. If the process of building leadership development at the individual or even team level is slow, then the process of building democratic and grassroots led organizations is probably even slower and more intensive. Despite this, through INDELI we planted many seeds that will help participants push

I learned to lose the fear, not just myself... I feel that all us women who go through domestic violence...to get out of the violence is very difficult. Well we get out, but then making a decision can be very difficult... but to go to the workshop and to become conscious of the things that are happening... then I'd say, "I have to do something"... I'd come back and would knock on doors... knocking on doors was very difficult for me before... but I lost the fear... the day of the march... we had our pamphlets and we had made know your rights cards. But no one would pay attention to us... so I stood up and began speaking loudly, or else no one would hear me. So if you speak loudly and people know that what your saying is correct and that you are offering correct information, then many people would identify with that and get excited... and the same people [who had organized the march] would ask us to help them. Because we had reached out, we had knocked on so many doors and no one would pay attention to us... many times ...because they are in charge of the [organization] they don't pay attention, and say, "Oh, she's just one of the crowd, of those who always come." But when you begin to lift up your voice, and when you begin to communicate and begin to lose your fear, and when people begin identifying with you... then the situation changes. And the leaders who were looking at you top down realize that they can't work alone and they start calling you asking for help... I hadn't been like this since before I had this problem with the violence. It helped me overcome it... the fear that I had. It was like closing that chapter.... it helped me say "I can be the same person I was before."

for change not only within their communities, but within their own organizations, as well.

3. To develop a shared analysis with a vision of social change based on justice and human dignity

When people are oppressed and their dignity is constantly under attack it is critical to open a dialogue that helps them reconnect with their own dignity and understand the reasons why they are under attack. We began opening that space early in the first workshop through an initial dialogue about dignity and by introducing the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a framework. We opened this public space as a political affirmation of their dignity, to help participants begin to put their experiences into a political context and to start thinking about how to put the human rights and dignity framework into action. For many participants the connection between their own dignity and the idea that all human beings are entitled to these universal human rights was immediate. This became apparent when we asked them what were some of the basic needs and rights that people need to live a life with dignity. The idea of universal rights and dignity was reinforced throughout INDELI as participants learned more about the history of other communities and their struggles, as well as through constant values and needs centered dialogues and discussions tying the themes of human rights and dignity to social justice. This framework guided our discussions around the Sensenbrenner bill, around the legislative proposals that helped some but hurt many others, around analyzing the messaging in the campaigns and mass mobilizations and its impact on other communities, and around an analysis of the hows of organizing and leadership during those mobilizations (looking at who was visibly at the front of the mobilizations and actions and the values behind some of the decisions made).

We had identified a series of political education topics as critical in helping participants have a more complete understanding of oppression and the intersection of its different manifestations, and to get a better picture of the history of the struggle for social justice in the United States and in our home countries. We prioritized the Civil Rights Movement because it is absolutely critical to our geographic location, the sense of urgency around building alliances with the African American community, the way the media and the opposition were pitting the two communities against each other, and the misappropriation of the movement's legacy by some leaders in the Latino community.

Unfortunately we were not able to address many of the political education topics that we had identified, primarily because there was a huge limitation around time, but also because the political moment we were facing required us to make changes to our planned curriculum. Issues such as class, gender, age, race in Latin America and globalization were part of the discourse and process of INDELI, but we did not have the opportunity to address them in a deeper way or through specific activities.

... The community has a lot of problems, they're not friendly with you... so sometimes you yourself become like that. But then when I went there... it was like removing the veil from my face. Like uncovering that which you almost don't want to show... the pain, the weakness, the loneliness, so many things... over there it was like you had to confront that. And there I met many people who had confronted very similar things to what I had been through...

4. *To develop organizations' capacity to defend and promote human rights in their communities*

This goal was partially achieved. Many of the participants integrated Know Your Rights (KYR) into their organizing work. At the first INDELI workshop we introduced a model for a Know Your Rights workshop that we had developed and used for over two years. Unlike most KYR workshops which focus primarily on the constitutional rights that apply to immigrants, our KYR workshop expands beyond the notion of know your rights to know your neighbor and know your race, that is, it integrates information about rights to an organizing and political analysis process. Through dialogue and reflection, we discuss that in the United States and in the South, the way your rights are denied is directly related to the color of your skin, and that in order to defend our rights we need to organize with our neighbors and form alliances with other communities of color.

We had intended for participants to use Know Your Rights workshops as an organizing tool early in the INDELI process, but we found that most of the participants were not ready to implement the workshops in their communities. We repeated the KYR workshop when we began the second year, as reinforcement for the first group of participants and for the benefit of the new participants. In the end, many of them did integrate

the KYR tools into their work, but they did so at their own pace depending on where they were organizationally, as they developed their confidence and skills level in facilitation, and as it became critical for their communities because of the political realities they faced. Integrating this tool into their work empowered INDELI participants and advanced their leadership roles.

More than what I had learned it was as if they had touched my conscience... "what are you going to do?... what are you going to continue to do?"... I didn't learn this just to learn, this has to serve something... I always think God sends us things... for a purpose... so I would say "Why has He sent me to Highlander... why am I in this leadership workshop?... it has to be for a reason, not just because, it's not just so I can sit and listen and do nothing. It's to do something different..." So I started bothering organizations, I started bothering many people. When I started to come to INDELI I was part of a women's group... but then they invited me to two organizations, and now I work at both those organizations as a volunteer.... They invited me to those two places, but it was because I was pestering everyone... then someone offered me work... but I was very clear about what I wanted to do... and one has to know who to hook up with, don't you think?

When we developed the INDELI model, we identified the very ambitious goal of participants creating local human rights committees that would use documentation of human rights abuses as an organizing tool. These committees were modeled after similar strategies used successfully in Chiapas and on the U.S.-Mexico border. Towards the end of INDELI, we introduced documentation of human rights abuses as a tool and discussed how human rights committees have been used as a strategy to pursue a social justice agenda. However, we realized that this goal was unrealistic for a number of reasons: a lack of infrastructure to implement the committees, a lack of legal resources and local allies to provide support, our own lack of capacity for accompaniment, and a political scene that, through the Sensenbrenner bill and numerous anti-immigrant initiatives at the state and local levels, threatened the very idea that immigrants had basic rights. Under these circumstances and given the repressive and

even violent environment in which immigrants were living, moving forward with the formation of local committees and the documentation of abuses would mean making visible, exposing and putting at risk members of a population that was already living underground. We were very intentional about not asking people to take risks that we were not taking or where we were unable to provide support.

5. To advance the development of a collective political agenda that leads to common actions and helps build a movement

The Sensenbrenner bill and the legalization effort provided a unique opportunity for us to advance a different discourse and analysis on immigration and social justice in INDELI. The human rights framework was a good tool to question and reflect on the limitations of short term policy changes because it pointed to wider structures that create the conditions for human rights abuses, which take longer and are harder to change. This highlighted the need to identify longer range goals beyond legalization and to see campaigns not as an end, but as part of a process to build a movement that can tackle these wider structures. For example, we had conversations about the “amnesty” program of 1986 that opened the doors for millions of immigrants to obtain residence. A few years later, those immigrants had to face the reality that legalization did not solve everything, and that getting residence had not necessarily ensured their economic well being or that their rights as workers were respected.

We had a great deal of reflection about how to move campaigns in a way that helps build our local organizations and to address problems not as single issues, but as part of a multi-issue movement. We discussed how we could not remain just an immigrant rights movement, but that we had to become part of a human rights movement, and a racial and economic justice movement. Issue based organizing is a luxury that our communities cannot afford. We also talked about how the process and construction of a social justice movement has to come from the bottom up. The people affected by the issues need to be sitting at the table and strategizing, and the current immigrant rights movement is very far from there. We moved towards questioning the dominant movement and advancing ideas that are more respectful of grassroots participation and leadership. This was visible at the anti-Sensenbrenner rally in Knoxville in February 2006. Although most of those attending were allies of immigrant communities, the presence of INDELI participants and the

When I do something I do it 100% and people have liked the things in which I have participated and I think that's thanks to INDELI.... I think it made me more human. I feel that that's what changed in me. Because before INDELI I worked with beauty products and they instill in you that you make money and this is for them and this other part is for you... but when I went to participate in INDELI, what happened to Lupita happened to me... it's like I found myself again. In other words, why should you make money squashing people... that's not right. And it's much cooler if you are going with the people... as Maria Jimenez was telling me—she's always told me this—don't go in front or behind people, but always next to them... and I liked that. I changed my own identity as a person... because before whoever did it to me paid the price... and now, no, I'm calm... I feel that that's what changed for me.

time they spent in front of the microphone and the stage changed the tone and challenged the idea of the movement being the voice of the voiceless, making it clear that society, including many allies, may be deaf and blind, but immigrants are not voiceless. Advancing and constructing the movement implies opening the space to be critical of that movement, and providing a space by and for immigrants allowed us to do that.

Building or advancing the movement was beyond our capacity, and it may be difficult to determine the long term impact of INDELI. However, we believe that wherever they participate, INDELI graduates will bring values and needs-centered questions that will challenge the movement and push the envelope around the role of grassroots leaders and how to build a movement that is consistent with a vision of building power from the bottom up.

What worked

1. *Skills building.* INDELI helped participants attain or strengthen critical skills necessary for social justice organizing. Some of the specific skills identified in the Year 1 and Year 2 evaluations and in the post-program interviews:
 - How to develop a work plan; planning; setting goals and objectives
 - How to prepare for and facilitate meetings
 - How to motivate others; how to work in a team
 - Better understanding of how to organize a community based group; how to form a group; how to organize my community
 - How to help develop leadership of others in my organization
 - How to understand our rights and teach others about our rights

In the evaluations and the interviews, participants were also asked how they were applying what they learned in INDELI:

It is easier to talk to people and officials around issues such as the police, racism or licenses

I implemented Know Your Rights workshops

I organized day laborers to create a workers' center in Nashville

I will use what I've learned to do a new community needs survey, build a coalition for better educational access for immigrants, to do political education

More professional meetings, recruiting more members, more concrete ways to inform, less tedious organizing, easier to do presentations

We had a community forum where we talked about human rights; we are following the meetings format that was given to us; every time I have an opportunity I tell people that they need to defend their rights; educating workers about their rights.

We are conducting a support group from which we have recruited 2 volunteers and one of them is joining our staff; we are working on having a well defined agenda and an action plan that helps us avoid consuming all our efforts in direct services and that allows us to achieve our objective and mission to reduce violence in Hispanic families.

I supported workshops and volunteer efforts. I learned to make good contacts that will be useful to me as we form our own organization.

2. Personal transformation. Whether by rebuilding their self-esteem and self-confidence, breaking through their feelings of isolation, or shifting their perception of themselves in relationship to their community, many INDELI participants described how they were transformed by the experience:

[Through INDELI I got] confidence in myself and the ability to say yes, I can do it or I can work in an organization... and to be a good popular organizer because I remember that I used to say that I wasn't a leader organizer but thanks to INDELI... I am.

...I am a new immigrant and when I got here I felt isolated but now I know that there are many beings that share a similar feeling and that has helped me redefine myself. They are an oasis to which one arrives to recharge yourself with strength, energy and knowledge.

I learned to love myself, personally. I learned to respect myself and to respect the differences among others and tolerate more things than I did before.

More than what I had learned it was as if they had touched my conscience... "What are you going to do?..." I didn't learn this just to learn, this has to serve something....

I learned to lose the fear....when you begin to lift up your voice and when you begin to communicate and begin to lose the fear, and when people begin identifying with you...then the situation changes.

In addition to participants' self-reflections through the evaluations or interviews, as facilitators we witnessed dramatic changes in some participants' knowledge, attitudes and behavior. For instance, one participant began the program with very little political consciousness, a

The first workshop that I went to was in October and then when I went to the Guadalupana Torch (an event in New York)... there I express myself well, I participate comfortably... and before I didn't do that. And that's thanks to what I learned in October and I already put it in practice in December.... For example there in New York, when we did the human chain. Because people were getting angry... all of this helped me facilitate. When we had to deal with the Minute Men... I had to facilitate... I did it all well. The way I facilitate topics and how I talked to people [changed because of INDELI].

great deal of judgment towards people different than her, and a sense of being disconnected, almost feeling “above” some of the struggles of others in the immigrant community. By the end of INDELI, she had a stronger political analysis around issues such as race and other forms of oppression, fully identified as a community member who was suffering from the same effects of racism as others, and her understanding and tolerance of others had vastly improved. Another participant had an enormous shift in how she viewed her work and her role in it: she moved from seeing herself as a leader/helper, as someone who would solve people’s problems to seeing herself as an organizer and an activist. Yet another participant, a natural grassroots, informal leader attained the skills and the capacity to fill leadership roles in several local campaigns. Overall, INDELI increased participants’ skills and confidence to assert themselves as organizers and leaders in their communities, despite very limited resources. It

remains to be seen what they could do when/if they were in a situation where they have more resources available for them to organize.

3. *Integration of families into the program.* To make it easier for people to participate in our workshops, Highlander offers free on-site childcare. With INDELI, participants brought not only their young children, but older children, spouses and in one case a mother that was visiting from Mexico. Since these family members had traveled long distances and they did not have alternative activities to participate in, we decided to integrate them into the workshops. Given that the current anti-immigrant climate is a de facto war on immigrant families, this commitment to integrate the participants’ children and spouses was very useful and highly valued by the participants. Almost all of the youth and children accompanying their mothers were born in the United States, living in communities with growing, but still relatively small Latino populations, where hostility against immigrants and isolation prevail. Highlander and INDELI specifically provided a space that validated their identity as Latinos and immigrant families. For the youth, participating in some of the workshops gave them a different analysis on current and political events than what they got in school. One mother told us that

her 16 year old daughter who had never shown much interest in immigrant issues had gone back to her school and began to challenge her classmates and teachers when they made anti-immigrant statements. She was also thinking about becoming a lawyer to fight against racism and injustice.

4. *Building relationships/redefining victory.* INDELI helped participants establish important relationships with other grassroots immigrant leaders in the region, which, in an environment that promotes fear and isolation, is a victory in and of itself. As part of our effort to better understand the kind of movement we are building and what we are resisting, we redefined victory as constituting many levels: the personal level, family level and community level, all of which are essential to create the possibility of a historical structural victory. The ultimate goal is to achieve popular movement victories, but without change at these other levels, we cannot achieve the bigger structural change. Thus, creating a sense of community with other immigrants across the region through relationship building is a critical step in building a movement that goes beyond local organizing efforts.
5. *Leadership development as a process.* Highlander's commitment to a two year program acknowledged that leadership development and movement building is a process which requires, among other things sustained engagement with participants over time and allows facilitators to reflect, revise plans, develop and test tools and engage in ongoing conversations with participants, each other, and others in the movement.
6. *Clear methodology/flexible curriculum.* Through INDELI we developed a clear methodological model and format for the 1 ½ to 2 day training which integrated participants' experience in the field as a starting point for most workshops and informed the curriculum development process. We have used this format successfully with other groups and it has informed the format we are using in Threads, Highlander's current leadership program. At the same time, we successfully adapted the curriculum and the format to the immediate survival needs of the group, by asking, "What did you apply in your context and how are you going to move forward?" Although it was critical to meet participants where they were, it did limit our ability to advance with some of the tools and analysis that we had originally planned to use.

7. *Practical, flexible tools.* INDELI provided the space to adapt, appropriate, modify and produce tools and to develop issues framing that we have used and shared in many other places and contexts (for a partial list, see Appendix B).

What did not work

1. Our capacity to do follow up in the field with participants was limited because we did not have enough staff resources and did not establish a systematic approach to fieldwork. In order to implement some of what they were learning in INDELI, participants needed much more help in the field than what they received.
2. Although we established a systematic and thorough recruiting process, we did not previously know many of the groups that applied to INDELI. We tried through applications and phone interviews to determine whether potential participants were on the same general page around social justice issues and the role of organizing. Yet, while helpful, we still ended up with several participants stuck in a strictly service providing or non-profit mode. This experience highlighted the importance of meeting applicants in person and building relationships with them before selecting participants. It also reflected the reality of many of the groups in the field.
3. It was hard to maintain consistent participation over the two years for a number of reasons: participants being in survival mode, complicated work schedules that shifted every week, family issues, health issues, organizational instability, and other organizational commitments. Organizations participated more regularly than individuals--- some sent different people to different workshops or only 1 or 2 would come. Working with a population that is under attack and vulnerable, it is hard to expect the degree of stability necessary for consistent participation over two years. This is common with all marginalized communities that we work with, and unfortunately, Highlander does not now have the resources to support participants in a way that would help them in their stability (by providing stipends, for example).
4. We did not have a clearly designed documentation and evaluation process. We had good potential tools (participant self-assessments, videos with participant interviews from the first workshops, and post-

institute interviews), but we were not sure how to use them, in part because the whole evaluation and documentation process was not thought out. We did not produce notes for each workshop to share with participants. We lacked consistency in debriefing the workshops and in noting changes made in the agendas and the curriculum during workshops. We did not make a plan or establish a deadline for producing the report and cleaning up the curriculum. Many factors contributed to this: a protracted leadership transition process at Highlander, including

I would explain to people I work with what we learned in INDELI... but I noticed the difference... they were already residents and didn't need it... I am a citizen, but I came from over there... I come from Panama, but they were here. That's when I realized there was a change, a difference from other people. For them it could be interesting... a community service, but they saw it more as when you pay dues... when a beggar passes by and you give them change. Like if you are doing a favor. That is a totally different perspective. I tried to involve people who were more [affected by the issues] on the board of directors, but then they don't want to have a responsibility. They want to be volunteers... when I want to I do it, when I don't want to I don't... and there needs to be a responsibility.

Mónica serving as Interim Co-Director during the INDELI planning process and through the first two workshops, the constant flurry of activities around the Sensenbrenner-King legislation and the mass mobilizations, and burn out due to workloads, personal circumstances, and because of the situation of the immigrant rights movement.

5. INDELI lacked integration with the rest of the education team and Highlander in general. Instead, it functioned as a separate program, parallel to Highlander's other educational programs and without many intersections (the exception was that there was some crossover with the Seeds of Fire youth program). For a place as rich as Highlander, this was a missed opportunity. This and the limited participation by other Highlander staff in INDELI reflect the structure of the education team in separate programs and the tendency to work in silos. Since the completion of INDELI, Highlander's education team has been more intentional about reframing the work in a more

integrated way, moving away gradually from the concept of programs.

6. A number of participants were never able to consolidate their teams and ended up coming to INDELI alone. In some cases, participants from the same organization did not have a real working relationship because of their different geographic locations. With one group, it was not until the end of the first year that we realized that two of the participants knew each other, but not the third person, who lived in a different community

- and attended a different support group sponsored by the same organization. This made it difficult when we did exercises and shared tools around team work, team building, collective leadership, etc. However, even for those who participated individually, the lessons and strategies around recruiting, building teams and sharing leadership seem to have helped: recently two participants who came to INDELI without a team brought other members with them to some political events. Also, two members of a statewide organization learned to work together and support each other within and outside of INDELI, despite living at opposite ends of the state.
7. One of the greatest limitations of the INDELI process and most Highlander workshops is the short amount of time per workshop. Although we tried to get participants to arrive on Friday for dinner in order to start in the evening, we found early on that only a handful of participants could arrive by that time, mostly because of work schedules. That left us realistically with only 1 ½ days per training, which amounted to a total of 6 days the first year and 7 days the second year. Additionally, especially during the second year, in some sessions we spent time on activities that consumed a good part of the day, such as the Knoxville action against the Sensenbrenner bill. In either case, we had very little time to build and practice skills, provide a theoretical framework, and undertake a political education/conscientization process. Spreading the workshops over time was both an advantage and disadvantage. It provided participants with time back home to apply what they were learning and reflect. This advantage would have been even more beneficial had there been a strong accompaniment process and a mechanism where participants could stay engaged with and connected to each other and with us. But without a good accompaniment process, the process felt somewhat disjointed. At every workshop we had to reopen the space, and re-create the environment for participation (something we would have had to do anyway, but maybe it would have been less time-consuming if the workshops were spaced closer together). It was also necessary to do this in order to integrate the new people who came in throughout process. Although we had not originally intended to add new participants down the line, we felt it became necessary to do so because of the fluidity within the organizations attending INDELI.

LESSONS LEARNED

The conditions for building a popular movement in the South are still very adverse, especially for immigrants. In addition, the overwhelming survival issues facing immigrant communities means that there are more groups providing services than organizing. Thus, there are relatively few organizing jobs and more employment or volunteer opportunities with service providers. Programs like INDELI focused on building grassroots leadership, organizing skills and a social justice framework can also have a powerful impact on participants who mostly do service provision. As they undergo a personal transformation that shifts the way they think about social issues and the role of clients and affected communities, they begin to impact and help transform allies and the people they work with. This is critical in places where immigrant communities rely on a sole organization to meet their needs and/or where there is little or no community organizing.



The political moment in which INDELI took place illuminated the success of the anti-immigrant movement in making us react and focus on them. Although the attacks against immigrants were and still are very real, immigrants and our allies continue to be trapped into responding to them as if we are the only targets, failing to recognize that the same people that are attacking us are attacking other marginalized communities. It is critical that we do a better job working on countering the wedges perpetrated by the Right, by bringing together different sectors/communities to work beyond issues and boundaries

defined by our adversaries, to start building common ground based on a better definition of human rights, and to work across identities to build a movement that is more inclusive and lifts up rights and dignity of all marginalized people. This has to be done while recognizing that the survival needs and abilities for each community may be different and may require a unique combination of tools and strategies. The key is to develop these tools and strategies in a way that builds on a common framework and analysis, and that helps build bridges rather than perpetuate wedges. For example, the Know Your Rights workshops used in INDELI meets a specific survival need for immigrants in a time of increased raids and immigration enforcement activities, but it is framed around the concept of dignity and human rights as they apply to all people and the idea that organizing is the best way to defend human rights. Although it is a slow process, the progressive immigrant rights sector that sees itself as part of a racial, economic and social justice movement that is not only about immigration reform continues to grow, and programs like INDELI are critical to strengthen the presence of grassroots immigrants with a broader social justice analysis in that sector.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. INDELI has given Highlander a level of recognition and legitimacy in immigrant communities in the Southeast. If Highlander were to implement a second Institute, it would be very important to build on that recognition to establish partnerships with organizations in the region that can commit to help with the accompaniment process.
2. With increasing repression and new state policies, it is becoming more and more dangerous for immigrants to travel or drive. To reduce these increasing risks, the INDELI model should be implemented locally. Meeting people where they are is becoming more literal and real. One way to do that is through the Justice Schools, a local version of the INDELI curriculum that is already being implemented by TIRRC in Tennessee. The challenge for Highlander is how to open space and launch a process that both brings people to Highlander and brings Highlander to them. This requires a high degree of institutional commitment to be able to do this.
3. Implementing a multi-workshop program such as INDELI requires the commitment of a team that participates consistently in all of its stages, from planning to implementation to evaluation. Because each component of a workshop and the curriculum builds on each other, it can be difficult to integrate facilitators intermittently if they are not fully involved in the entire process.

4. It is critical to make a stronger investment of documenting and evaluating the program. This process should be designed in advance and have designated staff resources to implement it. Ideally, the documentation process should include producing something in writing or on video to share with people that cannot attend the trainings. This could open the door for distance and virtual learning, which might become increasingly important strategies if the political and economic context makes it harder for people to travel or gather physically. It may also provide the opportunity to foment new partnerships. For an extended learning process, a midterm evaluation, especially of expectations and goals of participants and their organizations is critical. Similarly, the changes in the political context need to be discerned. Doing this enables the facilitators to assess where participants are in the process and to prioritize curriculum themes.
5. If Highlander could do more real accompaniment, that would make a big difference in engaging participants in concrete campaigns to change policy. This would mean revisiting the role of Highlander's staff, not only as trainers, but also as organizers. In its history, Highlander has not always made the separation between educator and organizer. If Highlander were open to the possibility to be more committed to local organizing as defined by local partners, the impact would be tremendous. Of course this would have a huge implication in terms of resources, how we are structured and how we work.
6. Highlander's current leadership development program, Threads, can play a critical role in integrating immigrants and refugees into a broader movement for racial and economic justice, but it is important to continue to invest in immigrant leadership development specifically.
7. If Highlander were to launch another immigrant-focused leadership development program, it should expand beyond the Latino immigrant community to include other immigrants and refugees. Just as it is critical to build bridges between immigrants and other marginalized communities, it is imperative to address the wedges that divide immigrant and refugee communities from each other. Bringing different immigrant and refugee communities together helps move the goal of pushing people further in understanding that their issues are a result of common root causes and that the solutions lie in building a broader movement together.
8. To address the dearth of immigrant focused grassroots organizing resources in the region and in the country, Highlander should transform the INDELI process and materials into a curriculum that can be shared and adapted by

other organizations in the South and elsewhere and make it available in print, electronic format and through the Internet.

CONCLUSION

INDELI represents Highlander's institutional commitment to a training process for collective leadership development from an approach based upon the theoretical and practical dialogue between the experiences of the American South and parts of the Global South. Its methodology draws both from the Highlander tradition and the Latin American tradition of popular education and Liberation Theology. This commitment to a mid/long term process happened at a time when many big actors within the social justice movement, and especially the immigrant rights movement, were reducing the spaces and opportunities for training (for example the closing of the education departments of several major unions) and a push for more "pragmatic" approaches to policy and immigration reform.

INDELI happened within an historical context that included the echoes and consequences of September 11th, the war on Iraq and Afghanistan, and the worst wave of xenophobia and nativism this country has seen in many decades. As such, it became a space to reproduce the capacity for resistance at the personal, family, organizational and community level. As a longer term, ongoing process, it also provided an opportunity to invest time and resources to develop new frameworks and new tools to understand and transform the realities of our work for immigrant/human rights.

The activities and dialogues during INDELI were designed not only to critique the political and economic system, but to provide us with a space to reflect on how social justice movements get stuck replicating the same practices that trap us into short term activism for policy victories that end up in long term organizing defeats. Part of the INDELI methodology and approach is an attempt to do things differently so that we can achieve a different outcome, because we have not had many victories in the immigrant rights movement since 1986. This is a result not only of our adversaries' proposals, but of our own "movement's" strategies which are not working anymore (language and messaging, decision making, leadership, distribution of resources).

...As survivors, we are not the only ones who have needs.. there are other women who have needs... and what I feel is that with domestic violence we can work and stay just as survivors...[or] we can build another group and other people can join.... When you are in the process of coming out of [domestic] violence it's difficult... and you spend the whole time crying. But after a while you recuperate and ask yourself, "what can I do for others," when you get tired of crying , then it's like, "What are you going to do now? The wound healed and the scar is left, what's next?" I want to help other gals... to leave that world and to begin to work.

One of the key questions that INDELI proposed was: what are we going to do differently to get a different result. For Highlander it meant going back to its legacy of building and accompanying local organizations through a critical vision and using critical methodologies to build something that allows us to have long term structural change, in addition to short term victories. INDELI connected with and followed in the footsteps of some of the best of Highlander's traditions: Myles Horton's notion that you have to meet people where they are (sometimes literally), of Septima Clark's idea that you have to be "ready from within," but also connect to local, very concrete tools as a way to build groups and networks, and of Ella Baker's leadership approach of accompanying and supporting without being the protagonist and being unafraid to challenge and criticize mainstream approaches.

As described earlier, the possibility of providing full accompaniment and of supporting concrete campaigns to win something at the local level was very limited in INDELI, both because of resources and the political conditions. In addition, the full fledged attack on immigrant communities while INDELI was occurring thwarted some of our curriculum plans, even as it provided an incredible historical context for praxis. But even with these limitations, INDELI accomplished some very important things:

1. Participants underwent remarkable personal transformations that strengthened their ability to resist and enhanced their ability to lead in their communities
2. INDELI helped to increase the number of social actors that share a set of progressive social values and principles
3. These social actors have and will continue to influence the organizations they work at or belong to---no matter what roles they play and what the focus of their organization is
4. INDELI honored Highlander's legacy of respect and commitment to building leadership of the people directly affected by the issues
5. The program provided the space to create and adapt practical tools that can and are being shared/used in immigrant and other communities
6. INDELI helped set the stage and for Highlander's next level of leadership development: a multi-racial, intergenerational, multi-issue program called Threads, which was launched in the Spring of 2008

The political context for the immigrant rights struggle and the social justice struggle is very volatile and keeps changing yearly. It will likely change again as a result of the November 2008 elections. It remains important to stay committed to processes that continue to build immigrant leadership and immigrant led-organizing, not so much for the answers they can provide, but for the questions they might pose. While the questions might inform similar processes, the answers have to come from the concrete circumstances that

communities in struggle are dealing with. The answers in INDELI were not theoretically based, they were based on the concrete situations that participants and their communities were living at the time. It is impossible to convey the suffering that people, families and communities are going through, the repression they are facing, the fear and stress of daily living, and the amazing power and capacity of resistance they already have, how they just keep going despite everything thrown at them. Most of them would be defined as people who need help and are "at risk". Despite the enormously challenging circumstances, they continue to work to change things, keeping open the possibility of a popular movement in this country.



APPENDIX A

A TOOL TO MEASURE OUTCOMES

(based on a framework created by the School of Unity and Liberation/Movement Strategy Center)

One of the most difficult parts of evaluating social justice organizing work is discerning the outcomes, or the concrete changes that occur as a result of our programs. As we were implementing INDELI, Highlander's youth program was collaborating with the School of Unity and Liberation, the Movement Strategy Center and other organizations on developing and fine tuning tools for youth leadership development. The following SOUL/MSC framework identifies concrete indicators of change at several critical levels and in many crucial areas. In this Appendix we use direct quotes from INDELI end of year evaluations that indicate to us that program participants made significant progress in their personal and political development. Although do not have the same kind of indicators to ascertain the degree of change at the organizational level, we believe that this complete framework is a useful starting point for developing evaluation tools that can do so, and therefore we have included it in its entirety. (Quotes from INDELI Year 1 and 2 evaluations are in *italics*).

AREAS OF GROWTH AS A PERSON

Sense of safety

- Experience of emotional and physical safer space that fosters a sense of empowerment, decreased sense of shame of background and life experiences
- Sense of safety to explore various identities

I carry in my heart a very beautiful experience that I know will serve me greatly throughout my life. All the effort I made to be present was worth the sacrifice. Thank you again. I am a new immigrant and when I got here I felt isolated but now I know that there are many beings that share a similar feeling and that has helped me redefine myself. They are an oasis to which one arrives to recharge yourself with strength, energy and knowledge.

Relationship building

- Build peer support relationships: sense that there is someone to go to for support/guidance

I met other people

...I learned how to work with more people, know how to respect and have my space respected; we joked and worked together with respect

[the most important thing I got was] communication with other groups and [learning from] their activities and experiences.

Sharing, since we made it a tradition to hear the reports [from other groups] of what they had done...

I learned to socialize with each group and [the other] leaders and exchange informations, etc.

Self Esteem and Agency

- Increased confidence, positive self image, self esteem
- Sense of agency in one's own life, shift in a sense of self-capacity, believe that they have control over decisions, own power
- Personal transformation/individual change (shift from someone who is surviving to someone who is an empowered leader)

Everyone has helped me feel capable of forming a group and that way accomplish goals and objectives in favor of the community

I have learned to be more patient, to give others importance, know how to listen to them and feel part of them. INDELI helped me a lot personally because I have identified myself more in who I am, where I come from and where I am going.

Here they taught me how to value myself and to have valor to struggle for what one wants to be, I learned to lose the fear of speaking and communicating with the community.

I transformed myself completely, I became more human, more conscious of the needs of the community. [I obtained] more conscientization more education about human rights and needs.

...I wanted to know more about my rights as human beings; here they taught me my rights and how to act with immigration.

Sense of Optimism and Possibilities

- Greater sense of their own possibilities for their life
- Sense of increased number of options available to them

I definitely accomplished [what I wanted to]. My [goal] from the beginning was [to start] an organization. If I had started it a year ago without assistance it would have failed but now I see things in a more positive way and I am more ambitious.

Skills building

- Develop public speaking skills, persuasion skills, knowledge of how to represent yourself
- Develop conflict resolution and problem solving skills, ability to pay attention to the “big picture” outside own viewpoint
- Develop skills to set goals and be able to reach them
- Ability to flexibly apply skill sets in real life situations, recognizing different contexts require different attitudes
- Develop a sense of interest in continuing to build skills, increased value of hard work necessary to build skills
- Prioritize being able to hand down skill sets to others

I defined my goals and my feelings about what I wanted

Now I have more criteria and tools to apply to my community work.

I obtained information about how to make a work plan.

This experience helped a lot. I have been working with 4 people from the community. Three of them have greatly developed their leadership ability.

Organizing and Leadership: in theory they sound pretty but when you put them into practice ...it takes time and energy. In INDELI the classes were practical just as it would be in everyday life.

[what I got from this experience] was the possibility that this experience can be shared with the community.

It is much easier to talk to people, for example, issues about issues about the police or racism or drivers' licenses

Leadership

- Sense of belonging to the community
- Sense that one has personal strength to lead others
- Sense that one has opportunities for decision making
- Gain concrete leadership skills and experiences

I was able to strengthen my ideas and much more because my objective was only to help the group at the Women's Center. But INDELI has motivated us to form a group.

I wanted to know how to help my community because even though I was already working with them I wasn't sure if I was helping in the correct way and with good information.

Identity Development

- Stronger sense of self, able to identify different parts of self (political, racial, cultural)
- Identity shift from problem to asset to agent
- Sense of own value as a human being in relationship to other human beings (because part of oppression is devaluing worth as a human being)
- Sense of self in relation to the world around them being able to relate to one's environment and the political landscape one is in
- Commitment to themselves and the organization
- Ability to be both teacher and learner, to speak up and listen, to have a sense of action and a sense of taking time to bring others along, etc.

I learned a lot from all we shared with our peers.

[The most important thing I got is] confidence in myself and the ability to say yes, I can do it or I can work in an organization,... and to be a good popular organizer because I remember that I used to say that I wasn't a leader organizer but thanks to INDELI...I am.

Independent Critical Thinker

- Intellectual growth, curiosity
- Develops opinions around issues
- Ability to think for one's self, coming up with one's own ideas
- Increased self expression, creative expression
- Values life experience as valid as formal education

[it] gave me the opportunity to expand my vision. It gave me more confidence and helped me develop skills to address the community with a clear message [I still need to work on it].

Connection to others and community

- Sense of connections to people different than one's self
- Sense of commitment to community
- Sees community and world in a different way, to move in the world with a sense of connection to others
- Sense of empathy and compassion

I was moved to see how the women who have suffered abuse have survived. Myself, that I have fallen and picked myself up.

[I learned] how to share with other people and respect their ideas.

I learned how to be a leader in my community and how to help our community

[The most important thing I got was] unity and acceptance of our differences and equalities.

AREAS OF GROWTH AS ORGANIZERS AND SOCIAL ACTORS

POLITICAL AWARENESS AND KNOWLEDGE

Critical Consciousness of Power and Inequality

- Understanding of the world in terms of the way power is distributed and the historical struggles of oppressed people
- Understanding of “power with” instead of “power over”
- Understanding issue within the context of power
- Understanding of how to access culture of power and language of power
- Understanding of what oppression is and how it functions
- Understanding of inequalities, problems they see in their daily lives and their role in processing root causes, systems of oppression

How through time in this country there has been oppression and how people who love their neighbor have organized to struggle together. It has always been a peaceful, organized and collective struggle.

That through history many groups have suffered social injustices and they have achieved change thanks to unity and organizing the bases.

I leave with a clearer notion of the present, past and future history that is in our hands.

Knowledge of Political System and Human Rights

- Understanding of fundamental human rights
- Understanding of how the political system works at all levels (city, state, federal, government, legislature, businesses, regulating agencies and other power structures that are not as evident)
- Understanding of what it means to participate in democratic processes
- Understanding how political context, institutions and systems shape their lives
- Understanding of rights and responsibilities as social actors

I wanted to be able to help my community to fight for the rights that we have...and the Know Your Rights workshop was especially helpful.

I learned about my rights and that I can act if the moment presents itself, for example like I did in New York.

The workshop about our rights taught me a lot.

Knowledge of Issues and Organizing

- Knowledge of issues, awareness of issues in their community
- Knowledge of history of organizing
- Understanding of what organizing is: knowing the organizing process: what’s the problem, what are the root causes, what are the solutions, who are the key decision makers, defining issues, tactics of organizing, how to develop a campaign

[I wanted to participate because of] the need to learn how to organize the community. Because I was hired as a community organizer... Yes [I got what I needed], but I think I still have a lot more to learn.

Now I understand that to be effective we have to be well organized.

I learned that when things are well organized from the base you can build super strong organizations

...that the power of the people when it is united and organized can accomplish a lot.

What has been the most important for me is how to create a grassroots organization

The most important thing I learned...was: how to organize my community

I learned that as individualists we accomplish little and if we work collectively we can accomplish the goals we desire.

POLITICAL IDENTITY

Personal Self

- Sense of motivation, excitement about organizing, confidence in self, interest in politics, initiative for action
- Sense of entitlement that decision makers and public institutions are accountable to immigrants
- Personal transformation/individual change: “From someone who is just there, to someone who sees that there is a broader system that can be changed”
- Culture transformation: awareness of how oppression is manifested in daily life: consciousness lens
- Development of an activist identity

The movement has inspired me more to continue with the struggle.

Collective Self

Connection to History

- Understanding of own history and context and how other peoples’ experiences intersect

I feel like I have a little more historical understanding of what my people have suffered

I especially learned a lot about other experiences of struggle

The struggle for civil rights, despite the oppression and the tears they shed they never took away their struggle for being recognized. It was accomplished with much sacrifice and bloodshed.

All [of it was important] because I have very little knowledge.

...[we learned] the reason for which [African Americans] were struggling. Everything they suffered [are] our precursors and without a doubt the best training and manual we have today, it is our base. AND HISTORY REPEATS ITSELF.

Connection to People and Community

- Sense of connectedness seeing beyond yourself
- Sense of being a part of a collective space
- Sense of empathy
- Sense of accountability to the group
- Sense of membership in the community, sense of being a “giver” and not just a “taker,” being part of something bigger
- Shift from self-interest to group-interest; assuming responsibility for others who one might not know
- Understanding of self in relationship to other people
- Understanding of self, other, world, and the relationship among the three

[the most important thing I got from this experience was] sharing with my peers and knowing that we all have the same focus which is our community.

[the most important thing I got from this experience was]...sharing with the other participants their victories, weaknesses, fears, etc.

Connection to a Social Movement

- Sense of why it is important to have allies, how to be an ally, why we need allies, also part of identity development
- Sense of empowerment through interactions with peers/allies
- Constant thinking about the higher level of what’s going on, the bigger picture outcomes
- Making connections between things that are happening locally, nationally, and internationally
- Connecting community issues to larger issues about economic justice and power
- Connecting work at one organization to that of other organizations and recognizing that immigrants are building a movement

POLITICAL SKILLS (APPLIED)

Broad Organizing Skills

- Ability to strategize, mobilize, develop campaign targets, define issues and organizing tactics
- Public speaking skills: ability to speak clearly, strategically, about an issue and debate an issue

- Negotiation and persuasion skills: ability to approach a stranger to get them to do something, to ask for things directly, asking for money, to be succinct and personable
- Interviewing, facilitation, listening, decision making, time management, plan meetings, problem solving, conflict resolution, writing skills
- Ability to build relationships with others (community members, organizations, politicians, policy makers, allies)
- Ability to be resourceful: “knowing where to go to get info”
- Ability to stand up for themselves and others

I am no longer shy to talk to the city authorities.

[Our participation has led to] a) more professional meetings b) recruiting more members c) more concrete ways to inform d) less tedious organizing e) ease in doing presentations f) positive attitudes g) enthusiasm and dynamic energy within the group

I supported workshops and volunteer efforts. I learned to make good contacts that will be useful to form our own organization.

I did workshops about immigrant rights. I had more arguments to talk to the local authorities and to train. I plan to develop other campaigns.

I understood about different ways to organize the community, different methods and the accomplishments obtained have been satisfactory.

[I learned about] steps to organizing, committees and group coordinators.

[I learned about] planning--- making an action and organizing plan—how we are going to do it, in what direction are we going.

Processes need to continue. That the process is not static, that evaluation is important to know if we met our goals or not and whether we need to develop new actions to be able to meet them.

How to prioritize problems and needs.

How to work as a team, organizing methods... I learned new tools to direct a meeting, better methods/practices to be organized.

Leadership Skills

- Ability to lead meetings, motivate others, mobilize people, make things happen with peers, educate other young people, do outreach, ability to model behavior, engage in co-facilitation, build others’ leadership
- Understanding that immigrants can teach other immigrants and distinguish between transmitting knowledge and facilitating learning for others

[I learned to] plan, [understand] what is a leader, how to prepare a meeting

I implemented the Know Your Rights Workshops in several places...I organized day laborers to create a workers' center in Nashville.

I have organized with others in the community and I have organized a community forum.

We had a community forum where we talked about human rights; we are following the organizing format that we were provided with; every time that I have an opportunity I tell people that they should defend their rights and I find resources for them; educating workers about their rights as workers

We are forming a support group for which we have recruited 2 people as volunteers and one of them is starting to be part of the work team; having a well defined agenda (we're working on that) of our program and an action plan that helps us avoid consuming all our efforts in direct service and allows us to achieve our objective and mission of decreasing violence in Hispanic families.

I am going to apply it in the new group that we want to form.

It is very significant when you know about your rights and you can teach them to the community. Sometimes we think we are worth nothing or know nothing because we don't know how to read, but if we learn even if it's just by listening we can take action with this.

Leadership is to "lead by obeying", work in a team: avoid the know it all complex, respect the opinions and ideas of the rest of the team members. It can be harder to work in a team but you do a better job (the result of the work is better). You need to compromise, flexibility and humility.

[I learned about] the types of leader, to recognize the different leadership models, and to know how to maintain human relationships, to have an equilibrium between direct service and human relations

[I learned] to know how to listen, to cede to the group's ideas... when everyone exercises leadership it's difficult to arrive at a common agreement, but it works better when we respect each others' time, when we don't impose our ideas and we accept that others can have better ideas; for me this was very important.

[I learned] not to undertake everything as a leader, share responsibilities. Not to be too authoritarian or too passive.

[I learned about] organizing forums, making contact lists, door knocking, phone calling. Making letters, making meetings, flyering, putting announcements in newspapers.

Giving tasks to others to help in events and informational forums.

[I learned to organize] doing athletic and cultural activities; also bringing together friends and families, etc.

Analysis Skills

- Critical thinking skills
- Power analysis skills: power mapping
- Ability to analyze and understand root causes of social and community problems, translate a community problem into issues to organize around
- Ability to do research, analyze information and use data
- Participatory research skills: doing research applied in a real life setting
- Analysis skills: being able to see the issue from different sides
- Skills to critically analyze news media

I plan to use the information I obtained to do a new survey.

Group skills

- Understanding of individual skills and how they play out in a group setting
- Skills to work together in groups, build coalitions, teamwork
- Skills to build relationships with people of different backgrounds and across difference

POLITICAL BEHAVIOR/ACTION

- Build relationships
- Advocate for oneself/family in different settings (work, school, community services, etc.)
- Apply specific skills learned
- Follow current events, e.g., read newspaper
- Use a variety of political rights and responsibilities to leverage social change (electoral activity, contact/speak to media, petition drives, political debate)

LONG-TERM OUTCOMES

- Sense of accomplishment, efficacy, agency
- Active citizenship
- Transformation into a life long change agent
- Sense of power over own life
- Invest in own future

AREAS OF GROWTH AS A COLLECTIVE

COHESIVE GROUP DYNAMICS

Collective Leadership and Decision-Making

- Group understanding of why it is important to have a collective process for deciding on issues
- Group operates under a philosophy of “power with” versus “power over”
- Group ability to problem solve and come to a solution as a group

Group Synergy

- Group affirms value of individual ideas, opinions, beliefs in their power
- Group is resourceful about maximizing individual assets within group, really seeing what each person brings to the table
- Group notices group dynamics and attends to the process of inclusion
- Group allows individuals to be creative

Working Across Difference

- Group is made up of relationships across difference
- Group guards against conformity of thought, differences of opinion are valued
- Group can resolve differences of opinion, can agree to disagree while still coming to a workable solution
- Group welcomes new ideas, constantly bringing in diverse new members to build the base

SENSE OF COLLECTIVISM

Group Identity

- Group develops and sustains a collective consciousness
- Group shares a common identity, members understand what the group stands for
- Group has an identity that transcends individual members, who may come and go
- Individual group members have a sense of accountability to the group

Group Unity

- Group exhibits a sense of cohesion to advance a specific agenda
- Group is made up of individuals with close friendships and bonds that provide mutual support
- Group works as a team, share a collective experience

GROUP INFRASTRUCTURE

- Group has a clear sense of purpose which is reflected in its mission and vision statements
- Group has a long-term strategic plan with goals and objectives
- Group has translated its strategic plan into doable annual action plans

- Group has a structure that reflects its values and helps it to achieve its mission, goals and objectives
- Group has the resources or plans to obtain the resources in order to achieve its goal and objectives

GROUP EFFICACY

- Group has a sense of legitimacy (i.e., in the organization as well as broader through media coverage, recognition by other political actors, etc.)
- Group sense of pride around accomplishments
- Group is strong enough to bring in additional members, grow their membership base
- Ability to group evaluations and discussion how to improve upon past experiences

MOVEMENT CONSCIOUSNESS

Sense of Connection to Broader Social Change

- Group senses that they are a part of something bigger
- Group sense of connectedness with others facing similar struggle

Solidarity with External Allies

- Group recognition about the importance of alliance building and reciprocal support (more power in numbers)
- Ongoing group relationships with other organizations
- Group decisions to lend support and participate in direct actions of other groups/stand in solidarity

APPENDIX B
Expanding INDELI's reach

During the past few years the vision, lessons and tools developed at and for INDELI have been applied and adapted in many other training and organizing settings.

Many of the tools we applied at INDELI came from other places and struggles, and many of the tools we developed or adapted during INDELI are already being applied in many other places. Many of these tools were originally developed in Spanish in the United States; this by itself is both a reflection of how complex our current context is,; how much we have advanced in the past few years and how valuable a process like INDELI is.

Here are some examples:

EVENTS	ORGANIZATIONS	THEMES	PARTICIPANTS	TOOLS applied
Vida Digna Workshops 2006, 2007, 2008	Colectivo Flatlander	Beyond Mobilizations and Beyond Immigration Reform, how to build a grassroots lead popular movement	Organizers, activists and grassroots members of social justice organization from Texas and the Gulf Region (total of 60)	PODER Esquema de Nido IAS diagram Workshop format-flow And the general political analysis and balance between theory and practice. As well as the framing of immigration reform from a racial justice vision
Popular Education Training Institute (2007) Regional Meetings and State Assembly as part of Strategic Planning (2008)	Colorado Immigrant Rights Coalition (CIRC)	Building a state wide coalition from the bottom up, promoting-developing immigrant leaders and constructing a democratic structure that can respond to urgent needs and builds a movement for the long term struggle for structural change	Organizers, activists, grassroots members and allies of immigrant rights organizations in the different regions of Colorado (more than 100)	Leadership tools, several organizing reflections guides, organizing model-vision, several exercises like power soccer, diagrams like IAS, Esquema de nido, etc... and as above, the general analysis and the workshop format and flow. The experiences from the South about how to respond to isolation and repression and at the same time build organizations and the movement were very useful and inspiring. The learning about the role of allies was also very relevant to the realities of Colorado

EVENTS	ORGANIZATIONS	THEMES	PARTICIPANTS	TOOLS applied
South East Immigrant and Refugee Rights Training Institute	NNIRR, Highlander Center, Colectivo Flatlander and several regional partners from the South East (COLA, REJN, etc)	Training institute based upon the BRIDGE curriculum but adapted to the context of the SOUTH	Organizers, activists and grassroots members and allies from immigrant rights organizations of the South East (more than 100?)	Community organizing models, approach to legislative-policy work from community organizing perspective, visions about leadership, connection with the historical tradition of resistance of the South. PODER, esquema de nido, vision of Educacion popular.
Wedge Issues in the Workplace (using Popular education to explore the so called "Black-Brown" tensions on the workplace (2007) PopED Fest for union and community organizers (2008)	UC Berkeley Labor Center, and PopEd Fest in partnership with the team of Canadian popular education that published "Education for Changing Unions" (Jojo Geronimo, Darcy Martin, Bev Burke, Barb Thomas, Carole Wall)	Training institute to learn and apply popular education in the context of unions and community groups	Labor and community organizers, union members and members of community groups (staff from the Labor Center, Accorn, Poder, SEIU, etc) Total of 70 more or less	Poder reflection guide, Esquema de Nido, IAS diagram, several exercises and dinamicas, especially the adaptations of power soccer and the ten chairs exercise. General framework of popular education, grassroots organizing, immigrant rights and popular movement.
Several one day workshops and sessions with many organizations in Houston, Texas or at national conferences				All of the above.

APPENDIX C WORKSHOP 6: DIALOGUE ON MOBILIZATIONS

Workshop 6 was held in May of 2006 and focused on reflection and analysis of the historic immigrant mobilizations that took place, as well as the ensuing political landscape. All of the INDELI participants were involved in actions or mobilizations of one type or another. At the workshop, we asked participants to share what had happened in their communities or regions, how they felt about what had happened and what it meant to them. We are including the notes for that discussion here because it is a powerful snapshot of what was happening on the ground in grassroots immigrant communities at this critical juncture, as participants shared their joys and frustrations, their triumphs and defeats.

Louisville and Shelbyville, Kentucky:

We've participated in marches, taking information helping with transportation, doing popular education, making signs. Making Know Your Rights cards, and participated in the Lexington March on April 4th. There were about 10,000 people. We also did political education for the April 10 march and the May 1 March in Louisville.

We invited many people, and then I found out that some had planned a party... that makes me mad, but I also realize that there are a lot of people that support us.

We have had problems with the community itself. There are immigrants who are angry at us. People are afraid because of the rallies. The police came and made arrests... there have been reprisals. People accuse us saying that because we mobilized that's why immigration is arresting them: "it's your fault...you who took to the streets." It's misplaced anger.

I thought that the bigger organizations would take more initiative because they had more resources.

A lot of organizations—unions, churches--- didn't want to show their faces as organizations. They would say, we can't do this because we receive money from such and such organization. Or they would organize it in name but we would organize it from below.

I am also happy because there are important people that are supporting us, priests, lawyers, etc.

There are many people that thank us and others who blame us.

I feel both like I'm losing hope and wanting to struggle. I am confused by the immigration proposals, I am sad because of how disunited we are.

Morganton, North Carolina:

We've been active since all of this started. We did a Know Your Rights workshop. We participated in a march on April 9, starting from North Hickory. We had a special mass at the Saint Francis of Assisi, with about 1000 people. We participated in the April 10 march in Charlotte. We also supported the May 1 activities. We obtained the support of the poultry processing plant. They gave the day off, as did the Capri furniture factory, and we did the day without

consumption. What has happened in the community is that people are paying attention to the news, asking each other questions, taking more initiative in finding information. There are not many leaders. Most people don't do anything. But it really surprises me and gives me a lot of pride that people go out and take the initiative of doing that on their own. We don't have a leader or a group or big organization that can take leadership, or there is one, but it's not really coordinating with everyone... they have resources but they don't do much, so we are doing it locally. We feel very motivated because before people didn't want to participate and now they call to offer their cars to go to Charlotte. It is astounding.. that response fills us with joy and we see that the work is having an impact.

I am worried because when I participated in the march, I met many Americans who are sticking their necks out and we who have the need are behind. It embarrasses me because they are sticking their necks out for us and they are also receiving threats...

Benson and Siler City, North Carolina:

I received a call on Sunday telling me that there was a march the next day. First we felt frustrated...the poultry plants and the furniture factories closed. There was an Hispanic store that did not close, but then I thought that maybe that was good so that it could meet the community's needs. We had the march...

That march had a huge impact, there were around 10,000 people. The police looked nervous. We went from Benson. They suspended students who supported us, for 15 days. Now the North Carolina Justice Center continues to fight their case... People continue to feel intimidated and afraid. There are raids every day, suddenly the flea markets and the Catholic churches are empty because of the immigration raids that are continuously slamming all the population...

I am proud to see the participation of the young people...they realize this is important... wherever I went I would take flyers, to the stores, also the businesses, and one of the business owners participated and I like that because I saw the support of the Hispanics that came. I also got angry because some people just talked a lot and hid... someone was yelling that the KKK or ICE was going to come... I was told that I was a citizen and why did I care... but I do care; I have family abroad and it affects us all.

We selected the speakers... there were some who wanted to support us but couldn't because of their funding... when we reached the mayor's office the mayor complained that we couldn't do that. Someone controlled the microphone, but the phrase that we like the best was, " the people if silent will never be heard."

There are organizations that think that everything revolves around them, but they don't participate or get involved appropriately. And there are those who come and don't know the reality of the workers... I don't have papers but I stick my neck out... and as long as they don't kick me out of the world, no problem, they can kick me back to my country. There is a local bank that says it supports HR4437... we are cancelling our accounts with them.

The police was impressed with the order and cleanliness of the group.

Houston, Texas:

Since the Minutemen we started to become active, then HR4437, then the rally here in Knoxville, and later the march in Houston on February 26. On March 27, the students had a march about the Dream Act, and we participated with calls and letters to the Senate...then in April there was another march on the 10th. We formed a coalition, and those who hadn't been working wanted to be in front. The committee was going to figure out who was going to talk, someone self-appointed themselves as the MC. After the 10th, that coalition fell apart and we became the coalition for respect and dignity for May 1st, where we had between 30 and 50,000 in the rally and the march. The last thing we've done was a few days ago when we went to give letters to Senator Hutchinson... we took 1000 letters, and the groups with resources didn't bring any letters and they wanted to take away my letters, but I didn't let them. I felt a little frustrated but also with a lot of motivation to continue fighting. As Martin Luther King, Jr. said, "A nation that spends more on the military than on social problems is heading towards its spiritual death." And as we would tell the Minutemen, " God bless you, because you don't have love in your heart and you don't respect us as human beings."

Knoxville, Morristown, Memphis and Dayton, Tennessee:

We know we are in a movement that is making history but also that there are people against us... we are excited but also discouraged because there are people from our own community who are against us, like that group "You Don't Speak for Me." We are making history, like they made history during the Civil Rights Movement.

I agree that people lose their motivation, everyone thinks that something is going to happen from one day to another, and people call asking what is going to happen. We have to explain that it going to take a long time. I get frustrated when I am organizing people and they would tell me that there were rumors of raids, and people would lose time from work and then they won't participate. You know something has to be done, but people become discouraged. With the first march that we did, I felt very proud of my kids. They participate and when there are actions they don't go to school. They are understanding that when there is something that is wrong they also have to do something.

In Dayton we went to Atlanta on April 10, about 15 of us, and on May 1 only 5 of us went. It is very exciting to be in a march with 2,500 or 3000...as you see yourself part of that great march you are filled with great emotion. We invited many, but they didn't want to go. They said, you go and tell us about it. When we came back we organized a small meeting, on the basketball court and we told them how many people they were, that we are not alone...we have to wake up little by little... we have to teach each other like small leaders that we have to have character, a 100% positive attitude so that people can follow you with more confidence, because if you are afraid, you'll transmit that fear to them. In Dayton we are few and I don't like it because it always has to be me...but maybe I haven't known how to motivate them or focus them so that they can come to these workshops or participate...but what I have done is always tell them that yo have to be a leader with character, it is better to tell people the truth.

After May 1, many people didn't want to go to Washington because they had already lost their job on May 1. I would like to know how to motivate people because sometimes they ignore you and you lose your enthusiasm to continue...I have participated and I feel good, but I know that it's not enough.

Nashville, TN:

March 28 was an extraordinary march. We asked the group how we should participate and they decided we should participate as part of the community and not as a group.

I participated as community, as an immigrant, as an illegal, as a human being, and as a woman... I had never seen so many people like me, so many Hispanics...a positive thing was the presence of the community. There was solidarity among legals and illegals... the community participated as volunteers, people helped each other get there... the schedule was very good, it didn't affect our work or risk our jobs. A lesson for our community is that sometimes we only include ourselves as Hispanics, but there Koreans who are illegal and from all over... being illegal we are all equal. Many got there however they could. There was a lot of confusion, some didn't know what they were going to. They criticized us for carrying symbols of our countries...As for May 1, the idea for an economic boycott was good. People wanted to participate...but fear stopped us from participating and going to that. I didn't even know how the decision [to do a boycott] was made... they said it was the community...I wasn't asked, we didn't know who made the decision. You have to inform the people so that the people can agree and we can support the movements... you can't decide for others because we risk our jobs...they didn't explain that we could lose our papers...at my job in a very big company, my boss said that those who missed work had labeled themselves as illegals... after that I received a letter that my Social Security Number does not work.

How do I feel? Like everyone, frustrated, sad, discouraged. Sometimes I want to go home and watch the soap opera and how my children fight with each other. ..but I can't stop because I want a better life not just for myself but for everyone, and not just for Hispanics...

The boycott was a good idea, but not with the work thing... I crossed the desert because I came to work... you don't ask people to risk their jobs...