

After the Welcome Center:

Renewing Conversations about Immigration & Diversity in Faribault



Taryn Arbeiter, Maria Ward and
Professor Katherine Tegtmeier Pak
St. Olaf College, Department of Political Science
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1 INTRODUCTION

Immigration has changed Faribault, Minnesota's population dramatically in recent years. In 2010, nearly one-fifth of local residents identified as non-white, up from only two percent twenty years earlier. Various sources indicate that most of those persons are recent immigrants and their family members. For ten of the last twenty years, the Welcome Center offered advice and support to immigrant and refugee newcomers about how to access local services and build a productive life in Faribault. The Diversity Coalition, which created the Welcome Center, complemented its activities by giving longer-term residents a chance to learn about their new neighbors. With the Welcome Center's closing in December 2010, and the suspension of Diversity Coalition meetings, Faribault finds itself at a turning point in responding to the arrival of so many new residents. This report seeks to open new conversations and paths of action "after the Welcome Center" by presenting community leaders' ideas about the challenges related to immigration and diversity in Faribault.

We gathered the ideas and information presented here from three different types of sources: (1) qualitative interviews with thirty-nine Faribault community members; (2) publicly available statistical data; and (3) published reports and articles on immigration to Minnesota. The interviews were conducted during the spring of 2011 by pairs of St. Olaf students enrolled in a political science course, who contacted persons introduced by the United Way of Faribault. Students interviewed people identified as community leaders with knowledge about immigrants and refugees in Faribault. Additional names of likely respondents were added following each interview. We reached people with a range of expertise, including officials from local schools, city and county government, non-profit organizations and churches; however, we acknowledge that many other knowledgeable people were not contacted due to the limited time frame for conducting research. The Appendix explains in greater detail how we conducted the research, including the names of those interviewed.

We used public data, reports and articles about immigration to place the interview findings in a broader context. Government offices, including the U.S. Census Bureau, the Minnesota State Demographer's Office, the Minnesota Department of Education, the Minnesota Department of Human Services and the Minnesota Department of Employment and Economics proved rich sources. We also relied on studies commissioned by such public agencies, alongside reports from grant-making foundations, task forces and other research-oriented organizations such as the Immigration Policy Center, the Migration Policy Institute, and the Minneapolis Foundation. Journalistic accounts and popular writing, together with academic studies related to immigration to Minnesota, rounded out our supplementary research.

We hope that this report will be read broadly in Faribault, by all persons with a personal or professional interest in immigration, diversity and community relations. In the pages that



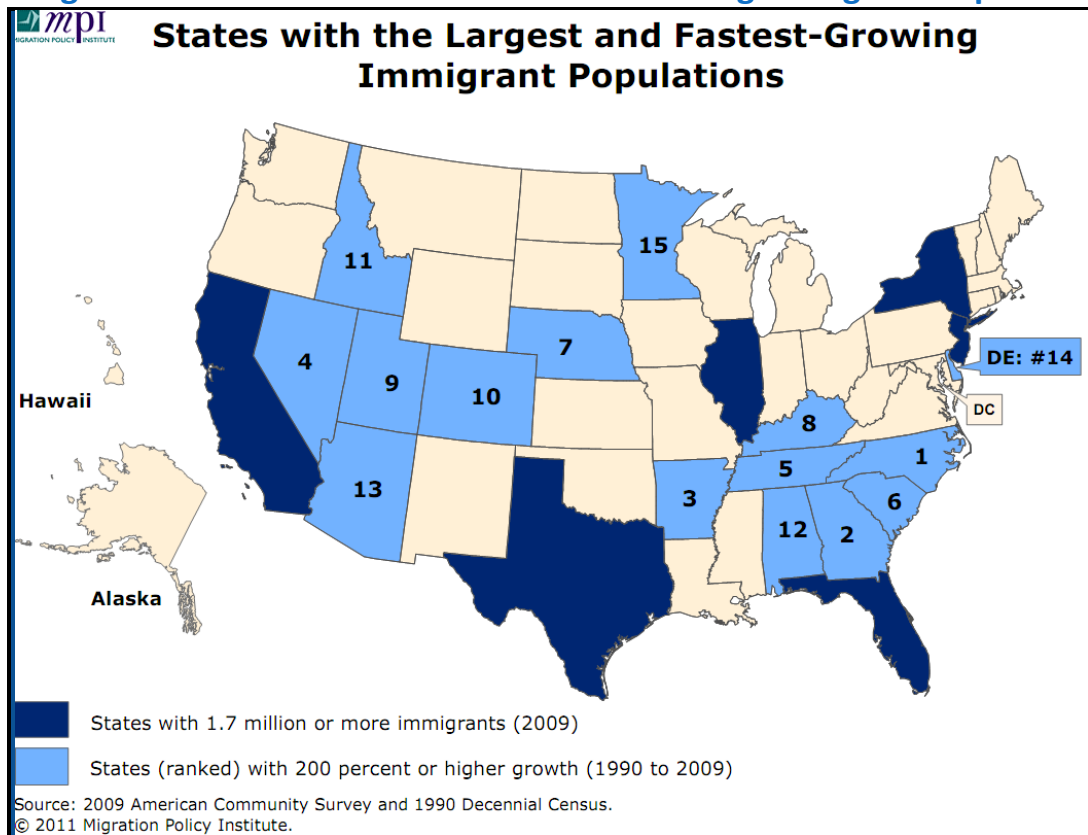
follow, we offer a brief introduction to **Minnesota’s immigration history and trends** followed by a **history of recent immigration to Faribault**. The core section of this report, on **critical needs and key issues** presents the concerns, goals, and ideas about immigration-related challenges shared during the interviews. The report concludes by offering **seven specific recommendations** grounded in our holistic interpretation of the interviews and related information about immigration. We aim for this report to facilitate and renew conversation about how Faribault can best incorporate its newest residents. We hope that those conversations will provide a solid foundation for positive action in the near future.

2 IMMIGRATION AND DIVERSITY IN MINNESOTA

2.1 RAPID GROWTH OF IMMIGRATION IN RECENT TWENTY YEARS

Immigration continues to shape public life and society in the United States in new ways, as communities across the country, including those far from traditional “gateway” cities, receive newcomers from around the world. Immigration to the South and Upper Midwest has increased dramatically in the past two decades, with many immigrants settling in rural areas and small towns.¹ Because new immigrants are predominately from Asia, Africa and Latin America, they comprise “minorities” in the U.S. context, and are often highly visible in areas of the country that have long had majority populations descended from the nineteenth and twentieth century immigrations from Europe.

Figure 1: Minnesota has 15th Fastest-Growing Immigrant Population²



Minnesota has emerged as one of the states with a markedly rapid growth in new immigrants during the past two decades, as demonstrated in Figure 1, above. During the 1990s, the immigrant population of Minnesota increased by 138 percent, compared to fifty-seven percent nationwide.³ In this decade, the minority population in 100 of the 853 cities in Minnesota grew by at least 100 percent.⁴

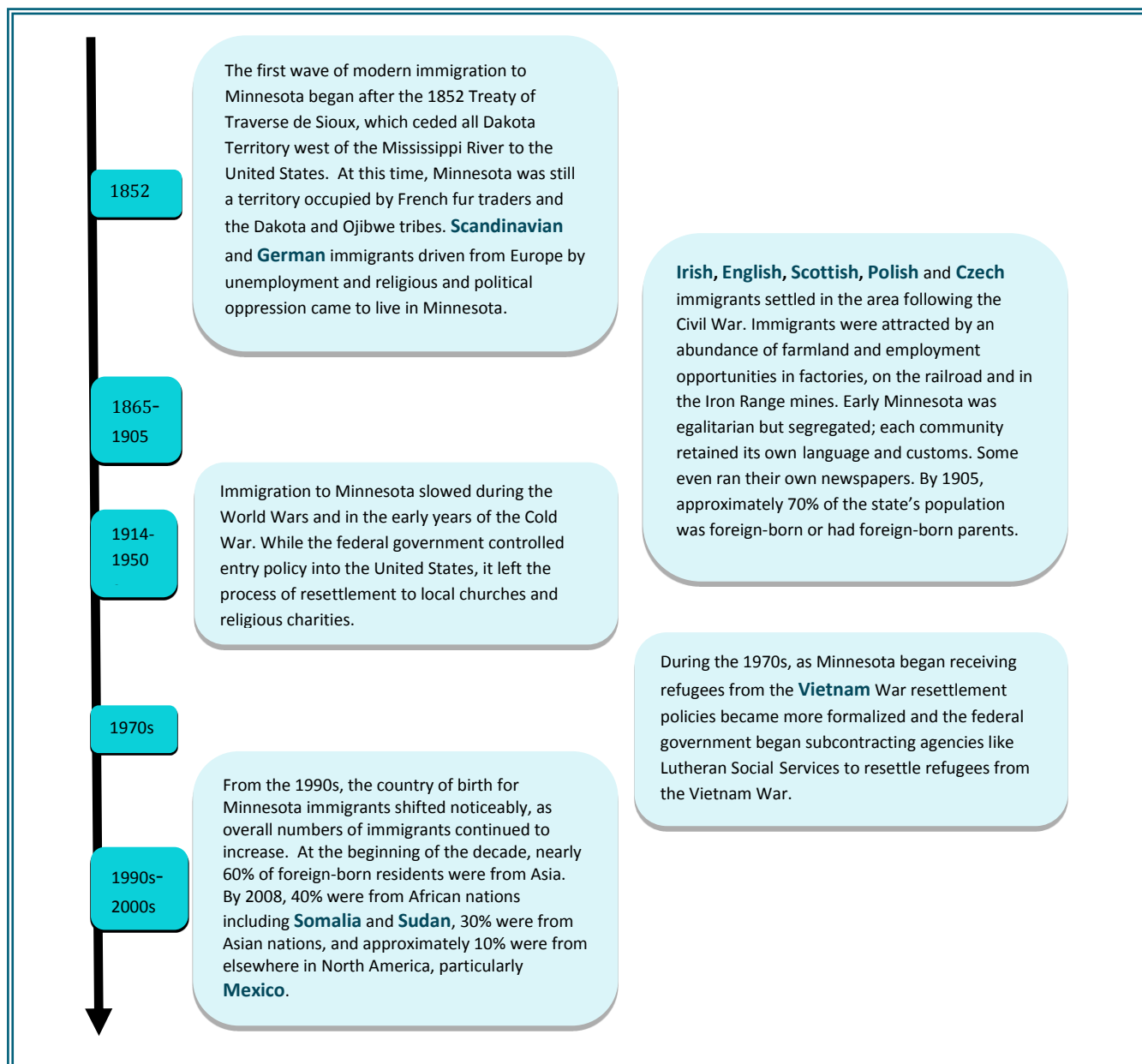
Another notable trend concerns the rate of growth of Minnesota's foreign-born population, which exceeds the rate of growth of its native-born population. In the last twenty years, Minnesota's immigrant population grew ten times faster than the native population.⁵ According to the Minnesota State Demographer, the total population of Minnesota increased by nearly eight percent from 2000-2010 and the minority population increased 2000-2010 by 16.4 percent. Despite the rapid growth in the number of immigrants, the foreign-born population of Minnesota remains small relative to other states; foreign-born residents account for only 6.5 percent of the state's residents, compared to 12.5 percent of the total national population.⁶ Demographers expect the general trend of high immigration rates to continue: Minnesota's non-white population is projected to grow from nineteen percent in 2015 to twenty-five percent in 2035. Within that category, the Hispanic/Latino population alone is expected to grow fifty-eight percent during this time.⁷

A distinctive feature for Minnesota within larger U.S. trends is the high percentage of persons with refugee status. One-quarter to one-half of Minnesota's immigrants are refugees, compared to eight percent of the nation's immigrants.⁸ For example, Minnesota is the primary destination of Somali refugees. Since 1991, thousands of Somalis have immigrated to Minnesota, either directly from refugee camps or as secondary migration from other cities. Like previous immigrant groups, Somalis are drawn to the area by strong economic opportunity and refugee service agencies. The American Community Survey showed that in 2009, an estimated 13,390 Somali-born immigrants were living in Minnesota.

2.2 HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Minnesota's residents can trace their origins to many different parts of the world. Over the state's history, the range of home countries from which international migrants arrive has shifted repeatedly. From the mid-nineteenth to mid-twentieth century, the largest number of immigrants came from European countries. From the middle to nearly the end of the twentieth century, Asian countries provided the majority of immigrants. In the last twenty years, African countries became the most important source, with a smaller number of immigrants coming from Latin America, particularly Mexico. Figure 2, below, presents a timeline of immigration to Minnesota from the middle of the nineteenth century into the beginning of the twenty-first, highlighting changes in countries of origin over the long term.

Figure 2: Major Shifts in Country of Origin for Minnesota Immigrants⁹



2.3 WHY IMMIGRANTS MOVE TO SMALL CITIES IN MINNESOTA

Today, three important “pull factors” attract immigrants and refugees to Minnesota: (1) a vibrant economy with many low-skilled jobs in manufacturing and agriculture; (2) a social services infrastructure that supports relocation; and (3) the opportunity for a better quality of life in rural areas, like the city of Faribault.

Many Somali immigrants are secondary migrants, meaning that they originally settled in other “gateway” cities such as the Twin Cities or elsewhere in the United States.¹⁰ Latinos are mostly first- and second-generation immigrants who come directly from Mexico. The

smaller numbers of newcomers from Guatemala, El Salvador, and Honduras include both primary and secondary immigrants.¹¹

The migration of Somali and Latino populations is driven in part by the structure of the food-processing industry. Following consolidation in their industry, employers at food-processing plants increased their use of immigrant workers. Throughout the Upper Midwest, the meatpacking industry suffered in the early 1980's from falling consumer demand for meat products and oversupply. The industry attempted to cut back by reducing production costs, laying off workers and cutting wages. Faribault was caught up in these changes, described below by University of Minnesota professor Katherine Fennelly in a 2005 article:

In 1993 the Jerome Foods management announced plans to close the plant, and asked the 300 workers to voluntarily reduce wages. In December of 1993 the company closed the plant; it was reopened one month later as the 'Turkey Store,' with 100 employees. A year later, when the union contract expired, the new and remaining members of the much-reduced workforce voted to forego union representation. In January of 2001, the 'Turkey Store' plant was purchased by Jennie-O, a subdivision of Hormel Foods. A second shift was added, and the plant expanded to six hundred employees who process about 12,000 tons a day. In addition to Latinos, the plant employs Cambodian, Vietnamese, Somali and Sudanese workers. Many have settled in Faribault with their families, as demonstrated by the increase in minority student enrollments at a time when overall enrollments were declining.¹²

Changes in the agricultural industries are part of a larger phenomenon where many different types of manufacturing have relocated from urban areas to low-tax, rural locations.¹³ Increased employment opportunities in rural locations are reflected in immigration patterns throughout the Upper Midwest, where foreign-born workers are estimated to provide fifty percent of the labor force in meatpacking industry, at least fifty percent of the workforce in the dairy industry and about seventy-five percent of the workforce on all crop farms nationally.¹⁴ Employment patterns continue to shift. According to our interviews, the Turkey Store laid off around 300 employees in 2009, changing the economic landscape in Faribault once again. Many individuals previously employed at the Turkey Store are now unemployed or employed in neighboring towns.¹⁵

Migration to small towns in Minnesota reflects not only the availability of work, but also the availability of affordable housing and good schools. Scholars Grossman and Schaid conclude that migration to rural areas, particularly when immigrants have already lived in larger gateway cities, is also driven by rural areas' overall quality of life, including lower crime rates, less risk of clan hostility, less new terrain to navigate and less risk of marginalization in undesirable neighborhoods.¹⁶

2.4 WHY IMMIGRATION AND DIVERSITY ISSUES MATTER

Immigration matters to Faribault for various reasons, economic, cultural and political.¹⁷ It is likely to continue for some time. It has important consequences for public expenses and public resources alike. Finally, Immigration's cultural and political impact also matters greatly.

Demographers predict that market forces and differences in birth rates between majority and minority populations will lead to continued arrivals of immigrants and their children in small towns like Faribault. More immigrants will likely be needed for workforce growth, as

baby boomers retire and fewer young people are prepared to take their place.¹⁸ Experts at the Minnesota State Demographic Center project that the white population will experience slow growth in the next twenty-five years, while Latino, black and African-American, and Asian populations are projected to increase dramatically, in some cases doubling their populations.¹⁹

Immigration brings both public expenses and benefits. Direct expenses may include English-language instruction and the costs of translation or interpretation for public services. Benefits for small towns, in particular, can include funding increases that result from a younger population. Immigrants' arrival can reverse the negative fiscal consequences of a shrinking and aging population.²⁰ Increased enrollments and increased numbers of working-age people can generate increased tax revenues from public funding formula and tax policies.

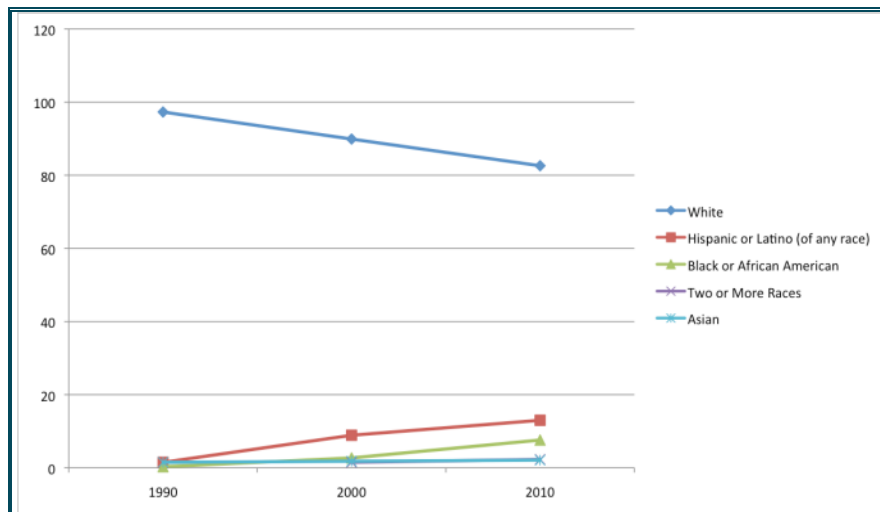
Immigration also matters because it is accompanied by potentially contentious cultural disputes that are unlikely to be resolved without attention and effort. Cultural differences can, however, bring opportunities, as they may prepare native-born residents for an increasingly globalized economy and world by fostering interest in and sensitivity to cultural diversity. In any case, debates about immigration's cultural impact affect local, state, and national politics.

3 IMMIGRATION AND DIVERSITY IN FARIBAULT

3.1 FOREIGN-BORN RESIDENTS ARRIVE WITH THE TURN OF THE CENTURY

While we still await release of the most up-to-date data from the 2010 U.S. Census to provide us the clearest understanding of the total foreign-born population available, we can nonetheless affirm that Faribault has undergone a dramatic increase in the number of foreign-born, “immigrant” residents of various legal statuses ranging from refugee and asylum seekers, to legal residents, to those without the proper documentation. The 2000 Census found that nearly seven percent of the population was foreign-born, with most of those residents arriving in the United States in the prior ten year period.²¹ Additional data-gathering by the Census Bureau through the yearly American Community Surveys indicates

Figure 3: Changes in Racial Composition of Faribault Population²²

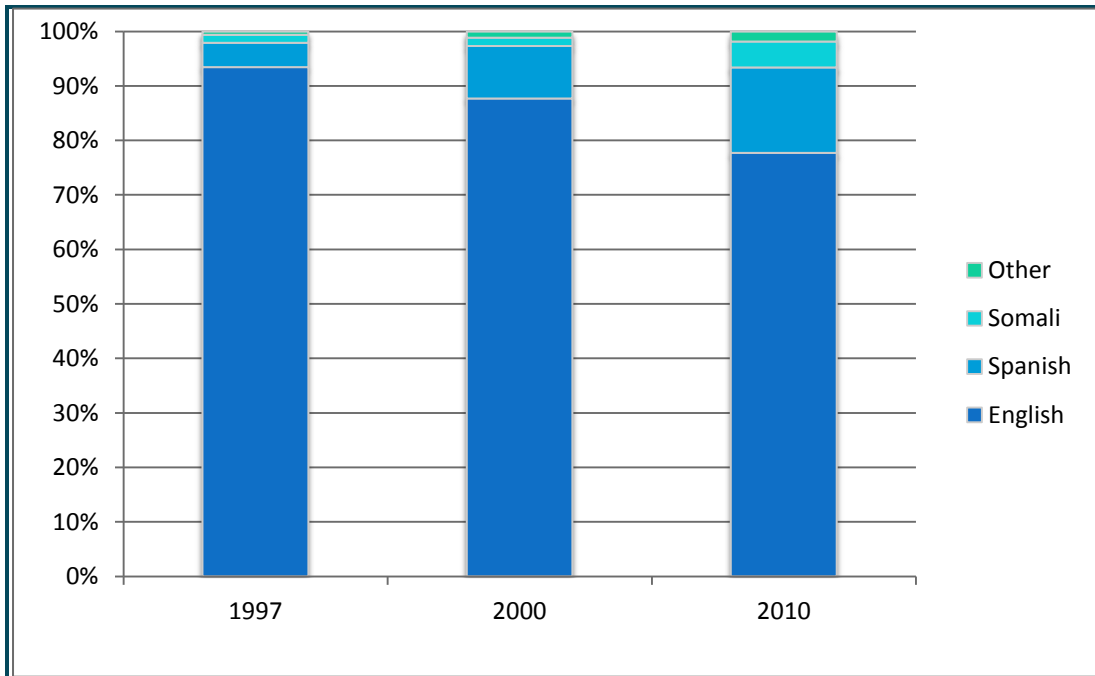


that we can expect to see evidence that more foreign-born persons moved to Faribault in this past decade, too. In the meantime, we can review data about race and languages spoken at the homes of children enrolled in the public schools to get a partial picture of the overall growth in the immigrant population.²³

Until the 1990s, Faribault’s population was overwhelmingly white, as 98 percent of residents identified as white alone and not Hispanic or Latino (according to the 1990 Census).²⁴ According to the 2010 Census, 82.6 percent of the residents identified themselves as white alone. The remaining fifth of Faribault’s population is largely made up of Latinos (who can identify as any “race” in U.S. Census surveys) and Somalis drawn by the opportunity to live in a small town and work in food processing plants, especially meat-packing plants. Figure 3, above, charts the percentages of the total population of Faribault by race and Hispanic origin for the years 1990, 2000 and 2010.²⁵

We can also comprehend the growth of immigrant families in Faribault by using statistics from the local School District. Figure 4, below, shows the number of students speaking English, Spanish, Somali and other languages at home for the years 1997, 2000 and 2010. It shows that while native English speakers comprised nearly ninety-five percent of the overall school population in 1997, by 2010, they had declined to less than eighty percent of students. Additionally, we know that minority student enrollment in local public schools increased by 273% between 1991 and 2002, and that almost all of those counted as minorities are immigrants or the children of immigrants.²⁶

Figure 4: Primary Home Languages in Faribault School District ²⁷



3.2 HISTORY OF FARIBAULT'S RESPONSE TO RECENT IMMIGRATION

Faribault's recent history of responding to immigration traces its roots to the 1970s and 1980s, when local government agencies and other community organizations welcomed an increasingly diverse clientele, as Vietnamese and Cambodian immigrants and refugees who came to the United States after the Vietnam War, arrived in town. English as a Second Language (ESL) classes were offered at this time through Adult Basic Education (ABE), a service of the Community Education Department, co-administered by the city and the Faribault School District. At this time, classes were offered once a week to about thirty-five people. Currently, ABE serves about 500 students of various nationalities.²⁸ The arrival of immigrants impacts the School District more than any other public institution, as schools serve as a first line of contact between newcomers and long-term residents. Faribault schools also offer ESL courses to their students and employee cultural liaisons to smooth communication between school and home. More recently, immigrants' employers have played a small public role in the integration of their employees, donating to the local library in order to assist it in buying English language learning materials.²⁹

A visible, centralized response to recent immigration began with the 1999 founding of the Diversity Coalition. Founding members of the Coalition had some experience with community development and immigration and diversity issues, in part through participation in workshops sponsored by the Blandin Foundation.³⁰ Under the leadership of Milo Larson, owner of The Print Shop and then chair of the Chamber of Commerce board, these community leaders followed a statewide trend among other small cities with similar demographics, by creating an organization that aimed to "build understanding and trust" between community leaders, businesses, government officials and recent immigrants.³¹ Its founders intended it to provide "a venue for civic engagement" for all of Faribault.³²

Within a few years, the Diversity Coalition founded the Welcome Center, with advice from University of Minnesota professor Katherine Fennelly and South Central Technical College staff among others. The Diversity Coalition served as the Welcome Center's advisory board. The Center opened in May 2001 at 24 Division Street, later moving to a shared space with the St. Vincent de Paul Center. It was supported by the City of Faribault, which offered a low-rent space and "several small grants for operations."³³ Other funding, including from the United Way, supported operations on occasion. One full-time director/organizer and two part-time employees, one Somali speaker and one Spanish speaker, who both assisted with translation and interpretation, constituted the paid Welcome Center staff; volunteers complemented their work. The combined Diversity Coalition and Welcome Center helped immigrants connect with resources (e.g., dentist, doctor); sponsored forums to educate the mainstream community; built a bus shelter at the mobile home park; sponsored learning circles between immigrants and long-term residents; and held monthly meetings.

In our interviews, respondents praised the Welcome Center for having connected immigrants to public and private service providers. They also valued its role in channeling information to those organizations about how to provide more efficient and inclusive services and programming.³⁴ Finally, they think that it enhanced communication and collaboration between private and public organizations for part of its existence.

"[A] big part of what the Welcome Center used to do [is]...for a bilingual person to sit down one-on-one with someone, help them complete a form."
- Growing Up Healthy Community

Because the Welcome Center aspired to a visible, central role in Faribault's responses to immigration, its closure presents concerned residents and organizations with a significant turning point. They must decide which of its functions to continue, and how to go about doing so. At the time of our interviews, which directly asked community leaders to consider what actions should be undertaken in Faribault "after the Welcome Center," respondents did not agree about what should come next. Some still want a centralized organization that serves as a first point of contact between immigrants and the broader community, others do not. Among those who do want a central organization, there is no agreement about who should take the lead in creating it. For the time being, some of the services provided by the Welcome Center have been picked up by other organizations, including the United Way,

"The Welcome Center was a fabulous, wonderful place. But it's gone. So why did it disappear? Was there a lack of funds? A lack of people? I think we can look at that question as 'What happened to it?' and 'What new possibilities can we create?'" - Handahl

Growing Up Healthy, HealthFinders, So How Are the Children, the Somali Community Services Center, St. Vincent de Paul, and ESL teachers in the public schools and adult education programs. Interviewees disagree about whether or not efforts to fill the gaps left by the Welcome Center's closing are sufficient. No one is certain about which functions were being filled or how.

In short, as of April 2011, clear consensus on how to deal with the absence of the Welcome Center did not exist, nor did agreement about why it closed. The people we interviewed offered many individual ideas about lessons that can be drawn from its closure, however, including:

- Organizations responding to immigration should prioritize securing a stable funding stream.³⁵
- Organizers of groups like the Welcome Center need to appeal better to the larger Faribault community.³⁶
- Existing organizations should at least provide a services and resources directory.³⁷
- Faribault schools and churches, alongside other organizations, should get people to commit to being inclusive of the diverse population now living in town, even as that might mean rethinking local identities.³⁸

In the next section of the report, we ground these comments in a fuller, detailed presentation of community leaders' ideas about what immigration and diversity related challenges face Faribault today. We invited those interviewed to think expansively about what issues matter most, so as to gather the broadest possible foundation of information about daily affairs and interactions related to the changes in Faribault's population. We also sought to learn these people's creative thinking about new possibilities and opportunities for forging a new plan of action. Our goal throughout was to speed up the sharing of these insights within Faribault, by compiling them in a single document that could be read widely, and referenced for the purposes of renewed conversations, programming, and grant-writing in service of well-informed, well-planned local initiatives.

4 CRITICAL NEEDS AND KEY ISSUES: FINDINGS FROM SPRING 2011 INTERVIEWS

This section comprises the heart of this report. The interviews conducted in March and April 2011 asked local community leaders to share their experiences related to immigration and increased diversity in Faribault. Feedback to an initial analysis of the interviews was collected during a public presentation on May 16, 2011. Here we synthesize their ideas into three major sections. First, we outline the terms and perspectives that interviewees used when discussing immigration. Second, we document how patterns in communication, culture and community organization comprise “community-wide issues” that provide the foundation for responding to immigration. Third, we detail the “immigrant-specific issues” that affect newcomers’ daily lives in Faribault. Some of those issues affect immigrants only or primarily, such as the difficulties of learning English, while others affect a broader spectrum of Faribault residents, such as the need for affordable housing. In each section, we first provide a thorough overview of how our respondents define each topic and issue. Whenever possible, we follow the overviews with interviewees’ ideas about how to “take action” on each issue. Some of the “take action” concepts are already in practice at a particular organization, and deserve to be more widely known and emulated. Others of them are suggestions and plans for future initiatives.

4.1 SPEAKING ABOUT IMMIGRATION: TERMS AND PERSPECTIVES

4.1.1 Terms

Most interviewees agree that Faribault’s immigrant and native-born communities operate alongside each other; coexisting peacefully, but not acting as a single integrated community.³⁹ They do not agree about what should be done to unite these groups. We found Faribault leaders thus enmeshed in the long-standing American debate about which people ought to change and how much. Academic experts on immigration currently frame this debate as a choice between “multiculturalism” and “assimilation.” Sociologists Alba and Nee define multiculturalism as an acceptance of “more or less autonomous cultural centers organized around discrete ethnic groups, with much less interpenetration of cultural life.”⁴⁰ Assimilation they define as “the decline of an ethnic distinction and its corollary cultural and social differences.” They note that for some people, assimilation carries negative connotations, because it assumes an end point goal whereby all immigrants adopt views and practices associated with an unchanging “Anglo-American middle-class culture and society – the putative mainstream.” Alba and Nee themselves think, however, that if assimilation advocates are willing to acknowledge that the mainstream itself is actually a “composite culture,” in which the mainstream and minority groups are all changed by the assimilation process, it need not be viewed negatively.

We saw this debate play out in our interviews, as some Faribault leaders seek to create a mosaic society; others think most about bridging differences between groups; and still others hope that immigrants and native born residents will come together to create a more cohesive, composite society.⁴¹ As in scholarly writing about immigration, the terms of Faribault’s discussion about immigration are still up for debate. The extent to which individuals range along the continuum of ideas about how much integration and accommodation are necessary is apparent in the many words used to discuss the options available in Faribault. People spoke to us about efforts to “welcome,” “embrace,” “accept” and “tolerate” immigrants. They highlighted distinctions between concepts such as

“diversity” and “inclusiveness” and used metaphors such as “bridges” to conceptualize how immigrants should be incorporated into the host society.

4.1.2 Perspectives

We also found that respondents differ on basic assumptions about what is at stake, or how immigration matters in Faribault. Our interviewees relied upon three points of view, or perspectives, as they explained the basic premises that should guide Faribault’s future responses to immigration: the human rights perspective, historical perspective, and economic perspective.

- **Human rights perspective**

Respondents who emphasized the human rights perspective think that native-born residents should sympathize with immigrants, and that they could better do so if they viewed them as human beings and members of the community rather than as foreigners or illegal aliens. Those who work extensively with immigrants stressed that they are just trying to care for their families and make good lives for themselves like everyone else.⁴² These interviewees believe that when people from the different communities try to understand each other, they will discover that they have much more in common than they previously thought.⁴³ Interviewees think people will view each other as individuals and friends rather than as representatives of a specific group if they talk one-on-one and share personal stories.⁴⁴ They hold that personal relationships will prove essential in moving past cultural conflicts to achieve an integrated community.⁴⁵

“People sometimes just label them as undocumented and that seems to be the end of the issue, but they are wonderful people with good values.” - Kell

Respondents used the human rights perspective to point out that native-born Faribault residents lack knowledge about the struggles and terrible situations that immigrants had to flee.⁴⁶ They asserted that native-born residents should respect and sympathize with both those who fled violence and hunger as refugees from Africa and those who came to escape hunger and poverty in Central America.⁴⁷ A local religious leader emphasized that Faribault residents need to learn more about the dangerous conditions in Mexico, to increase sympathy for the plight of undocumented immigrants.⁴⁸

- **Historical perspective**

Interviewees who emphasized the historical perspective feel that native-born residents could better sympathize with newcomers if they reconnect with their own immigration history and recognize that their ancestors were once in the same position as Latino and Somali immigrants are today.⁴⁹ One government official pointed out that although there is a lot of anti-government rhetoric in the debate over immigration, the government has helped everybody in some way at one time or another.⁵⁰

- **Economic perspective**

Some interviewees view immigration from a perspective that prioritizes economic issues. A member of the media commented that on a basic level, many people in Faribault believe the government should not be providing more than the most basic services to immigrants.⁵¹ Some respondents, including both immigrants and native-born, told us that they believe

immigrants receive more help than everybody else, which leaves many Faribault residents feeling cheated and angry.⁵² Some of these people believe that immigrants are here to use the welfare system and take away jobs. They fear that government handouts will lead to a sense of entitlement among those who receive help.⁵³ Others said that although the vast majority of those receiving assistance are not free-loading, there have been a few people in the immigrant community who take unfair advantage of the welfare system.⁵⁴

“They just think we make all this money and we spend it for ourselves. But it’s not like that. We send it back to Africa...it is really hard.” - Malaal

A contrasting type of economic perspective was evident when interviewees discussed the difficult economic circumstances many immigrants face. Some respondents told us that people think that once immigrants receive training they should be able to support themselves immediately. In reality it is very difficult to become self-sufficient and it is actually more

challenging than many people believe to live off the system.⁵⁵ Non-profits and churches also struggle with trying to determine whether they are truly helping people to become self-sufficient or whether they are just enabling them to continue to exist at their present level.⁵⁶

4.1.3 Take Action

Respondents said they are generally not able to have fact-based, data-driven conversations about these issues and would benefit from education about the larger economic arguments related to immigration.⁵⁷ One non-profit sector interviewee emphasized the importance of understanding that seemingly anti-immigrant positions are not necessarily racist. Others told us that they think there are good reasons to support both sides of immigration debates and that finding solutions that please everyone is extremely difficult.⁵⁸ Almost all agree that there is a need for a constructive place for people to discuss frankly their differing perspectives on immigration and feelings about the real effect it has on jobs and resources, both locally and nationally. Currently, some discussion occurs via published letters to the editor and the online comments section in the Faribault newspaper, but these serve mostly as an outlet for people to vent their feelings about immigration, rather than to share factual information. People know that those conversations are not representative of most people in Faribault’s views.⁵⁹

Almost all of the respondents relied on more than one of these three perspectives as they talked to us. We think that the ability to approach immigration issues from multiple perspectives is an important asset that will enable Faribault to move forward from conversation to action about issues related to immigration and diversity, because it means that people are willing to listen to and learn from each other.

4.2 COMMUNITY-WIDE ISSUES AND NEEDS

Our interviews with Faribault leaders show how immigration can highlight general patterns in a community. Regardless of the language respondents use or the perspectives they favor when discussing immigration, they all agree that coming up with good responses to increased diversity is challenging. More specifically, respondents’ comments touched repeatedly upon the difficulties involved in managing daily human interactions and effective programming that serves the public good. Some of these challenges would exist even if immigration had not increased, although they may be exacerbated by the fact that it has. In Section 4.2, we organize interviewees’ comments about those challenges into the following

four categories, which we understand as pointing to different kinds of community-wide issues and needs that extend beyond the more particular sets of needs experienced by individual immigrants and their families.

1. The need to acknowledge that cultural differences can cause misunderstandings between different groups.
2. The need for public and private organizations serving the common good to engage more people, newcomers and long-term residents alike, in dealing with immigration and diversity issues.
3. The need to create effective networks among public and private organizations that foster trust and understanding among community leaders and between the organizations and those they seek to serve.
4. The need for more stable and adequate funding.

4.2.1 Cultural Differences and Misunderstandings

Respondents from all sectors emphasized the importance of cultural differences as a source of tension in Faribault. Respondents stressed the need for cross-cultural education. They think that all Faribault residents must make a commitment to learn about, accept, and appreciate other cultures, while building awareness of the variety that exists within cultural groups. Many interviewees hope that the town will go beyond acceptance and tolerance and become a truly welcoming community, one in which immigrants are included as friends and neighbors.

- ***General difficulty of settling into a small town***

Respondents attribute tension between the native-born and immigrant communities to both groups' difficulty adjusting to change, as well as people's discomfort with difference.⁶⁰ Some interviewees identified a general trend in Faribault, which extends beyond the questions of immigration; even some native-born Americans feel they are viewed as outsiders after living in town for decades.⁶¹ The fact that immigrants, especially Somalis, are visibly different because of race and clothing can make it even more difficult for them to become socially integrated into the community.⁶²

- ***Cross-cultural communication is a two-way street***

When speaking about immigrants' adjustment process, many respondents remarked that good cross-cultural communication is a "two-way street." In order to coexist, different groups must "establish expectations."⁶³ For example, one city employee remarked, "We need to build trust with them, but then also... you have to have a driver's license, you have to have insurance. There are rules which our society follows and we have to make sure they understand that and that they follow them."⁶⁴ Another respondent said, "It's getting to understand that it's not just us who've been here a long time getting to understand the new culture, but the new folks coming, the new refugees and immigrants and the shop owners—understanding that they have entered into a community with an established culture and norms, a way of doing business. New folks [must] also learn the ways that we have found culturally acceptable here."⁶⁵

- ***Somali cultural differences: new challenges***

Overall, respondents spoke most frequently about Somali culture when discussing cross-cultural education issues. They mentioned Latinos less frequently, perhaps because they generally feel that Latinos are less visible in the community or seem more Americanized. Interviewees explained that Latinos were more integrated into the community in part because they participate in the majority religion, Christianity.⁶⁶ By contrast, most Somali immigrants are Muslim, a religious identity that interviewees described as more threatening to many Americans in the post-9/11 era. Especially when religious differences are accentuated by other culture differences, such as clothing and food choices, native-born Americans may be less ready to accept Muslims as part of their communities.⁶⁷ Religious differences also make it more difficult for churches to assist the Somalis than to assist Latinos and the immigrants who came in the 1970s and 1980s.⁶⁸ Interviewees also said that Latinos as a group have had much more time to learn and adapt to American cultural norms. Some Somalis experience culture shock and have trouble dealing with the lack of respect given them in America because they work low wage jobs.⁶⁹ They expect to be rich in America and discover that it is more difficult to succeed than they expected.⁷⁰ Finally, because a large percentage of Latinos are undocumented, Latinos as a group may be less vocal about their needs in order to avoid attention. Those providing public services observed that the differences between the two immigrant populations have led to Latinos needs' going unmet, as Somalis tend to advocate for themselves while Latinos tend to be more unassuming.⁷¹

Interviewees mentioned several noticeable cultural differences, including eating habits; conceptions of time; understandings of gender, language, and religion; approaches to social interaction; and attitudes towards the appropriate use of public space. Many people pointed to the way Somalis visit with each other on the sidewalks in front of shops downtown as the prime example of cultural differences leading to misunderstandings.⁷² After some townspeople complained about feeling uncomfortable walking in their midst, The Diversity Coalition invited St. Olaf Professor Joseph Mbele to help everyone understand the meaning of such behavior to, on the one hand, the men talking and, on the other, those made uncomfortable. Despite some sense of increased understanding all around, mutual uneasiness remains around this and other cultural practices. Though Mbele's one-time intervention may not be sufficient to solve cross-cultural misunderstandings in the long-term, many respondents praised Mbele's intervention as a success story and a model to be followed.

Socio-economic differences are also important. The gap between Somalis and the native-born residents is exacerbated by the fact that many Somali children do not have the resources to participate in after-school clubs and sports.⁷³ Additionally, some interviewees who work with youth have found that Somalis are less likely to participate in scheduled, structured programs than drop-in activities, which could also be a factor in their lack of participation in after-school clubs and sports.⁷⁴

Such differences in social interaction can also cause tension between service providers in local government and non-profit organizations and recent immigrants. Some respondents mentioned that some Somalis do not always wait in line, ask for services politely, treat men and women equally, or follow rules and regulations.⁷⁵ This leads to judgments by some providers that Somalis are pushy or demanding.⁷⁶ Other providers, however, pointed out that Somalis may simply not yet know American expectations, or may have become used to fighting for what they need due to their experiences as refugees. One recurring example of

this is differing attitudes toward gender, which can cause tension between the Somali population and the native-born population, especially the attitude Somali men have toward women.⁷⁷ One Somali respondent shared a sharply contrasting view, describing Somalis as shy and reluctant to ask for help.⁷⁸

• **Cultural tension within immigrant populations**

Cultural tensions exist within the immigrant communities. As no cultural community is ever homogenous, people behave differently from one family to the next in their expectations of appropriate social interactions.

“There is fluidity in the immigrant community. There are some students, for example, that have come from Somalia and they have been Americanized. Then a new group comes in and they are very conservative. Painting one culture with a broad brush just does not do it.” - Wieseler

In immigrant populations, the process of adjusting to a new home and making sense of the assimilation process may increase the importance of individual differences. For example, some parents prioritize hanging on to their home culture while also learning American culture, and worry that their children will be drawn only to American ways of life.⁷⁹ Meanwhile, children are often required to become a cultural and linguistic mediator, which affects their own views on which culture to follow, while also challenging expectations about responsibility and power

within the family.⁸⁰ Finally, many immigrants face additional challenges associated with mixed citizenship statuses among family members.

• **Take action**

Interviewees identified five specific paths to easing misunderstandings and tensions that result from cultural differences. As they discussed useful ways to take action, respondents praised specific organizations for their preventative and proactive approaches to heading off cultural tensions.⁸¹ Many individuals commended the churches, schools, Growing Up Healthy, Head Start, and the United Way for their work on cross-cultural issues, because they see these organizations as open-minded and supportive of immigrants.⁸² One interviewee specifically highlighted the STOPS (Students Together Offering Peer Support) program at the high school. STOPS volunteers help out at the American Legion, where interactions foster cross-cultural understanding.⁸³ A church leader also noted that the National Night Out a local church hosted helped neighbors from all walks of life to get to know each other.⁸⁴

① Allow time to pass

Many interviewees emphasized that integration takes time and that all local residents should be patient with each other. Faribault residents just need to give newcomers time to assimilate and figure out cultural norms. Native-born Faribault residents need time to become comfortable with increasing diversity in the

“We have resources, we have well intentioned people, we have good intentions by and large in the community. I think we need to be understanding of ourselves and give ourselves time to work these things out.” - Engbrecht

community.⁸⁵ For example, many Somalis (up to 80%, according to one cultural liaison) come to Faribault straight from refugee camps in Africa, and so need some time to learn to navigate American culture.⁸⁶ Meanwhile, organizations, governmental agencies, and schools need time to adjust to partnering with immigrant families.⁸⁷

In contrast, some interviewees believe that the passage of time alone does not necessarily change people’s attitudes toward immigrants. One Rice County worker commented that many youth still hold hostile attitudes even though they have grown up in a more diverse community.⁸⁸

② Cultivate personal relationships

Interviewees emphasized that building personal relationships will help people to better understand each other.⁸⁹ Several suggested encouraging social mixers as a way to achieve this. At least one interviewee recommended setting up an event at the local coffee shop or a similar location to encourage people to get together.⁹⁰ Others pointed out that long-time residents could be more welcoming by simply learning a few words of greeting in Spanish or Somali.⁹¹ Several others hope that immigrants themselves will step up and explain their culture. Another way to build relationships would be for immigrant business owners to explicitly invite native-born residents to patronize their businesses and restaurants.⁹² Finally, interviewees explained the importance of visibility, especially in areas such as school activities. If immigrants participate in various activities, they will become more visible in the community, which might help other residents see them as neighbors, not strangers.⁹³

Other specific ideas about how to foster relationships included:

- Encourage activities like soccer at schools and youth events so that native-born children and immigrant children can play together.⁹⁴
- Make an intentional effort to incorporate and celebrate immigrant cultures in art exhibits and celebrations.⁹⁵
- Create language partner programs in which a native speaker teaches English and an immigrant teaches their native language.⁹⁶
- Hold joint worship services.⁹⁷

③ Foster cross-cultural dialogue

All interviewees felt that much more could be done to foster effective, warm cross-

“Giving knowledge takes away fear and prejudice on both sides.” - Wieseler

cultural dialogue. Most importantly, interviewees felt that the community should have structured, continuous, and intentional dialogue around cultural issues, because they think it is a very powerful tool to solve cultural misunderstandings and issues.⁹⁸ Several advocated for the return of something like the Diversity Coalition in

order facilitate this dialogue and to stop the spread of the culture of intolerance in Faribault.⁹⁹ Some interviewees stressed that the dialogue needs to be frank and honest. This concern was supported by evident anxiety and frustration over being politically correct while discussing issues during our interviews. One interviewee gave a specific recommendation as to how to facilitate such a conversation, pointing to one past practices of the Diversity Coalition: starting meetings with an “advanced apology.”¹⁰⁰ Such recommendations merit further exploration.

Some respondents expect immigrants’ employers to play a role in fostering effective dialogue. Some lauded employers such as the Jennie-O Turkey Store for accommodating

immigrants’ cultural practices, after discussing their needs in the work setting. Many respondents think that businesses could do even more to take a visible role in actively assisting immigrants’ integration into the larger community.¹⁰¹

Finally, respondents emphasized the usefulness of physical and virtual public meeting spaces, where opportunities to chat arise naturally. Such spaces include the public library, the coffee shop and parks. Many respondents want more public places in which to have these conversations, although one interviewee feels that Faribault already has plenty of green space in which people can gather.¹⁰² Other interviewees spoke more broadly about “public spaces” as including media resources such as the newspaper, social media, and the blogosphere.¹⁰³

④ Plan cross-cultural education and gather resources to further it

Most interviewees believe that increased cross-cultural education is another appropriate solution to cultural tension. Interviewees in government and non-profits stressed that service providers themselves need better diversity training.¹⁰⁴ They also believe that Faribault residents need to try to understand immigrants’ cultural norms and where those norms come from, which may be accomplished through awareness campaigns, workshops and making cultural competency materials available to the public.

“I have to educate [my volunteers] on cultural sensitivity because not everyone comes to the table with that. So I just have heaps and heaps of materials and instructors who can do that.” - Storch

Interviewees identified many existing print resources for cross-cultural education, including cultural sensitivity materials used by organizations like the Red Cross to train volunteers and Joseph Mbele’s book *Africans and Americans: Embracing Cultural Differences*. Respondents repeatedly pointed to Faribault’s abundant “human resources,” or specific individuals who are experienced in mediating between cultures to resolve conflicts. Interviewees named Joseph Mbele, ESL teachers and public school cultural liaisons as important human assets to the community.¹⁰⁵ For example, ESL teachers can use complaints they hear about immigrants to figure out what kind of cultural rules they need to teach to immigrants. For example, if a local store owner feels that some immigrants are being impolite and rude, an ESL teacher can incorporate information on the importance of using “please” and “thank-you” into an English lesson.¹⁰⁶

⑤ Recognize cultural diversity as an opportunity

Finally, we note that some respondents offered ideas for fostering cross-cultural communication that begin from an assumption that cultural differences are an opportunity, and not a problem. For example, local businesses stand to profit from serving immigrant communities’ wish for distinctive products and access to international networks. Businesses can utilize tightly knit local communities that immigrants have to expand their businesses.¹⁰⁷

4.2.2 Insufficient Community Participation and Civic Engagement

The second “community-wide issue” highlighted by recent immigration is the difficulty many civically-minded organizations face in getting the general public engaged in the work they do. The community leaders reported two particular ways in which insufficient civic engagement becomes a barrier to their efforts to integrate immigrants into town. First, they told us that efforts to widen the discussion about diversity meet with apathy. Second, they

face numerous challenges interacting with the immigrant populations they hope to serve. On a basic level, they feel that diversity issues are not a top priority for either native-born or immigrant residents. Meeting basic needs such as housing, transportation, and food often takes precedence over having community conversations about cultural differences. In general, people do not feel they have the time to deal with immigration issues if they are not directly affected.¹⁰⁸ Because our respondents think that solving immediate problems would be easier if more people would pay attention to easing cultural differences, they find that insufficient engagement with immigration and diversity hinders their effectiveness.

“For immigrants the decision of whom to trust is incredibly difficult because the consequences of receiving bad advice are so much bigger when so much is at stake.” - Staab

- **Engaging the broader community**

Interviewees reported that engaging the native-born population can be particularly hard and expressed frustration that Faribault residents are not more invested in building community. While there is clearly a core group of committed individuals and people who devote a lot of time and energy to immigration issues in Faribault, many more are passive and uninvolved. Respondents see lack of community commitment as the main reason so many Faribault

“Unless it’s affecting the life, limb, or property of an individual, they generally don’t participate in community discussions.” - Smith

organizations are struggling financially. For example, some people who were involved with the Welcome Center said that one of the reasons it had to close was that the people in the community were not fully committed and financially supporting what they say they stand for.¹⁰⁹ Interviewees feel that everyone in town should take a share of responsibility, because helping newcomers improves the whole city’s well-being and can improve everyone’s standard of living.¹¹⁰ Some hope that local residents will go beyond simply depending on organizations to alert them to issues and needs in the community and actively search out information and ways to become involved.¹¹¹

Aside from being busy with other issues, Faribault residents may be uninvolved in immigration issues because they do not understand the magnitude of the need in their community or the reasons behind problems in Faribault, said one non-profit leader. For example, although half of the children in Faribault schools receive free or reduced lunch, the community does not see this as the cause of poor achievement in schools. Instead, they blame No Child Left Behind or the fact that so many students need ESL classes.¹¹²

Time and time again, interviewees from all types of organizations said that it is hardest to engage the people who most need to be engaged, those who espouse anti-immigrant sentiment and those who have the most need. Efforts to have community discussion and cross-cultural education often only reach the people who are already engaged advocates for immigrants.¹¹³

- **Engaging immigrant populations**

In addition to challenges connecting with the native-born community, interviewees talked about difficulties engaging immigrants as participants and leaders in community organizations and in discussions about diversity. In general, respondents emphasized that

service providers have made a genuine and timely effort to adapt their organizations to demographic shifts in their constituent populations. While many agree that immigrants need to be engaged in organizations and decision-making processes in order for organizations and initiatives to be successful, people in all different sectors struggle to reach a satisfactory level of participation.¹¹⁴ Community organizations need volunteer interpreters and want immigrants to serve on advisory committees, but often have difficulty identifying and recruiting immigrants to help.¹¹⁵ Interviewees identified four main obstacles to integrating immigrants through their organizations: insufficient trust, logistical challenges, incomplete information and networks, and cultural barriers.

“There is a real struggle in that immigrants don’t know where to go for information and especially don’t know who to trust.” - Staab

① Trust

As with many issues in Faribault, many interviewees think that their main reason immigrants do not participate with civically-minded organizations is that they do not trust them. They believe that building trust between immigrants and community organizations is a prerequisite to effectively incorporating immigrants. Many organizations try to build trust through identifying a community liaison, but the trust built up in a relationship with a single person may not always transfer to other people from

“The City and especially the police need to be perceived as a friend rather than an authoritarian figure.” - Collins

the same background.¹¹⁶ Additionally, immigrants often have misinformation about service providers, especially in issues relating to their legal status, which leads them to distrust service providers.¹¹⁷ The issue of trust was a particularly salient issue among City officials, who desired that immigrants feel able to trust the police and City services. Additionally, some respondents think that it may take more time before many immigrants feel comfortable advocating for themselves or taking on leadership positions.¹¹⁸ Having a positive, trusting relationship with service providers should help increase the number of people confident enough to step forward.

② Economic challenges

Many immigrant families’ economic standing makes it hard for them to get involved. Because so many immigrants struggle to meet their basic needs, survival comes ahead of volunteering. People care about providing for their families first and foremost.¹¹⁹ Fragile economic standing can complicate logistical issues such as work schedules and transportation often prevent potential immigrant leaders from serving on boards or committees. Even if immigrants manage to overcome the logistical barriers to involvement, because the immigrant population tends to be more fluid, leaders may move to another area for work or back to their home countries, forcing organizations to start over.¹²⁰ When they move, the personal relationships that foster trust usually end.¹²¹

③ Incomplete information and networks

Interviewees think that insufficient information about the immigrant population makes it harder for them to design effective strategies for increasing their participation and engagement. Respondents repeatedly cited inaccurate demographic data as an obstacle to

making informed decisions about programming and writing grants.¹²² Basic information about the immigrant population is not known because immigrants, especially Somalis and undocumented immigrants, were under-counted by the 2010 census and earlier American Community Surveys, a problem nation-wide.¹²³

Grassroots, local knowledge about immigrants is also insufficient. Most organizations have ties to one of the main immigrant groups, but not to others. Figure 5, below, maps the networks that exist between organizations represented by our respondents and the different immigrant populations. Organizations struggle with incomplete networks, as they often have stronger ties to only one of the immigrant communities but have resources that would be helpful for all. HealthFinders, for example, has built up its ‘infrastructure’ for helping Latino clients, but does not have the same resources available for Somalis. In another example, a nonprofit leader pointed out that Three Rivers is also more involved with the Latino population than Somali and Sudanese populations.¹²⁴

The networks within immigrant communities are also less complete than many people assume. Even when organizations can identify a leader, they often have trouble disseminating information to the larger immigrant population, either because of gaps in communication between organizations and leaders, or because the leaders cannot effectively spread information throughout the community. For example, one cultural liaison for the School District believed that “there is no place open five days a week to help with housing,” even though we know of at least two staff members at Three Rivers who deal with housing issues.¹²⁵ Attempts at direct outreach to community members can also be ineffective as the organization’s message must usually be translated, creating distance between the organization and the immigrant population.¹²⁶

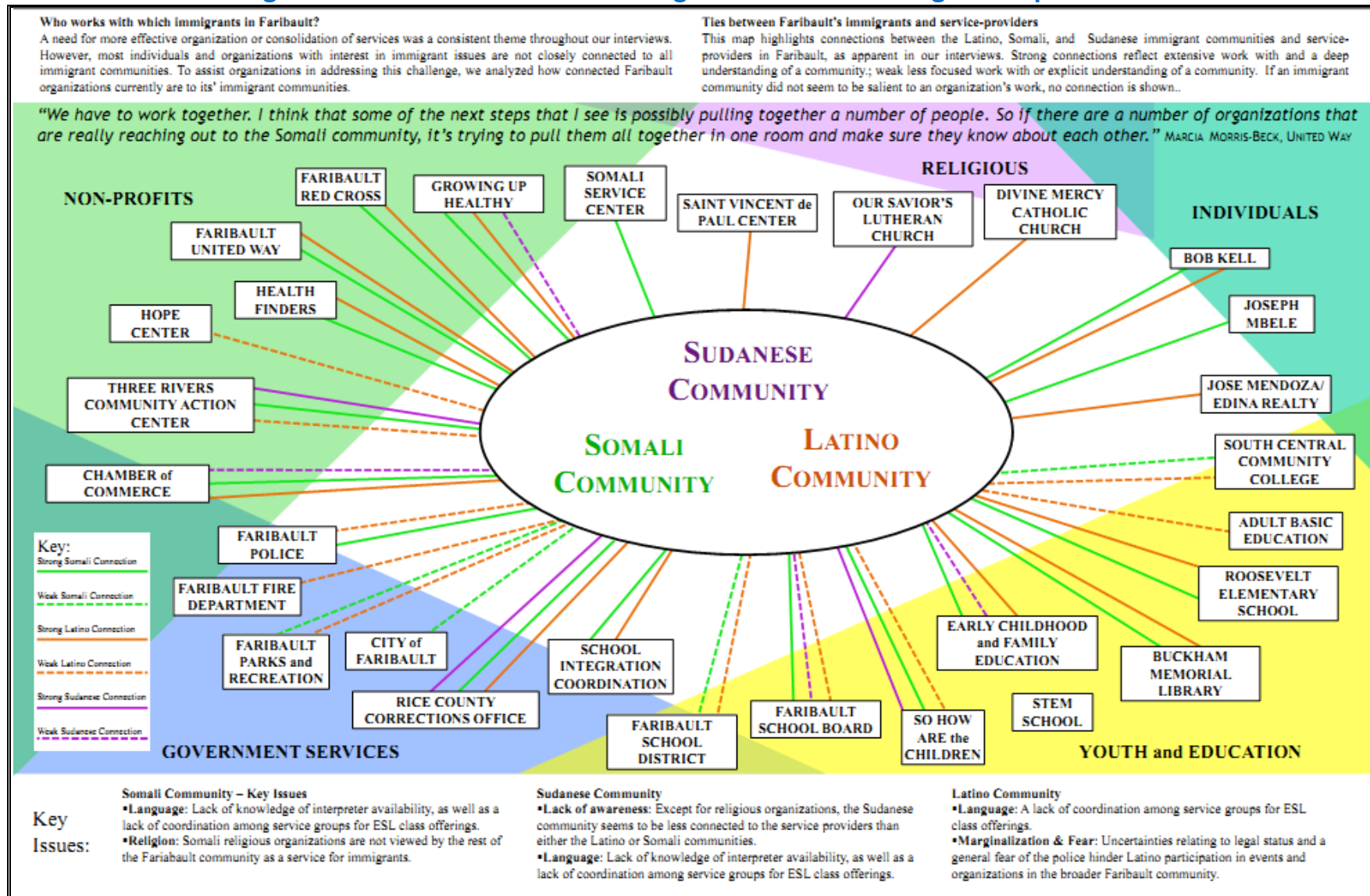
Given incomplete information about immigrant groups, it is also hard for community organizations to know who they should work with. One public service provider cautioned that it is risky to identify ‘leaders’ from outside a group. Citing a well-intentioned attempt to make inroads in the Sudanese community that allegedly resulted in Sudanese immigrants leaving Faribault, she cautioned, “We have to be careful who we say are their leaders. Somebody had identified someone as a leader that they didn’t consider a leader. There was a lot learned there, I think.”¹²⁷ Because of this experience, many native-born leaders are careful and sensitive when identifying immigrant leaders.¹²⁸

This difficulty in disseminating information could become dangerous in an emergency situation, several service providers noted. The Red Cross struggles to find a method of communication that will reach most people in case of extreme weather or other emergencies.¹²⁹ Most interviewees observed that many messages spread well through word of mouth in immigrant communities, it is difficult for outsiders to access and for anyone to use such a method systematically.¹³⁰ At times, urgent messages can be conveyed through employers and schools, but here too, the reliability is not satisfactory.¹³¹

④ Cultural barriers

Service providers also said that it is hard to engage immigrants because of the cultural sensitivities. Cultural issues matter because service providers hoping to recruit immigrant participants must navigate practices around gender, age, communication, and length of time living in the United States. For example, one interviewee pointed out that the Hispanic population, which includes very recent arrivals and third and fourth generation U.S. citizens differs considerably from the Somali population, most of whom are relatively new to the community (one or two years resident).¹³² Even so, one non-profit service provider said, “It’s

Figure 5: Ties between Faribault Organizations and Immigrant Populations¹³³



hard to tell what Latinos need because they are quieter about it than Somalis.”¹³⁴ In contrast, a Somali interviewee said that Somalis are often not willing to “tell the truth” about their struggles.¹³⁵ Service providers must also provide messaging and programming that take into account the diversity within each ethnic group. Individual members of a group are differentiated by gender, age and generation, levels of assimilation, socio-economic status and clan in the country of origin, and other individual characteristics.¹³⁶

Additionally, respondents frequently remarked that immigrants may not feel comfortable in particular settings where they are unfamiliar with or unaccustomed to expectations about how to behave. For example, some immigrants may not feel comfortable getting involved in the schools because they have to sign in and out when they enter and leave the building.¹³⁷ Some immigrants may wish to keep a low profile and avoid drawing attention to themselves, so may not want to get more involved in the community.¹³⁸

• **Take action**

Despite the difficulties mentioned above, some organizations succeed in engaging immigrant populations and the native-born community alike. Interviews revealed five specific strategies for creating inclusive programming that may serve as models for all community organizations seeking to engage a diverse community, including fostering grassroots initiatives, identifying community leaders, recruiting immigrants to serve on boards and as staff members, engaging youth, and building trust through personal relationships.

① **Promote grassroots initiatives**

Almost all interviewees agree that the most successful initiatives come from the grassroots, by which they mean that they address needs identified by target populations rather than needs identified by outsiders.¹³⁹ In the words of one service provider, “The community needs to find out what the immigrant needs are so they can provide the right services. The Welcome Center and Diversity Coalition used to help with that.”¹⁴⁰ Many claimed to struggle with determining the needs that target populations have and what type of help they would like to receive. Many also struggle to identify viable strategies for obtaining the information, although they often spoke broadly about the need for a “conversation” or “dialogue” to find out what immigrants’ needs are.¹⁴¹ One specific strategy is to form focus groups to collect data about immigrant needs. Many interviewees cited

“I think a lot of [good solutions] will come from within the communities...I really see the kind of grassroots organization that will be fundamental to this, because otherwise it’s just one group of people offering up services to another group. Who knows if those services are even needed? Our organization was founded that way. It was a group of parishioners at St. Dominick’s church, and they did a study of what their congregants that said, what is the biggest need in our community at large? It was a need that was identified by the communities themselves, and an organization with a solution that resulted out of that.” - Mandile

this strategy as very successful while expressing their faith in grassroots organizing.¹⁴² To some, the grassroots approach means that Faribault needs to provide services, but that immigrants also need to help themselves.¹⁴³ In general, those favoring the grassroots approach were particularly enthusiastic about new initiatives emerging in the wake of the closing of the Welcome Center, specifically the Somali Community Services Center.

② Identifying community leaders

Another frequently cited approach is to identify community leaders to act as liaisons between an organization and an immigrant population. Despite the risks of missteps inherent in trying to identify leaders from the outside, many interviewees acknowledged

“There is a general need for leadership in the community, including from the immigrant groups.” - Berg

some success in such efforts. In particular, they praised the School District for its efforts to welcome immigrants by hiring liaisons and Growing Up Healthy for its success with nurturing neighborhood leaders.¹⁴⁴ Because it is so hard to appropriately identify community leaders, this approach might work best in combination with the grassroots approach:

organizations can work with immigrants to assess their needs and then invite them to put forth leaders to help address those needs.

③ Increase immigrant representation in community organizations

Another strategy is to increase immigrant representation on boards and staffs. Some Faribault organizations can serve as models for others that hope to successfully foster immigrant participation and engagement. HealthFinders currently develops immigrant leadership within its organization by creating patient advisory boards and promoting immigrant ownership in health care groups. The United Way successfully recruited a young Somali man to serve on its board.¹⁴⁵ St. Vincent de Paul has successfully recruited both Somali and Latino immigrant volunteers.¹⁴⁶

④ Engage youth

Many different organizations attempt to connect with the immigrant communities through youth, including So How Are the Children and Growing Up Healthy. They see youth as the key to helping the whole family, not only because youth can be reached easily through schools and camps, but also because they are more likely to be citizens and thus eligible for more resources and programs.¹⁴⁷ Rotary Club leadership retreats for middle school and high school students have also successfully engaged immigrant youth.¹⁴⁸

⑤ Build trust

As mentioned before, trust is necessary for engaging immigrants and long-term residents alike. Some key strategies for building trust include consistency, relying on personal relationships, and having staff members who are deeply rooted in the community. HealthFinders built trust in the Latino community by using these strategies. The director said that “folks know and feel comfortable with our patient advocate...because she grew up here and a lot of them have known her for a while.”¹⁴⁹ The organization also has many bilingual/bicultural staff members, who they credit for making Latinos feel even more comfortable.

⑥ Further strategies

Our interviewees had many other detailed suggestions for how to better engage the newcomer and native communities in Faribault. We have sorted them by the themes of persistence, dignity, personal connections, and adaptation, which best describe the individual ideas.

Persistence

- Take an aggressive approach to engaging the community, possibly through door-to-door campaigning. Free Pops successfully recruited Latino participants through this method.¹⁵⁰
- Persist in asking for volunteers and support from the community.¹⁵¹ Make the benefits of volunteering clear by, for example, pointing out that the volunteers can learn skills that help them become more employable.¹⁵²
- Increase efforts to make people aware of the needs in their community. Once aware, they will step up to meet those needs.¹⁵³
- Plan ongoing, regular meetings with immigrant groups rather than onetime events, in order to keep the lines of communication open and develop trusting relationships.¹⁵⁴

Dignity

- Offer resources in a way that preserves dignity. For example, let people pick out their own food at the food shelf rather than giving them a bag with food already chosen for them. This also solves the problem of people throwing away food that they do not like.¹⁵⁵
- Pay attention to the small details that make an event welcoming and hospitable. Host an event in a nice place and always give away food.¹⁵⁶
- Offer services confidentially, in a culturally appropriate way, and in a comfortable, safe place.¹⁵⁷
- Ask immigrants to pay a small fee for classes in order to give them a sense of ownership so that they are more likely to attend regularly.¹⁵⁸

Personal connections

- Engage people in immigration through personalizing the issue. One-on-one connections help to get people engaged and committed.¹⁵⁹
- Urge churches to play a role in immigrant incorporation, as they can appeal to native-born residents on a deeper level to become involved and committed.¹⁶⁰ The church leaders really need to support efforts to embrace immigrants in order to (get buy-in) from the congregation.¹⁶¹
- Walk immigrants through how to use a resource like the food shelf so that they feel welcome and comfortable.¹⁶²

Adaptation

- Assess every program to gain an understanding of how welcoming it is to all members of the community.¹⁶³
- Look at events from the perspective of immigrants in order to better engage them. Be willing to be flexible with your hours of operation so as to be available when clients are not working.¹⁶⁴

- Go to where the immigrants are, rather than expecting them to come to you. Neighborhood programming like that used by GUH and SHAC has been successful.¹⁶⁵
- Try to ensure that events with an immigrant audience are led in their native language by a person from their cultural background.¹⁶⁶

4.2.3 Creating and Sustaining Effective Networks

The third and final community-wide issue revealed in our interviews involves the incomplete networks among public-minded organizations in Faribault. In fact, the need for better networking among community leaders and service providers emerged as the single most important theme in our interviews. In Section 2.4.3, we detail gaps in and problems with current networks, and respondents’ ideas about how to broaden, enrich and expand those networks that do exist.

“There was a lot of involvement early on...I don’t know if people are as diligent as they were early on or if there’s an assumption that it’s still ok. I don’t know if it’s still ok....Leadership connections have been lost, too.” - Anderson

- **Gaps in networks**

The snowball method we employed to identify interview contacts suggests several weak links in Faribault networks. When we asked respondents to point us to people we should meet next, we were not introduced to several kinds of organizations and people we expected might be germane to immigration and diversity issues. We were not introduced to Rice County staff responsible for public health; they pointed out their interest in these topics to us when they attended the May 16 presentation of preliminary results. Arts and culture organizations and programs, such as the Paradise Center for the Arts were rarely mentioned or suggested as contacts. No elected officials were mentioned or suggested for interviews.¹⁶⁷ No state-level officials of any sort were introduced to us. Although we asked respondents to suggest additional interviews on the spot, the fact that they did not think to mention so many potentially important people suggests broken, limited, or thin networks among relevant groups and organizations.

- **Obstacles to improved collaboration**

Respondents directly told us that they wish for better networks to ensure both formal and informal collaboration. They think that people in Faribault are willing to cooperate, but do not because they do not know enough about other groups’ efforts. Only a minority of interviewees were able to speak broadly about issues relating to immigration in the community.¹⁶⁸ Interviewees frequently lacked a broad understanding or awareness of the issues immigrants faced outside of their particular area of expertise.¹⁶⁹ Many seemed either unwilling or unable to discuss issues beyond the context of their own organization, frequently demonstrating insufficient awareness or even misinformation about the work of other service providers. As a result, few interviewees proposed well-developed, community-level strategies to improve collaboration.

“There has been a lack of efficiency not in the organizations themselves, but in the way they organize with each other.” - Mandile

Respondents identified nine different obstacles to effective collaboration and networking.

① Service silos and insufficient awareness and information

Few interviewees were able to speak about the efforts of the community as a whole on immigration issues. Many expressed a desire for more complete information about current services, resources and programs in Faribault. For example, many service providers, even those involved with English as a Second Language (ESL) classes, did not have current information about where other ESL classes were held.¹⁷⁰

All the interviewees that spoke extensively about this issue, including three city officials, a school board member and immigrants, worry about inadequate coordination in this area. One individual claimed that there had been at least one meeting to coordinate ESL classes at which nothing was accomplished because no one took leadership or talked about the logistical issues at hand, favoring abstract conversation about “welcoming.”¹⁷¹

“We in the non-profits are each working in our own little realm.” - Storch

Interviewees also observed that many organizations operate in one small service niche, pointing to the need for further collaboration in order to address issues holistically. In addition, some interviewees observed that certain organizations serve one immigrant population but not others, as discussed earlier.

② Inadequate leadership and initiative

Many interviewees pointed to a lack of leadership as one of the obstacles to effective cooperation. One public-sector employee summarized the situation as, ‘We’re bad at organizing all the well-intentioned people. The Welcome Center went down because of this.

“There are a lot of groups who have surrounded the newcomers and trying to perform services. It used to be one group - the Diversity Coalition. In fact, we have had a couple of meetings trying to get everybody together trying to figure out who does what.” - Wieseler

There is a need for a leadership organization.”¹⁷² Many interviewees also indicated a lack of initiative on the part of current leaders, often taking personal responsibility. “We’ve had meetings and they’ve gone nowhere. One of my suggestions...I took it nowhere.”¹⁷³

Respondents generally did not have clear views about which individuals or organizations should take leadership on immigration issues, or how.

③ Lack of time and resources to collaborate

Another problem is that individuals or organizations lack the time or resources to network effectively. Many organizations have only one part-time staff member and therefore lack the capacity to delegate responsibilities and commit time to collaboration. One respondent put the issue particularly well when she said, “What I have figured out is that I need to be more involved back in the community...But I don’t have the money...I do believe that making sure that somehow we make time to work together as a priority. People that are concerned about the diversity issue- it used to be that we met every other week, then

it became every month. People got busier, busier. As money got tighter, people were playing so many roles. As a group, you accomplish a lot more than individually.”¹⁷⁴

④ Competition for funding

As we discuss later in the report, funding is another major challenge for service providers. Increased competition for fewer funding sources can make collaboration more difficult even as it becomes more critical. Some interviewees explained that competition for funding is a self-perpetuating obstacle to collaboration. The more time leaders spend in financing activities, the less time they are able to spend developing resources, services, programming and collaborating.¹⁷⁵ Grant-writing and fundraising are very time-consuming processes.

⑤ Lack of stable programming

Inconsistently offered programs and services present another obstacle to increased awareness and collaboration.¹⁷⁶ Returning to the ESL classes example, one individual asserted that lack of coordination may be due in part to frequent changes in the locations and schedules of classes. In general, the services, programs and resources offered in Faribault are in constant flux, due to changes in funding, personnel and relationships.¹⁷⁷

⑥ Insufficient communication

Insufficient channels of communication between and within organizations may also hinder effective collaboration. Lack of communication within an organization is an obstacle to engaging the community.¹⁷⁸ For example, one public school representative said that the school board is not as aware of what is going on at the classroom level as it should be.¹⁷⁹ Other interviewees involved in the public school system agree; many feel that there is also insufficient communication within individual schools. Meanwhile, many interviewees preferred to talk about issues related to education off the record.¹⁸⁰ Very few interviewees spoke about successful feed-back mechanisms. Additionally, organizations may not be aware of research or important inroads established by another organization. One non-profit service provider was completely unaware of pertinent focus-group research findings of another non-profit group active in Faribault.

Additionally, our interviewees have scant channels of communication with state-level organizations. For example, one individual cited sparse guidelines in the state plan for integration districts as a problem.¹⁸¹ The individual wants more regular, detailed communication to support implementation of the program. Overall, our interviews suggest that few community members view communication with state-level public institutions as a problem-solving option.

⑦ Differing programming philosophies

Different philosophies can present an obstacle to effective networking or coherence in service results. Here again, ESL classes were mentioned frequently as an example. Some service providers believe that immersion is the most efficient method, especially for adults. Others believe that to make sufficient progress, individuals must be able to first communicate effectively in their native language.¹⁸² On one side, one public sector service provider said,

The research is really showing that it's important for children to be fluent in their first language so they can better learn English. Unlike how we thought about it 100 years ago, where you should only speak English to your child. Well, if the adults don't have a grasp of that language, the child's not going to learn about cadence and pronunciation or get a rich vocabulary. So they've got to learn their own language first, then they can make the switch and better learn how grammar works and have more vocabulary and just speak the language better.¹⁸³

There is little consensus on which kinds of programs best meet specific goals.

⑧ Limited involvement of businesses and major employers

A number of interviewees from different sectors called for more involvement from the business community.¹⁸⁴ They think that businesses should do more to foster a “culture of interaction and multiculturalism.”¹⁸⁵ Interviewees also believe employers should provide more substantial support to local organizations that make expensive adaptations to become more inclusive and provide services and resources to facilitate local-level integration. In the

“The businesses and employers that a lot of folks are working for could also play a larger role... [They] could do more to create a culture of interaction and multiculturalism.” - Mandile

words of one organization leader, “We just kept thinking that the employers who employ the most diverse population...would pop up for us. It just never came about.”¹⁸⁶ No interviewees gave detailed information about employers’ involvement and no representatives of major employers agreed to be interviewed for this research.

⑨ City, state and federal governments

In general, interviewees wished that City officials would be more involved in immigration and diversity issues.¹⁸⁷ Respondents from non-profits and schools called for more City leadership and involvement and asking that City officials, especially the mayor, step up and reach out to the immigrant populations. One immigrant interviewee said that most Somalis in Faribault do not know who the mayor is.¹⁸⁸ City officials admitted that diversity issues are not the City’s main priority in this time of budget cuts, although they expressed a desire to learn more about the issues.¹⁸⁹ At the same time, many interviewees were concerned that immigrants tend to feel uncomfortable at events hosted by the government and that many in the native –born community are upset when tax dollars pay for diversity events.¹⁹⁰

One non-profit service provider claimed that while non-profits and churches have successfully come together to address need, the City and County governments do not provide social services well to immigrants.¹⁹¹

Some other interviewees who share these views acknowledge that inaccurate data, due in part to low rates of participation among immigrants in the 2000 and 2010 Census, makes it hard for the City to take action.¹⁹² One immigrant interviewee said, “The City and State should be more involved in addressing community needs than it [sic] has been, especially with transportation. The City doesn’t really know how many immigrants there are and it’s unresponsive to requests for help.”¹⁹³ Providing an example of this disconnect, one immigrant observed that most Somalis in the community do not know the mayor, while the

majority of native-born residents do. This impression was confirmed by the mayor’s lack of familiarity with the issues surrounding immigration. He stated, “I am not that involved that much in that end of the spectrum...I’m more involved in the business and economic industry.”¹⁹⁴ Another City official affirmed that the city government does not interact much with immigrants, stating that immigrant populations were underrepresented in City government. The same individual had been in the community for three months, but had not yet run into immigrants and did not know where they worked.¹⁹⁵

Among some City officials, a narrow view of City responsibilities seems entrenched. City officials do not seem to view the economic growth and industry that bring immigrants to Faribault as related to the social issues stemming from immigration. City representatives who we interviewed emphasized that, given current budget difficulties and funding cuts from the state and federal government, the Council is focused on directing money to “essential services.”¹⁹⁶

Other respondents hinted that lack of governmental support is in fact a national issue, though few chose to speak about the involvement of the federal government on the record.¹⁹⁷ One non-profit service provider said, “This is a personal opinion, but I think the federal government is really dropping the ball on this issue...I think that’s why you see many states taking this matter into their own hands. The federal government hasn’t really confronted it...I think they are really dodging the elephant in the room right now in terms of confronting national policy.”¹⁹⁸

• **Take action: Expanding networks**

On a conceptual level, interviewees value collaboration. One respondent finds collaboration especially helpful for social service organizations, saying that it “allows individuals and organizations to bounce ideas off each other” and “put the pieces together for higher success.”¹⁹⁹ Collaboration makes it easier to stretch limited resources by helping everyone understand what projects specific groups are pursuing. Many respondents emphasized that communication between organizations, even independent of formal collaboration, is invaluable.²⁰⁰ In fact, when asked what more could be done to address community challenges, one interviewee replied “I want to hear the answers of everyone else. I want to know the other ideas out there.”²⁰¹ This sentiment was echoed by other respondents, as well.²⁰² One service provider suggested, “We can have a meeting once every three months where we look at the state of the town and we look at the needs.”²⁰³

“It’s important for agencies to recognize that we’re all goldfish in the same bowl and not piranhas. We’re swimming in the same water trying to raise the same dollar. Yeah, there is competition there, but I think taking the high road, working collaboratively, and maintaining open communication is so critical.” - Storch

Our interviews revealed several visions and specific new ideas about how to build and expand networks. Below we discuss effective networking already underway and five ideas they share about how to foster still more collaboration.

① Existing examples of collaboration

Existing structures that facilitate collaboration include boards, committees, collaboratives, coalitions and initiatives. At the county level, one example is the Family Services Cooperative, which already brings together “all the major players,” and exists in many counties in the state, according to one interviewee. The Cooperative offers multiple access points to its network. First, as a contractor, the Cooperative delegates work in ways intended to maximize the strengths of its various constituent organizations. The director stated that for certain tasks she goes through non-profits including Northfield and Three Rivers Community Action Centers “because they have a good picture of what other kind of resources are out there and they know how to match families with those resources.” Next, the Cooperative is connected to financial resources. She continued elaborating on their work by noting that, “We have a large federal grant that supplements our substance abuse prevention work. We have a grant in Faribault that serves the School District.”²⁰⁴

Our interviews revealed another example of formal collaboration that is reportedly valued highly, centered on South Central College. Below we quote at length from the interview transcript discussing how three Rice County organizations, Faribault’s Adult Basic Education, South Central College, and the Northfield Community Action Center, have used a Collaborative Board structure to win a major grant that helps train nurses, and includes provisions for assisting immigrants who need additional English language training.

Our Collaborative Board has a three year grant that was written by South Central. We have 10 years of writing grants with South Central. [Students] take a course at South Central and we provide the supplementary support. Four of us are involved in this grant with South Central. Essentially, it pays for students to get free training in certified nursing assistance. We’re about to start fourth training session. We do the testing to make sure their English is ok, then they can pass the state test to be a CNA.

....

There are many agencies that work with our clientele, including the Workforce Center (right down the hall) and South Central. It’s about creatively getting together, seeing how you can do the most with the least amount of resources. It’s amazing how people joining together can have some synergy. That’s already happening. The workforce sends them down to us for this- back to the college. People go to the college, and if the student is struggling I will get a call from teacher who teaches ESL at the college saying ‘this individual needs to be in your program.’ Again, it’s just a bunch of people working together.²⁰⁵

Additionally, we found that considerable cooperation happens beyond formal structures like those just discussed. Several respondents spoke of key formal and informal partnerships with other organizations and individuals. Some organizations contract services from other groups or from individuals in the private sector.²⁰⁶ Others share services and resources. Multiple respondents remarked that HealthFinders in particular is particularly efficient due to collaboration.²⁰⁷ For example, “Patients can see outside doctors but come to the group for supplies and education.”²⁰⁸ They leverage cash donations with in-kind donations, pro-bono and volunteer work. In a similar fashion, the Red Cross counts on using wheelchairs from the Senior Center, rather than stocking its own.²⁰⁹ Organizations also frequently cooperate on grants and service provision. Respondents gave several examples of co-writing grants.

Interviewees also hope that Blandin Foundation workshop participants will renew their attention to issues of increasing diversity, remembering how Milo Larson, one individual who participated in the one month leadership program, was a driving force behind the Welcome Center. A few community members mentioned Faribault's Future, an organization that identifies potential leaders in the community.²¹⁰

A final point is that service-provider should explicitly share their distinct conceptions of the networks available to them. During interviews, some spoke almost exclusively about the non-profit network within Faribault. Those affiliated with Adult Basic Education had a particularly narrow conception of the relevant service network, which can be explained in part because of the funding streams. Other organizations, by contrast, have successfully tapped into larger networks to improve available services and resources. Many organizations represented in the interviews currently consider their service area to be all of Rice County, serving populations and drawing on resources in both Northfield and Faribault. One interviewee spoke of the Red Cross collaborating with the Twin Cities chapter of the organization to organize "teach-ins."²¹¹ Rice County's location near the Twin Cities metropolitan area affects immigration issues, so cooperating with groups in other towns is a valuable option.²¹²

② Visions for improved collaboration

In addition to offering the above examples of effective networking, respondents shared their ideas with us about how to increase and improve cooperation in Faribault. They identified five specific plans that could be implemented in the near future.

Refresh and renew participants

Those who described themselves as having been involved in diversity issues for many years repeatedly emphasized that there is a reliable core group of people ready to support initiatives. In the words of one public employee, "I think some of us that have been connecting for years have continued in spite of lack of W.C. There are a few of us die-hards that are still doing it."²¹³ However, several individuals remarked that the community needed "someone with new energy."²¹⁴ Several non-profit service providers mentioned the important role of college student volunteers and interns.²¹⁵

Link to religious institutions

Some respondents believe that churches have the most potential for creating substantial change within the community.²¹⁶ A number of interviewees view churches as having created the most successful programs in the past, noting efforts from Catholics and Lutherans in particular. Surprisingly, this possibility was not mentioned by most people when invited to pose solutions to current challenges around immigration to Faribault.²¹⁷

Link specialists

One service provider finds it important that people "stick to what they know how to do but partner and collaborate with each other to provide a holistic system of services."²¹⁸ She advises, "Know your role, do it well, be able to collaborate." She sees the Diversity Coalition as a key piece to this model, because it facilitates good communication and complete information.

Provide immigrants a ‘one-stop-shop’

One strength of the Welcome Center, according to some interviewees, was its “case-management” approach. In this model, service providers coordinate holistic support for newcomers and others seeking help. One respondent envisions discussing new consultations among cooperating organizations in this way: “Here’s a newcomer to the community. What do they need? English classes, a job, their rights, food. [We would have] people and representatives of the various cultures on the board, as well.”²¹⁹ Others agreed with this concept, saying that “the immigrant community needs a gateway.”²²⁰

Connect at a single physical location

Several interviewees insisted, “There is a need for a structured organization with an actual building where immigrants can come to get help with learning English and finding jobs and housing.”²²¹ Many agree. Such an arrangement could facilitate by making it easier for organizations to offer joint programming. Respondents did not, however, agree about how this should be accomplished. Many thought that the City should be “the first point of contact.”²²² Others pointed out that the idea of a community center has been rejected by the Red Cross and the United Way in the past.²²³

4.2.4 Funding

The final community-wide issue raised by our respondents is funding. As one might expect, given the current and projected economic climate, nearly every respondent mentioned funding as a major issue relating to immigration in Faribault. Both public and private organizations struggle to meet revenue goals.²²⁴ Many organizations have recently lost major funding sources, including both state and federal government grants and support from private foundations. As one non-profit service provider said,

“[C]ompared to how it used to be, there really is no money.” - Sandberg

It was awesome until September 11th happened and fundraising came to a screeching halt. It was very difficult. There is nothing worse than having all of these agencies, all worthy, all doing incredible things, and not be able to help them and provide them the adequate funding they need. And I wouldn’t say that fundraising has recovered since then. It’s gradually growing back, but it’s hard. People are having to make choices between paying their fuel bill and taking their medication and eating. These aren’t just economically challenged families. These are all families, across all economic levels. Even our lead donors, our pillars, are being more reserved with their gifting. Everybody is just really unsure. It’s a difficult time.²²⁵

Respondents identified a few general, immediate causes and consequences of funding shortages. Additionally, some expressed clear views that publicly funded services are especially critical.

• ***Causes and consequences of funding shortfalls***

One cause, beyond the general economic climate, for revenue shortfalls, traces back to the lack of clear information about how many immigrants live in Faribault today. Funding challenges are exacerbated by a lack of accurate Census data, which prevents organizations in Faribault from accurately estimating needs and securing government dollars for some

programming.²²⁶ As one non-profit provider said, “It’s hard to get federal and state funding because Faribault doesn’t have as high of numbers of immigrants as big cities.”²²⁷

Staffing problems result from inadequate revenues. With thin budgets, organizations ability to hire sufficient staff is limited. Some operate with only a single paid employee. Often, organizations become dependent on that a single person among their small staff, which can make them vulnerable if that person sees his or her role as temporary in the organization.²²⁸ As one non-profit provider points out, “We help them gain wonderful employment skills,” but losing the “key staff member” can be crippling. This is an example of how organizations find themselves in a constant cycle of “band-aid fixes.”²²⁹

• **Government programs are crucial**

“When there was adequate funding, things were improving.” - Knutson

Many respondents called for the involvement of the City in providing the funds necessary for worthwhile programs to operate properly, even as they recognize that city officials face pressure to downsize to provide “essential services.”²³⁰ For example, one private service provider said, “The City needs to step up to fill the gap left by the Welcome Center. There needs to be a paid professional coordinating volunteers and driving action.”²³¹ Another respondent cautioned that although government programs tend to have steadier funding, change through government channels is slow.²³²

Several interviewees told us that they value programs that anticipate and prevent problems over those that react to problems after they arise, because they believe reactive strategies cost more in the long-term. For example, one city employee explained that a lack of funding hindered his ability to focus on prevention. It also prevented him from oversight and the ability to improve the effectiveness of his public safety outreach initiatives.²³³ A county employee noted that the discontinuation of several critical programs for Latino youth corresponded with a “spike in gang involvement after the cut.”²³⁴ These respondents believe people should value government work with immigrants because of its ‘return on investment.’ One non-profit service provider explained that welfare services are essential “stepping stones” for immigrants; “They give immigrants the tools they need to survive.”²³⁵ Many public and private service providers seemed to feel helpless in the face of federal and state funding cuts. One provider starkly stated that the issue “was out of our control.”²³⁶

• **Take action**

All respondents resign themselves to the new funding environment. They told us about three proactive strategies that focus on developing new resource bases as a way to cope with that reality.

① **Seek synergy**

Respondents often used the word synergy to describe resource initiatives.²³⁷ Service providers hope that they can continue their work through increased collaboration. One interviewee remarked, “Funding is a matter of priorities. There are not enough people in Faribault committed to immigration through money or volunteers. If we shared our gifts, we wouldn’t need as much money.”²³⁸

② Find new supporters

Many public and non-profit service providers would like to see more involvement on the parts of large employers in Faribault. “Companies don’t donate to the community for help with integration, but money is hard to come by for non-profits. The community needs to support this as well.”²³⁹ On a related note, many respondents focused on human resources, noting that “Recruiting volunteers helps to deal with the lack of money.”²⁴⁰ Regarding the possibilities of finding new volunteers with guarded optimism, another said,

There aren’t enough people in Faribault committed to it. And it isn’t their fault, either, because when you look at the overall population or economic system, everybody is looking for a job. You can’t volunteer like you want. But I think we can always do more. You have to be creative and continue to ask. Never stop asking and never stop seeking volunteers and asking for help and support, even if we have in the past, we can’t stop. I think there’s a lot of volunteers out there that if you just did a newspaper article or a radio article or put it in a church bulletin... I don’t think you get people that way. I think you have to ask them personally to participate. And when you have enough people, it isn’t overwhelming for a small group.²⁴¹

③ Focus on developing multiple revenue sources

One of the most successful non-profit service providers emphasized the importance of a “development planning process that will help us cultivate a lot of those funding sources,” and spoke about hiring a development director, as well. Many acknowledged the need for “a healthy mix of funding” and point to the need combine a mix of grants from the state and federal government, the United Way, and other foundations.²⁴² As mentioned previously, respondents also advocated leveraging cash through in-kind donations, contracts, grant-writing partnerships, and volunteers, especially student volunteers.

4.3 IMMIGRANTS’ SPECIFIC ISSUES AND NEEDS

We turn now from presenting respondents’ ideas about the challenges that recent immigration presents for Faribault as a whole to a focus on the challenges that immigrants themselves face in their daily lives as newcomers. Some of these issues they face are distinctive to immigrants, such as limited English language abilities, while others, such as unemployment and limited low-cost housing, are shared by other Faribault residents. Readers should remember that the challenges presented here are based on interviews with a subset of community leaders who are, with a few exceptions, not themselves recent immigrants. This report cannot substitute for systematic, thorough conversations with immigrants about their needs and interactions within Faribault. This final part of our report on interview findings identifies four specific issues and needs related to language, education, economic and legal status.

4.3.1 Language

Every single one of our respondents emphasized language barriers as a priority challenge confronting immigrants. While we have no systematic data about what

“I think the two great levelers that have made America work is the language and public schools. I do think that it’s important for immigrants to learn the language. We that are here need to be patient and realize that English is difficult and you don’t learn it in a year.” - Whiting

percent of recent immigrants have limited English-language skills, we can report that for those who do, the result is great difficulty with settling into life in Faribault. Our interviewees reported five specific dimensions of this challenge. First, there are many frustrations around the process of learning a new language, for adult learners and the broader community alike. Second, there are limited resources available for English-language instruction and study. Third, even when groups strive to offer translation services, communication remains difficult. Fourth, immigrants suffer economically due to limited English language skills. Finally, immigrants struggle to navigate public services without good English while service providers struggle to meet their immigrant clientele's needs and to hire staff who are able to speak the major immigrant languages.

- ***Frustration about language learning***

Almost every service provider working closely with immigrants said that immigrants generally want to learn English and are trying to do so as quickly as possible.²⁴³ However, the process takes time and can be a source of frustration for native-born individuals in the community, who sometimes believe that immigrants are not trying hard enough or are exploiting the language barrier by pretending not to be able to speak English.²⁴⁴ It can be frustrating to those who are trying to learn and teach English when native-born community members express irritation with the language barrier.²⁴⁵ In addition to time, barriers to accessing ESL classes included childcare, transportation, and availability.²⁴⁶ One respondent said that older immigrants in particular may never be able to learn to speak English fluently. He expressed frustration about perceived disrespectful behavior towards his non-English speaking parents, who he believed were simply incapable of learning a new language.²⁴⁷

Meanwhile, it is worth repeating the high level of frustration interviewees expressed regarding ESL courses. Our research, including interviews and a review of other materials, indicates that ESL classes are offered most consistently through Adult Basic Education, which is funded through the School District and run by the City and the School District. Yet, as mentioned earlier, our community leader respondents are generally confused about who is responsible for ESL classes and when and where they are located.²⁴⁸ ESL classes are always full, but interviewees believe that ESL is not likely to expand in the near future.²⁴⁹ One interviewee said, “We would like to do it [offer ESL] through adult basic education, but until the state decides to fund the programs, that’s where all the funding comes for that, it won’t happen.”²⁵⁰

An additional frustration is that some immigrants not only struggle with English language learning, but also struggle with basic literacy. While we have no data on how extensive this problem is, numerous individuals named literacy as a barrier to integration. Respondents differed in their perceptions about which groups were more literate. One non-profit leader heavily involved with Hispanic populations said, “What I’ve found is an awful large number of the Hispanics can’t read. So, if you print something out in Spanish, it doesn’t do any good because they can’t read it. So it really has to be by word. Now Somalis can read. They have no problems reading.”²⁵¹ This view directly contradicts the views of other service providers, who viewed literacy as a bigger challenge for Somali populations, discussed further below.²⁵²

- ***Inadequate resources for effective communication***

One obstacle associated with literacy and language is the cost of translation. One interviewee sees the efforts made so far in Faribault as little more than a ‘token effort.’²⁵³

While people are learning English, many respondents think that translation and interpretation should be provided. A majority of interviewees discussed their displeasure with the major shortage in both human and financial resources to provide translation and interpretation in the community.²⁵⁴

Other organizations struggle to build logistical support for English language learners. For example, the public library has made a strong effort to buy appropriate reading materials for different immigrant groups, but often struggles to find literacy materials, especially for Somalis.²⁵⁵

Even when organizations are able to offer translation services, effective communication is still difficult. Often, language barriers cannot be reduced to translation or interpretation, but represent larger cultural differences.²⁵⁶ One interviewee said, “Look, they’re Somalis. They come from a culture which is not literate. Did you know that Somali culture is oral? They didn’t even have a writing system for their language until 1972. It is not a written language, originally, and most people don’t read and write. Most of the Somalis don’t read and write, period. So conversation is the way of sharing stories and passing information.”²⁵⁷

- ***Economic difficulties***

Language barriers prevent immigrants from integrating economically into the community.²⁵⁸ For example, language barriers narrow the range of jobs available to immigrants. Poor English-language skills also hinder immigrants’ efforts to actively seek jobs, by making it difficult to acquire a driver’s license and to access higher education.²⁵⁹

- ***Navigating public services***

The language barrier also makes it difficult for immigrants to navigate public services. One respondent elaborated on this point by discussing the lost benefits of the Welcome Center:

What we lost when we lost the Welcome Center was that first point of help...The Welcome Center was the place that provided that interpretation, that translation, interpretation that was not just word-for-word but had the nuance of culture and the understanding involved. And having lost that, we’ll still have interpreters, we’ll still have translations, but we’ll miss that personal, ‘I’ll help you through it.’²⁶⁰

Another respondent noted that it is particularly important to have one-on-one help and verbal translation because seventy-eighty percent of Somali immigrants cannot read.²⁶¹

Interviewees cited a lack of bilingual staff citywide as a major obstacle for immigrants who try to navigate the various public systems. For example, one individual from the County corrections office noted that only one officer was bilingual and that no officers speak Somali, Sudanese or Cambodian. The interviewee claimed that “bringing more bilingual people into corrections is hindered by the lack of bilingual people with a corrections background,” noting that a program they provided in Spanish was effective precisely because it was presented in the audience’s native language.²⁶² In fact, many interviewees emphasized the effectiveness of native-language programming delivered by a bilingual staff member.²⁶³ Many pilot programs to provide native-language programming met with success, only to be discontinued due to funding cuts.²⁶⁴

The language barrier also prevents individuals and groups from communicating effectively with City and School officials. Moreover, City officials often commented that the language barrier prevents them from effectively performing their jobs as well.²⁶⁵ In one example, a City employee identified the language barrier as the biggest obstacle to communicating effectively with leaders from the Somali Community Service Center.²⁶⁶ In another example, a non-profit leader spoke of a budgeting class targeting Hispanic families. He felt that his organization was unable to offer such services to Somali immigrants, stating “I don’t think we could communicate at a level where we’re efficiently... Now if we had a very, very good bilingual Somali, it might be easier to do.”²⁶⁷

“I don’t speak Spanish fluently, but I speak it enough so that I can see the difference with how I can connect to somebody when I’m speaking to them in their native language, versus when I’m working with Somali leaders. I don’t know Somali. There will be whole conversations that are had in Somali and one of the women will translate for me but I know I’m missing it; you just do. And so, I feel like I’m not connecting with them as well as I’m connecting with the other two teams because there’s that barrier. Then, I imagine what that’s like for them in their daily life, trying to understand a parent teacher conference, trying to go to the grocery store and ask for a certain kind of food, trying to go to social services...” - Berkowitz

- **Take action**

Service providers have adapted to challenges associated with language in many ways, including the provision of language lines, the adoption of alternate methods of communication, and the use of Rosetta Stone software. Health care providers reported using dedicated Somali-language phone-lines to communicate with Somalis. Public and private organizations also use cultural liaisons to help with word-of-mouth methods of communication, in lieu of traditional methods such as advertisements in various media.²⁶⁸ Several individuals view the schools as successful leaders in this area, as they staff cultural liaisons in some school buildings.²⁶⁹ Interviewees noted that several organizations are setting up Rosetta Stone programs for use by both English and non-English speakers.²⁷⁰ In fact, one respondent noticed a substantial increase in Rosetta Stone users at public schools during March 2011, the month preceding our interview.²⁷¹ Others pursuing the same method, however, observed very limited use by immigrant populations.

Interviewees agree that more classes and higher quality classes need to be offered in order to help interviewees overcome the language barrier. They feel that ESL especially is an area for improvement, as no one seems to know exactly what is offered or who is responsible. One cultural liaison proposed that classes be offered to teach immigrants how to do things like acquire a driver’s license “so they can depend on themselves.” One way to make the DMV and similar offices more accessible is to offer verbal instruction through headphones, rather than written.²⁷²

4.3.2 Education

The second main challenge facing immigrants is education in general. Nearly all interviewees feel that the schools are adapting well to diversity, although many think they still have much room for improvement. A wide range of challenges related to education

came up in our interviews. First, the public schools struggle to effectively educate immigrant children because of linguistic and cultural barriers. Second, issues related to testing and grade-level placement make it more difficult for teachers and immigrant students to succeed. Third, community members have started many extra-curricular camps and programs to fill in the gaps left by the school system, but face continual challenges in funding those programs. These three issues are discussed below. Two other educational issues were discussed earlier and will not be repeated here. One of them, the fourth educational issue overall, involves the struggles to provide quality and accessible adult education, especially ESL, discussed in the “Language” section above. The final, and fifth, education problem is the scarce funding that complicates all other education issues. Financial problems were addressed in the “Funding” section of this report.

• **Challenges for the Schools**

The main challenges interviewees reported in relationship to the School District include the language barrier, differing diversity levels in different schools, behavioral issues, and relations with immigrant families.

Schools find it difficult to accommodate immigrants’ language needs. Interviewees agree that meeting Somalis’ needs is more difficult than meeting Latinos’ needs because it is harder to find Somali-speaking teachers and books written in Somali.²⁷³ Teachers struggle to

“We’ve had a difficult time finding appropriate staffing [for Somali children]. Spanish speaking staff are much easier to find and we know that it’s important to teach children in their native language first to get the concepts through.” - Covert

manage classrooms where students sometimes speak as many as four languages, as there is not enough extra support for ESL students.²⁷⁴ Faribault has yet to develop any dual immersion language programs in the school.²⁷⁵

The School District’s diversity is difficult to manage from the perspective of the School Board, as each school has a different

demographic make-up and different needs. As one board member said, “That the diversity in all the different types of schools in Faribault is dramatically different is a major issue...I think it starts to create an environment where schools have become more and more segregated, which is not something that I think anybody who lives in Faribault would want to see.”²⁷⁶

The main behavioral challenge interviewees talked about was fighting and bullying in the schools, especially in the first few months after refugees begin attending school.²⁷⁷ District employees and other respondents felt the school administration has not always handled these issues as sensitively as it should. A few people also mentioned gangs as a problem in Faribault, especially for Latinos.²⁷⁸

“That’s how they learned back home- survive, grab this and fight, show them you can do it, don’t show them you’re afraid...so it takes a while for them to know the expectation, that it’s a totally unacceptable thing.” - Dolal

Schools also find it difficult to build positive relationships with immigrant families. We heard many different opinions among our respondents about the extent to which immigrant families value education, with some

believing that they place a high value on it, while others think they need to be encouraged to care more.²⁷⁹ If there is a conflict between a student and a teacher, some said the immigrant parents always side with the teacher, while others said they always side with the student.²⁸⁰ One interviewee observed that on occasion students with immigrant parents use the language barrier to their advantage. For example, if a student is suspended, they might succeed in lying to their parents about what happened, because their parents are unable to read the note they bring home.²⁸¹ What everyone could agree on was that the School District has improved relations with immigrant students and parents by hiring cultural liaisons, who are widely praised for helping students adjust to American cultural norms and helping parents understand the American school system.²⁸²

Respondents from all sectors worried that immigrant children often have to take on adult responsibilities. One interviewee said that Somali kids “are thinking like they’re fifty years old. They have to because life is so hard.”²⁸³ They have to take care of their siblings and take on parenting roles as their own parents have to work long hours.²⁸⁴

Lastly, many interviewees expressed concern over native flight from schools with high immigrant populations. This is a phenomenon seen all across the United States. In fact, one study found that “for every additional ten immigrant children that enter public school in a given school district, two White native children leave for private schooling alternatives.”²⁸⁵ Because Faribault Public Schools are open enrollment, an individual school may face competition from not only parochial schools, but also public charter schools such as the STEM school and schools in other districts such as Northfield.²⁸⁶

- **Testing and grade-placement**

Another main area of concern in education revolves around testing, grade placement, and the effect that those have on graduation rates. Interviewees said that immigrant children are placed in grades based on age rather than on skill level, so that fourteen-year-olds are placed in 9th grade when they have never been to school before and do not even know basics like the English alphabet.²⁸⁷ Poor grade placement affects more than just immigrants: one interviewee was concerned that average children are poorly served when there are radically different levels in the classroom.²⁸⁸ Interviewees noted that testing is also a problem, especially the Minnesota graduation test, which reportedly causes some immigrants to go to another state to graduate.²⁸⁹ Conversely, lack of testing is also an issue. Students who need Special Education are not allowed to take the tests to qualify for it any language other than English, and so may not be able to access those programs for their first few years in the U.S.²⁹⁰

“In America, you have to go to the age you are to school. In Africa, it’s not like that...when you’re 20 years old you can go to elementary...you start where you need to.” - Malaal

- **Extracurricular programs**

Many extra-curricular programs have been started to help fill the gap between what the students need and what the schools are able to provide. The School District recently received integration funding, which has helped to start many different programs.²⁹¹ The programs that interviewees mentioned most frequently were Free Pops and after-school study help. Almost all extra-curricular programs and camps seem to be largely funded by

short-term grants and forever in search of more resources so that they can serve everyone they wish to.

- **Adult education**

Aside from the challenges with ESL classes mentioned in the “Language” section, Faribault educators face additional difficulties in other kinds of adult education, including parental education and vocational training. Some respondents reported that they sometime have difficulty engaging immigrant parents in parenting classes, possibly because of cultural difference. They further suspect that limited success in this area stems from immigrant parents prioritizing English learning over other kinds of education.²⁹²

- **Take action**

Many who work with children advocate providing extra support to students who need an alternative path, emphasizing the need to teach in their first language when they are very young. Some see Northfield’s TORCH program as a model to be followed.²⁹³ Interviewees want more Spanish and Somali speaking teachers; however, no one seemed to be able to offer a concrete plan for how this might be achieved.²⁹⁴

Ideas about best practices supporting immigrant students in school include celebrating each little success, such as an immigrant student making the honor roll.²⁹⁵ Others prescribe a recipe for successful schooling that combines accessible transportation, a relationship with the community, an atmosphere that makes kids feel welcome and supported, and community and school buy-in for all of the other program components.²⁹⁶ Others see collaboration with local colleges as the key to giving students higher education opportunities.²⁹⁷ One highlighted South Central College as helpful in providing vocational training to immigrants, especially Latinos.²⁹⁸

4.3.3 Economic Issues

Respondents identified several challenges to the economic integration of immigrants in Faribault as the third of the immigrant specific needs. In the words of one interviewee, the most pressing issues related to immigration in Faribault include housing, employment and transportation needs, noting that “I think there are so many big issues that it’s hard for a community to tackle all of them.”²⁹⁹ The first and most important challenge for immigrants is meeting their basic needs. Immigrants often struggle to manage their finances and deal with unemployment. Secondly, access to transportation affects immigrants’ ability to integrate into the community. A third issue is finding culturally appropriate and affordable housing. Fourth, some immigrants have difficulty accessing health care. Finally, many respondents observe that immigration is an integral piece of the local economy and question how to best integrate immigrants into the economic development of the broader community.

- **Basic needs**

Immigrants often struggle to meet basic needs. Service providers noted that immigrants’ basic needs for food and shelter must be satisfied in order for them to work on higher level issues, like integrating into the community and attending educational programming. Immigrants have difficulty meeting their basic needs in part because of unemployment issues that have increased in recent years. In fact, more than one respondent indicated that there are currently high levels of unemployment in the Hispanic population, partly because the

Turkey Store laid off 300 employees in 2009. Economic issues related to rent surface in a cyclical manner, as immigrant families return for seasonal work in spring, or attempt to pay for debts accumulated for housing during the winter.³⁰⁰

Respondents noted that some immigrants come to the United States with unrealistic financial expectations and/or are not familiar with basic financial management skills, due to their reliance on a ‘hand-to-mouth’ lifestyle.³⁰¹ Immigrants may also struggle with financial management because they are supporting not only family in the U.S. but also sending much of their income to their home countries. These remittances are often an overlooked part of the economic equation. As one Somali immigrant pointed out, supporting one’s family in refugee camps abroad is one of the highest economic priorities for some immigrants. He pointed out that this concern was not something that City officials like the mayor, for example, are aware of.³⁰²

- **Transportation**

Transportation is an obstacle for immigrants accessing the available services and

“We [Somalis] don’t know about the city bus. We always see it but we don’t know where it stops, what to do, who to talk to, how to pay, is it free? The city can help with organizing social gathering things. ‘Today we’re going to talk about the city bus. The bus stops in this area at this time.’ Create something like flashcards-if you want to go to social services, or the clinic, you show the driver and the driver will just take you there.” - Dolal

resources in Faribault. Immigrant families often cannot afford a car, are not familiar with traffic laws, do not have insurance, cannot understand public transportation, or may not have the time to provide transportation to others in the family. Transportation issues exacerbate other issues, such as attending ESL classes.³⁰³ It also affects the ability of public and private organizations to become more inclusive. For many organizations, especially those with

main offices outside of town, transportation is a major issue. HealthFinders, for example, has a clinic in Dundas intended to serve both Northfield and Faribault. It relies on volunteers from Northfield, and but also on nurses and interpreters in Faribault.³⁰⁴ All need transportation to Dundas.

- **Housing**

Interviewees from all sectors cited housing as one of the most important issues relating to immigration in Faribault.³⁰⁵ This issue is both economic and cultural. The Somali cultural liaison we spoke to said that because Somalis generally do not believe in birth control, they often have large families of eight or ten people, and then cannot find affordable housing that is large enough to accommodate that many people. Another cultural difference is that Somalis cannot pay interest because it is not allowed in Islam. Because of economic difficulties most Somalis cannot buy a house outright, so even though they find rent prohibitively high, they are left with no other option. Many interviewees hope that landlords will become more flexible about the number of people living in a house and that larger housing units will be built to accommodate the Somalis’ large families.³⁰⁶ If immigrants cannot find suitable housing, they may move to other towns. One pastor claimed that some

Sudanese immigrants could not find housing so they went to Mankato, complicating other challenges by scattering the Sudanese across a broader geographic area.³⁰⁷

Some worry that immigrants may be vulnerable to unscrupulous landlords. One interviewee knew of landlords who “know they can charge a lot of money for a place that’s really not habitable.”³⁰⁸ An immigrant remarked that most significant efforts to deal with housing have been band-aid approaches. He lamented the fact that Habitat for Humanity built dwellings only for those that “already have money.”³⁰⁹ Since much of the immigrant population depends for their economic survival entirely on the available jobs nearby, some fear that economic changes, such as layoffs at the meat-processing plant, could result in sudden demographic shifts.³¹⁰ The perceived transience of immigrant populations may prevent the community from pursuing long-term, structural solutions to issues such as housing.

- **Health Care**

One interviewee focused on immigrant health care as a major issue. He said that “demographically, low-income minorities and just low income in general suffer disproportionately from things like diabetes, cardiovascular disease, hypertension, high cholesterol.”³¹¹ This same person told us that immigrants are economically vulnerable because they are one of the demographic groups most likely to lack insurance.

- **Economic issues in the broader community**

In addition to the economic challenges immigrants face, the broader community also faces economic difficulties and opportunities associated with immigration. Four city officials spoke about the need to identify economic opportunities associated with the development of Faribault’s downtown and with addressing immigrants’ needs.³¹² They feel that business in town must embrace their diverse customer base in order to be successful. However, some expressed frustration in coming up with ideas for better integrating immigrants economically. One individual asked,

[W]hat would work better to assimilate folks better or more rapidly or inclusively into leadership, connecting the community so that we hear their voices? I mean, how can I convince the guy who owns Banadir restaurant, the guy who owns the Mexican grocery store, that I would really want to hear their point of view and that I would really want them to be involved in what might appear to be a stodgy old white person’s organization like the Chamber?³¹³

The questions asked by this respondent are another manifestation of the networking and communication issues that affect the immigrant community’s ability to integrate more generally.

One interviewee remarked that the Chamber of Commerce has already done much to support the growth of immigrant businesses.³¹⁴ New opportunities in this area include the Main Street program, which is concerned with “promoting the downtown and helping business be successful.” One interviewee said, “We’re trying to reach across to include and make sure that the Latino business owners and the Somali business owners are welcomed and encouraged to be a part of it.”³¹⁵ The same individual continued, “like with any more traditional organization, it just takes a while for that comfort level to be there, for them to be involved.”

Others worry about the effect of immigration on the downtown area and the town’s economy. Some local residents, purportedly business owners among them, believe that residents stay out of downtown because they fear the newcomers. Talk on the street thus blames immigrants for downtown’s decline, even though no research pinpointing the exact causes of the decline has been conducted.³¹⁶

• **Take action**

Along with reporting these economic problems, respondents told us of different efforts already underway to solve them. We note those ideas for positive action below, in an order matching the discussion just concluded.

① **Basic Needs**

Some recent unemployment has been eased by immigrants gaining jobs with new employers, such as Diane’s Desserts in the nearby town of like Le Center.³¹⁷ In addition, local branches of Hyvee and McDonalds are making cultural accommodations that allow Somali students to work for them.³¹⁸ In response to a different type of basic need, some organizations are offering personal financial management in some immigrant families. One oft-cited partnership is budgeting classes implemented by First United Bank.

② **Transportation**

With regard to transportation, some respondents mentioned the value of a Welcome Center programs as worth repeating. One individual described a program in which immigrants with driving violations resulting mostly from a language barrier “could come to classes that the Welcome Center was offering instead of paying a fine or going to jail... where they could learn the problem, learn what happened.”³¹⁹

Faribault continues to struggle to find a broad solution for transportation issues. Most responses to this problem have been ad-hoc and informal. For example, several native-born volunteers drive approximately fifty Somali children to school every day.³²⁰ These volunteers may be able to offer the City

“I’ve been told our numbers keep declining so I don’t know how effective we are with [public transportation].” - Whiting

concrete ideas about how to improve the public transportation system. Meanwhile, temporary solutions to transportation problems are in place thanks to grants or partnerships with the United Way.³²¹ The City government shares information about the public transportation system in all languages, yet ridership among immigrants has not significantly increased, which suggests that the bus routes do not fit their transportation needs. One interviewee involved in the public school system remarked that the city bus’s strict schedule does not match the schedules of immigrants. She suggested getting a “call and ride” system.³²² In time, increased ridership could increase federal grant revenue and benefit all residents.

③ **Health**

Some of the best, most proactive solutions to immigrants’ specific needs can be found in the health care area. Organizations such as Growing Up Healthy, HealthFinders and the Rice County Mental Health Collaborative have recently documented the social determinants of health in Faribault with careful research.³²³ Their focus on solving problems before they occur is notable, as demonstrated in the comments from the director of a free non-profit

clinic said, “We wanted to focus on prevention and disease management because even overall in our population that’s becoming much more of an emphasis, with much more of an emphasis on the public health aspects of health.”³²⁴ Several organizations, including the Red Cross and HealthFinders, maintain resources such as “call-down lists” to refer clients to services and connect service providers to other actors in the community.³²⁵ Beyond referrals, however, our interviews did not reveal any examples of collaboration between non-profit organizations and public agencies such as Public Health.

④ Housing

Respondents shared several ideas about how to improve the housing situation. One interviewee suggested that Faribault needs to “convene a group of experts on housing to pull together ideas and resources.”³²⁶ Another interviewee believes that housing issues will only be improved with “a major infusion of cash”; to date, Faribault has received some money for government-supported apartments that provide important temporary housing.³²⁷

One Somali interviewee claimed that much progress has been made as cross-cultural communication with landlords has improved with time.³²⁸ He notes that initially, “Renters [didn’t] trust Somalis,” but that this has improved as people in Faribault become used to a more multicultural city. He still thinks that the process to find affordable housing is still too long, and claims that Faribault needs “better housing assistance.”

City officials, meanwhile, have to juggle competing priorities with regards to housing, including the safety and security of living environments.³²⁹ They focus on policies such as rental review, which is the inspection of rental property to prevent instances of slumlords. In many instances, City officials may look the other way in response to housing code violations, in order to accommodate different cultural living habits. This temporary solution represents a large effort on the part of City officials to adapt to the needs of newcomers, but is clearly an untenable solution for the long-term. One respondent mentioned their preference that the City balance “ordinances in place that secure the safety of people” and staying “away from regulating lifestyle choices.”³³⁰

Immigrants’ strong social networks may relieve some stresses evident in the housing system. One representative from Three Rivers agency Family Development Department remarked,

We have a high percentage of Sudanese families, which are refugees... We will notice that they will come in and ask for Head Start or our energy assistance program which is kind of like a grant which goes to pay your utility bills... But when it comes to asking for rent, we typically don’t see them asking so much because they tend to take care of each other. So for them to ask for assistance, like for what I do, I don’t see that many Africans- Somalis, Sudanese- asking for that help.³³¹

In situations where immigrants’ own resources do not suffice, the non-profit organization Three Rivers Community Action currently provides housing assistance, through several programs designed to prevent homelessness. Interviewees also highlighted Ruth’s House, a non-profit shelter for women and children coming out of abusive situations. These programs were described to deal with special circumstances rather than structural housing problems.

4.3.4 Legal Status Issues

The final immigrant specific issue raised by our respondents concerns the range of legal statuses among immigrants living in Faribault. While interviewees generally focused more on Somalis than on Latinos when discussing immigration and diversity issues, when they did mention Latinos they invariably spoke about legal status. They commented repeatedly about the fear that results from undocumented status.

While no one is sure how many undocumented immigrants live in Faribault, the Pew Hispanic Center estimates that 28 percent of all immigrants in the United States, approximately eleven to twelve million people, are undocumented.³³² According to the Minneapolis Foundation, an estimated 55,000-85,000 undocumented people live in Minnesota. Of undocumented residents, 55 percent came without permission and 45 percent overstayed visas. 57 percent came from Mexico, 23 percent from the rest of Latin America, 10 percent from Asia, 5 percent from Europe and Canada, and 5 percent from other areas.³³³ Because many families have mixed status, legal status issues present a problem even for those who are documented and affect the entire Latino community.

The most commonly mentioned issue related to documentation was immigrants' fear of deportation. This fear complicates immigrants' relationship with the police and the community in general. Undocumented immigrants fear interactions with the police because of the risk of deportation, and so are thought to avoid contact with them even when they need to report crimes. The recent increase across the U.S. in state laws allowing police greater power to act like U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) officials has increased fears of racial profiling and deportation among immigrants, nationwide; however, some immigrants in Faribault did comment that they feel safer in Minnesota than in Southern border states.³³⁴ Much of the fear revolves around traffic stops and drivers' licenses.³³⁵ City officials and other interviewees commented that the police are aware of this issue and trying to be as sensitive as possible while still enforcing the law.³³⁶

Interviewees agreed that being able to trust the police is essential to building a healthy and safe community.³³⁷ If immigrants do not trust the police, the entire community is less safe. As one service provider said, some feel that undocumented immigrants are technically breaking the law and so should be treated as criminals by the police, "but at the same time these are people in our community and how can you keep a community safe if people don't trust their police force?"³³⁸

One interviewee who works extensively with Latinos commented that documentation issues can also negatively affect education and decrease students' motivation. Undocumented students give up hope of ever going to college, because they cannot access financial aid. They have low expectations for employment, because it is extremely difficult to find a job as an undocumented person. He saw the failed attempts at passing the DREAM Act as further demoralizing students.³³⁹ Some in the community have tried to work with employers and colleges to find solutions for undocumented students.³⁴⁰

Interviewees seem to feel hopeless about this issue. Many see illegal immigration as a national level issue that they have no control over and see no solution for.³⁴¹ Many bemoaned the effect ICE raids have on communities and the fact that raids have increased under the Obama administration; however, no interviewee mentioned any effort in Faribault to engage with immigration as a national issue. Instead, local groups seem to view themselves as helpless victims of a failed national policy.³⁴²

• **Take action**

We found the fewest number of solutions to immigrants’ needs with regard to questions of legal status. A few people think that Faribault residents should be more engaged in politics, noting the lack of groups concerned with immigration law in Faribault.³⁴⁵ One respondent argued this point by claiming that,

[I]n Rice County there aren’t organizations, non-profits, lobby groups-whatever- that are doing those public awareness campaigns...I don’t think those things are reaching here in Rice County as to the impact of immigrants and what the facts are in terms of employment and productivity in society, taxes people are paying, and the burden people are having on the welfare system. So I think those big economic arguments would help inform folks on both sides.³⁴⁴

“I suppose I should care [about legal issues] more than I do, but I really don’t care. When someone does better, we all do better. I think that for agencies or organizations that are compelled to ask about those things, it makes it much harder.” - Sandberg

Service providers find themselves in the tricky situation of wanting to follow the law but also wanting to help undocumented immigrants because they are members of the community. Interviewees think that most service providers adopt a humanitarian perspective when dealing with documentation issues. In practical terms this means that service providers either ignore the issue or focus on youth, because even if their parents are undocumented, children are often citizens. Service providers furthermore feel a special responsibility to youth on humanitarian

grounds.³⁴⁵ Said one service provider, “I feel like one angle to look at it through is youth...It’s a way of looking at it that fits with the legal lens of ‘we support our citizens,’ but also gets at the reality of the family and that support network that is important for growth.”³⁴⁶ Some service providers also stressed the need to find trusted liaisons to communicate with undocumented immigrants and their families.³⁴⁷

5 RECOMMENDATIONS

Now that we have completed our presentation of the ideas and insights gathered through the interviews conducted during the spring of 2011, we conclude this report with specific recommendations to Faribault leaders and residents for future action. We developed the following recommendations on the basis of three types of consideration. Our main purpose was to provide a holistic overview and interpretation of and reaction to the insights from our interviewees. Our second consideration was to sharpen recommendations derived from the interviews with ideas learned through reading scholarly research and policy reports related to immigration. Finally, we reviewed written materials available about other small cities in Minnesota that face similar immigration and diversity environments, in terms of their overall population size, labor market considerations and the timing with which they have experienced. We make seven specific recommendations. For each of them we provide a general explanation. When possible, we also offer references to ideas and initiatives pursued in other Minnesota cities. Items on the recommended reading list that appears in

the appendices to this report provide additional justification for many of these recommendations.

1. We recommend concerted effort and sustained attention to improving communication and networks among the various public agencies, non-profit organizations, religious institutions and informal groups that are directly concerned with immigration and diversity issues.

Almost all interviewees called for increased and improved coordination in efforts to work with immigrant residents. While many people know of some of the ideas and programs that others pursue, there are many missed chances for sharing ideas and information, as well as inefficiencies that prevent the best use of scarce resources. Interviewees identified the following distinct needs that would be better served through effective networking:

- The community needs a clear central place and group able to guide immigrants in their interactions with schools and other public services.
- Organizations should communicate clearly about their programming, to avoid overlapping efforts and to better recognize needs not otherwise being met. Effective communication would also help would-be volunteers know where they could be of most use.
- Organizations should coordinate fundraising and development, so as to present the most effective appeals to private foundations likely to support their work.

Effective networking requires transparency, regularity and inclusiveness. The general public, immigrants, concerned officials and private groups and organizations will all benefit from predictable opportunities to share ideas about problems and solutions. Working together can increase the sense of community, as well as increasing effectiveness of programming. Given that so many interviewees identified the lack of trust and familiarity with diverse cultures as a major challenge for Faribault, the chance to speak openly while fostering effective, creative responses to immigration should pay multiple dividends for the city.

2. We recommend that public and private responses to immigration and diversity issues be data-driven and grounded in research.

In an era of scarce resources, public and private organizations can increase their own confidence, as well as that of clients, constituents and financial supporters, that they are providing effective programming only when they ground their efforts in research results. Some research projects should be conducted directly by Faribault organizations, particularly those involving interviews or focus groups with immigrants. Others could be completed by students participating in academic civic engagement programs at St. Olaf College or Carleton College. Longer term studies might be conducted by Masters or Doctoral degree level students from Minnesota universities with pertinent graduate programs. We encourage people interested in acting on this advice to build relationships with academic programs that

can introduce able student researchers to Faribault organizations. This study finds that community leaders currently need to know more about five issues, explained in detail below.

- [What immigrants themselves believe to be their greatest needs.](#) Interviewees grounded in day-to-day interactions with newcomers believe that they need English classes and translation services, but they have no hard data on just how great those needs are. Likewise, they know that there are needs for good housing and transportation, but those could also be better documented. How immigrants understand the cultural differences between themselves and long-term residents, and within their families and neighborhoods should also be studied systematically. Research with immigrants should be conducted by well-trained individuals who are attentive to the risks immigrants perceive in sharing their views. If conducted well, such research could build trust between Faribault organizations and the immigrant population.
- [What the general population of citizens in Faribault thinks about immigration and diversity issues.](#) The current study finds that community leaders wish for more support from the general population. Some leaders compliment long-term residents for their welcoming attitudes; others worry that some of them are apathetic or even hostile regarding immigration. Careful research could build on this study by identifying how prevalent each of these attitudes are, and pointing out other concerns that are not yet under discussion by community leaders. Efforts to obtain a representative sample of long-term citizen residents are most desirable.
- [What services are provided where, how often, with what conditions and by whom.](#) Systematic assessment of current services would facilitate the networking and communication efforts recommended above, and contribute to the non-profit assessment discussed below in recommendation number five. It should determine whether the proper balance has been struck between the number of programs available and the number of people able to staff them, either as reliable volunteers or paid staff. Assessment should also determine whether programming is intended to serve all Faribault residents or only recent immigrants. Research on this topic should also investigate the extent to which programs use a “one size fits all” approach, and to what extent they pursue the opposite extreme of serving only a small population at a single moment in time. Research by Pease and associates demonstrates that programs of both sorts are difficult to sustain. They advocate instead for universally inclusive programming.
- [Who uses what services and who participates in public meetings, events and discussions.](#) Here too ongoing, systematic assessment is necessary. Concerned groups and agencies that understand how immigrants participate in the Faribault community can design more effective programs and public education about the effects of immigration. Census data and school reporting on student enrollments provide much useful information. They should, however, be complemented by data on the extent of immigrant participation in public events, such as school sports and music programs, attendance at community parks programming, and at public meetings.

- [What best practices in other small Minnesota cities have achieved.](#) A survey of Minnesota cities in 2007 found that the main issues related to diversity were communication, cultural differences, housing, and lack of community integration. The main barriers to addressing those challenges were lack of money and time, lack of commitment from city officials and staff, communication and cultural differences, lack of staff, and uncertainty as to how to proceed.³⁴⁸ Faribault shares most of these challenges, and so should learn from the successes and failures in other cities. As part of the current study, we identified five communities as the most similar cities worthy of comparison, in light of their overall population size, diversity index, and the shared presence of major meatpacking plants who serve as employers for recent immigrants. (See appendix for details). Those cities are Albert Lea, Willmar, Owatonna, Worthington, and Marshall. Research into these cities' responses should begin with the recommended reading list, in the appendices, which includes multiple studies of local-level responses to immigration in Minnesota. A core part of such research should include interviews with community leaders in person, or over the telephone, as necessary.

3. We recommend that Faribault organizations collaborate to develop effective solutions to the language barriers that complicate relations between newcomers and native English speakers. Accessible, dependable English as a Second Language (ESL) classes should be at the heart of this effort, but translation and interpretation services will also be required.

The School District should exercise leadership on this issue. It holds more responsibility and enjoys more resources than any other single entity, in light of its jurisdiction over compulsory education for young people and Adult Basic Education (ABE). The City of Faribault shares responsibility, in light of its current supervision of ABE programming, whereby a City employee supervises School District employees. This supervisory relationship should either be clarified to the public, so that concerned parties better understand who to work with in order to improve and increase programming; or it should be reorganized.

Two pressing needs demand attention. First, responsible local government organizations need to lobby the Minnesota Department of Education for more funding, to allow for more class spots. Second, educators should improve the quality of instruction. Public educators should engage volunteer ESL teachers in designing and implementing research-guided instructional plans and techniques, to expand enrollment in programs beyond the limits of public funding. Local college professors and their students may be able to offer advice about current research into the best techniques for teaching second-language learners.

Further research should be conducted by private and/or public organizations to determine where more interpreters and translators would be most useful. Our interviews indicate need in the Department of Motor Vehicles and other services provided by Rice County, including in the Courts and Social Services.

4. We recommend developing and enacting plans for broader community outreach and cross-cultural education that invites participation by all Faribault residents. Such efforts are part of an overall commitment to sustained public education aimed at

reducing misunderstandings among all Faribault residents, whether immigrants or not.

Regular, sustained interaction through programs that regularly occur in Faribault can potentially mitigate the sense of distance community leaders believe to exist between recent immigrants and long-term residents. Immigrant families and children can be invited to participate in existing sports clubs and activities that serve the mainstream community (scouting, soccer, basketball, swimming, music and theater, etc.). Explicit, direct invitations, coupled with explanations of how the activities work with regard to individual and family participation, could increase positive relationships. It would be worthwhile to work with cultural liaisons, who are able to explain the value of such programs and the expectations that participants have of each other, and to identify any barriers to participation.

The Somali Community Service center has made some efforts to provide cultural education to the broader population; such outreach efforts by immigrants should also be encouraged in the name of building familiarity and trust. It is worthwhile to host an informational series hosted by this and similar organizations, telling the immigrants' life stories, including their reasons for moving to Faribault, their efforts to learn English and to settle into their new lives.

Public discussions hosted by non-partisan experts on the political and economic realities associated with immigration are another critical dimension of an effective public education campaign aimed at reducing tensions and misunderstandings. Organizers should seek to provide comfortable, safe spaces for Faribault residents to explore concerns and questions related to immigration and diversity, building on the experiences of the Diversity Coalition, by going beyond a small core of concerned citizens to include the wider community. We recommend fresh thinking about partner organizations for such outreach, including perhaps parent-teacher organizations, student groups at the Faribault schools and South Central College, scouting groups, the Rotary, churches, sports associations and other groups generally concerned about the common good in Faribault.

Immigrants should be co-organizers and audience members alike in all of these initiatives.

5. We recommend more attention to assessing current programs provided by the non-profit sector and other private organizations. Assessment results should be used to improve program quality as well as administration and management of organizations overall.

The current study suggests that some Faribault groups develop their programming haphazardly; rather than relying on clear goals, participant feedback and regular evaluation. Moreover, the small size of some groups means that a single individual may be called upon to oversee all programming, general administrative tasks including budgeting, and direct service provision. Some of our interviewees felt that such a situation results in unreasonable demands on these people, which hinders their overall effectiveness. Some attribute the closing of the Welcome Center to just such a situation. Accordingly, we suggest that service providers should use such assessment to consider the efficacy of combining small groups. Such a decision would allow groups to delegate the above responsibilities among individuals more effectively.

Non-profit organizations can model their self-assessments on similar efforts undertaken across the state and country. Making use of the good statewide networks enjoyed by organizations such as the United Way and the Red Cross is one way to do so. Another is to seek more information about larger studies of the non-profit sector. Our preliminary research into Willmar’s immigration experiences, for example, yielded an interesting example of an educational meeting hosted by the South West/West Central Volunteer Connections group, aimed at increasing non-profit organizations’ ability to attract immigrant volunteers.³⁴⁹ This session presented a study on immigrant volunteering, which could be duplicated locally. It also shared helpful information, such as the finding that immigrant volunteers are motivated more by “helping and personal connections rather than self-fulfillment or resume-building.”

We encourage the non-profit sector to develop a jointly-authored annual report sharing their assessments so as to better celebrate their successes with the broad community and to learn from each other most effectively. Drafting such a report would be another excellent project for which to request student researchers from the colleges present in Rice County.

6. We recommend more public discussion about the positive contributions under way in the Faribault schools and dedicated efforts to spread them more consistently throughout the School District.

Many of our respondents viewed the Faribault public schools as among the institutions most responsive to immigration issues and the most affected by immigration. Interviewees especially praised the proactive strategies of key individuals within the school district, including cultural liaison and youth development coordinator staff. Additionally, we perceived the school board to be very responsive to our presentation on August 1, 2011. Though resources are scarce and growing scarcer, there are a few things we believe the school district can continue to improve upon.

First, the School District should build on recommendations from the Minnesota School Integration Council about initiatives that can be adopted within schools. The report titled “*Every Child Every Day: Educational Equity Through Integration*,” published by the Statewide Task Force on School Integration in January 2011, makes seven specific recommendations for in-school strategies that will achieve integration well. In our judgment these pertain directly to Faribault, so we reproduce them here, verbatim from the original:³⁵⁰

- Effective professional development to enhance cultural competence and equip school staff with the skills and knowledge to create safe, supportive, and inclusive classrooms and schools.
- Programming to improve college and career readiness.
- Integrated curriculum and culturally responsive instructional strategies that engage students from a wide variety of backgrounds and promote critical thinking, collaboration, and problem solving.
- Opportunities that promote social interactions among students from different racial and ethnic backgrounds outside of schools.

- Diversification of school staff (teachers, administrators, support staff).
- Programming to address within-school segregation and tracking.
- Race-conscious policies

Second, the Faribault schools should commit themselves to regularly assessing outcomes related to policy decisions that target newly arrived immigrant students. The School District should consider the specific policy of establishing alternative pathways into the mainstream school program which account for prior experiences with formal schooling. Such a policy would then become a good first candidate for rigorous assessment.

Third, the School District should open channels of communication between teachers, staff and volunteers who have the best on-the-ground information about policies' efficacy, and district administrators and School Board members who have the greatest policy responsibility. One area for immediate discussion should be the possibility of better support for after-school programs. The School District, working with staff and volunteers, should provide widely disseminated explanations that programming for homework help, summer programs and other related initiatives are intended to serve all Faribault students, not only immigrants. Doing so commits the District to offering universally inclusive programming, whenever possible; this is likely to receive broader support from all local constituents, while also serving immigrant students well.³⁵¹

7. We recommend that concerned citizens and community leaders attend directly to the ways in which government policies shape what happens in Faribault, and that they seek to influence those policies through the political process.

We were struck by the number of interviewees who presented themselves as being at the mercy of state and national policies, rather than as empowered actors who have the potential to shape those policies. We noticed also that as we asked community leaders to tell us who else we should speak with, as part of our snowball sample method, no one introduced us to an elected official, with the exception of one brief conversation with the Mayor of Faribault. We recommend that persons committed to taking action on the challenges identified in this report make a point of connecting with elected officials at all levels of government; with non-elected public officials who serve at the state and national level; and with other local organizations facing similar situations.

Residents of other Minnesota cities provide helpful examples of possible ways to meet this recommendation. The Willmar Area Comprehensive Immigration Reform group hosts community conversations and film series about national-level immigration policy. Members of the group make their voice heard at the level of state government by collaborating with non-profit organizations based in the Twin Cities, hosting meetings of regional non-profit groups, and traveling to the State and National Capitols for rallies. Other Willmar residents have joined with people from neighboring cities in Kandiyohi County as the West Central Integration Collaborative, which brings together four school superintendents, city administrators and minority residents, among others, to work on the integration district plan that operates under the Minnesota Department of Education.³⁵²

Meeting this recommendation will likely bring debate, some of which might well prove controversial. Experiences in Owatonna demonstrate how this could happen. Some

Owatonna-based organizations have focused on educating local residents about national immigration policy and politics by showing films, organizing workshops and writing essays for the local newspaper with the goal of encouraging positive views towards new immigrants and guided integration. Other groups have organized locally to join in national level efforts to restrict new immigration and exercise surveillance over particular immigrant populations that believe might have ties to international terrorism. Both sides seek to meet with the local member of Congress, but reportedly enjoy differential levels of access. News reports suggest that they understand each other as opponents, if not enemies.

While some people may find such disagreement unappealing, we encourage everyone to remember that democracy can be messy and contentious. If efforts are made to ensure an open process of reasonable public discussion, direct political action can be a useful part of the larger response to immigration and diversity.

6 APPENDICES

6.1 METHODOLOGY AND INTERVIEW RECORD

Comments from Katherine Tegtmeyer Pak

6.1.1 Methodology

Project Origins

The research presented in this report originated with a project I designed for the course Political Science 350, Immigration and Citizenship, which I taught in spring 2011 at St. Olaf College. An upper-level political science seminar, PSCI 350 involves a community-based research project as part of St. Olaf College's academic civic engagement program. Our partner during spring 2011 was the United Way of Faribault (UWF). As the professor responsible for this class, I worked with UWF Director Marcia Morris-Beck to develop a project that met my academic goals for the seminar and the needs and interests of the UWF.

The background to this project is the December 2010 closing of Faribault's Welcome Center, which was funded in part by United Way grants to offer advice and support accessing local services to immigrant and refugee newcomers in Faribault. As I was planning for the seminar, the United Way found itself engaged in a conversation with other local organizations about what might come next, to fill the gaps left by the closing. We agreed to cooperate in a research project aimed at facilitating conversations in Faribault about the opportunities and challenges related to Faribault's increasingly diverse population.

Research Design, Method & Analysis

Keeping in mind reasonable expectations of students' prior preparation for social scientific research, I settled on a research design that asked pairs of students to conduct semi-structured interviews with people identified as community leaders with knowledge about immigrants and refugees in Faribault, which usually included a track record of direct engagement in related issues. Marcia Morris-Beck provided an initial list of people to contact, which I supplemented with names from the Diversity Coalition (the organization that founded the Welcome Center). Additional names of likely respondents were added following each interview, per the advice of those people students met with. This "snowball sample" is not representative; however, it does include a range of expertise, as students met with officials from local schools, city and county government, non-profit organizations and churches.

I sent invitations to participate via email, and followed up with phone calls as possible. Interviews were typically conducted by two students, although on several occasions one or three were present. A significant percentage of individuals who are public servants have also been involved in non-profit or religious organizations in ways related to diversity and immigration. In such cases, I have indicated the role they referred to most often during their interviews, or in the instances when they were not interviewed, to the way in which they were initially identified to me. The table below summarizes the results of our sampling process:

Affiliation of respondents, by type	Invited	Interviewed	Declined	No response	Couldn't schedule
Education	10	8	1	n/a	1
City government	5	5	n/a	n/a	n/a
County government	4	2	1	1	n/a
Non-profit organization	25	17	2	5	1
Religious organization	4	3	n/a	n/a	1
Business	5	3*	3	1	n/a
Press	3	1	n/a	1	1
Total	56	39	7	8	4

**In the business category, an additional person not initially invited to the interview attended and participated, leading to the discrepancy in this column's numbers.*

The interviews were exploratory, seeking to gather as many ideas as possible about what issues need attention. Students asked questions guided by a template I developed and they modified during our course meetings. All interviewers were required to take two sets of notes: one made during the conversation, with a second layer filling in and elaborating, to be made as soon as possible afterwards. While some interviews were recorded and transcribed, shortage of recording equipment prevented students from recording all of them. In order to track the themes emphasized in each interview, individual students coded their notes and/or transcripts, identifying the top three to six issues per interview, representing them with a direct quote, sorting them by issue type, and finally assessing how respondents framed each issue. With regard to coding on framing, students could place each issue into one of four categories: background ideas about cause and effect; background ideas about the range of possibilities; strategic thinking about the best way to discuss the issue; or strategic, precise claims about actions that should be taken. Finally, after several discussions of the whole research team, we identified five larger themes that had emerged from the interviews. Working in groups of three, students then developed a visually-rich poster for each theme, with the goal of stimulating productive conversations among the people interviewed and other interested parties. Those posters were presented in an open, public session at the Faribault Senior Center on May 16, 2011. We gathered written comments from the audience that night, which were considered at the next stage of the analysis.

I hired two of the fifteen students from the spring course to work on the next stage of analysis for nine weeks during summer 2011. The two, co-authors of this report, spent most of their research time applying an iterative coding process to reanalyze the interview transcripts. Specifically, they developed a new qualitative coding protocol based on the initial results, and then reanalyzed all the transcripts and field notes. Their analysis provides the basis for Section 4 of this report. Finally, they collected information from secondary materials for the other report sections.

6.1.2 Interview Records

The table below lists all individuals who were interviewed in March and April 2011 for this research project. The number assigned to each name is that used in the endnotes for the report, which cite them for their comments and insights reported throughout.

Interview	Last Name	First Name	Affiliation	Category
1	Ali	Asher	Somali Community Center	Non-profit
2*	Anderson	Kymn	Chamber of Commerce	Business
3	Berg	Joe	Fire Department	City Government
4	Berkowitz	Rachel	Growing Up Healthy	Non-Profit
5	Collins	Dan	Police Department	City Government
6	Community Leaders	Noemi, Maria and Maria	Growing Up Healthy	Non-Profit
7	Covert	Judy	Faribault School District	Education
8	Currie	Shirl	Faribault School District	Education
9	Delzer	Steve	Our Savior's Lutheran Church	Religious Institution
10	Dolal	Kuresha	Faribault School District	Education
11	Engbrecht	Jason	Faribault School Board	Education
12	Finnegan & Lundgren	Father Kevin and Erik	Divine Mercy Catholic Church	Religious Institution
13	Handahl	Barb	Diversity Coalition	Non-profit
14	James	Delane	Faribault Public Library	City Government
15	Juvland	Carol	Three Rivers Community Action	Non-Profit
16	Kell	Bob	Diversity Coalition	Non-Profit
17	Knutson	Brian	South Central College	Education
18	Kroll	Karol	Three Rivers Community Action	Non-Profit
19	Lewis	Bill	St. Vincent de Paul	Non-profit
20	Malaal	Amin	United Way of Faribault	Non-profit
21	Mandile	Charlie	Health Finders	Non-profit

22	Martinez	Trace	Rice County Corrections	County Government
23	Mbele	Joseph	Diversity Coalition	Non-profit
24	Mendoza	Jose and Ramon	Edina Realty, Latino Community	Business
25	Morris-Beck	Marcia	United Way of Faribault	Non-profit
26	Peanansky	Paul	Faribault Parks and Recreation	City Government
27	Ronayne	Terry	Faribault School District	Education
28	Sandberg	Kathy	Rice County Family Services Collaborative	County Government
29	Schultz	Martha	Faribault School District	Education
30	Smith	Jaci	Faribault Newspaper	Press
31	Staab	Erica	Hope Center	Non-profit
32	Storch	Angela	Red Cross	Non-profit
33	Treadway	Carolyn	So How Are the Children?	Non-profit
34	Whiting	Chuck	Faribault City Government	City Government
35	Wieseler	Pat	Faribault School District	Education

** Faribault’s mayor, John Jasinski, was present for the first ten minutes of the Kymn Anderson interview.*

A significant percentage of individuals who are public servants have also been involved in non-profit or religious organizations in ways related to diversity and immigration. In such cases, we have indicated the role each referred to most often during their interview, or in the instances when they were not interviewed, to the way in which they were initially identified to us.

6.2 COMPARATIVE CASE STUDIES

One goal for the summer research project was to offer people in Faribault ideas from their peers in other Minnesota towns, so that they can learn from their successes and failures related to immigration and diversity. The comparative case studies proved impossible to complete in the time available; below, we share the preliminary results of that part of the project, in hopes that future research teams might build on the findings.

We followed four steps to come up with the list of five cities most similar to Faribault. First, we found a list of towns with meatpacking plants, so as to capture a similar economic setting for the immigrant populations. Second, we limited that first list to towns with a population that in the 10,000-50,000 person range. Third, we eliminated towns in the metropolitan areas of the Twin Cities, Moorhead/Fargo and St. Cloud, because the kinds of coalitions and resources available in such places differ from more rural cities like Faribault. Finally, we researched the diversity index by county, using MinnPost, a non-profit, non-partisan, professional online news site. We eliminated all cities in counties with a diversity index lower than 20, because Rice County’s rating on the index is a 27.5. The diversity index allows us to assess both the presence of diverse populations and the extent to which they are integrated.

These four steps culminated in the list of cities, below:

City	Albert Lea	Willmar	Owatonna	Worthington	Marshall	Faribault
County	Freeborn	Kandiyohi	Steele	Nobles	Lyon	Rice
2010 Population	18,016	19,000	25,599	12,764	13,680	23,352
Diversity Index	21.9	26.7	20.7	50.4	23.3	27.5

6.3 RECOMMENDED READING

Whenever possible, we have linked the titles of the following documents to their URL addresses, so that readers can access them directly from this document. If the links are broken, you can find full addresses in the works cited bibliography that follows.

6.3.1 Academic Sources

- **Fennelly, Katherine. 2005. *Latinos, Africans and, Asians in the North Star State: Immigrant Communities in Minnesota*. Minneapolis: Hubert H. Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs, University of Minnesota.**

This study contains excellent demographic and historic information about immigration to Southwestern Minnesota, including a section on Faribault. It also contains detailed information about the history of the meatpacking industry in Faribault and its role in immigration flows.

6.3.2 Books

- **Aamot, Gregg. 2006. *The New Minnesotans: Stories of Immigrants and Refugees*. Minneapolis: Syren Book Company.**

This book contains useful, accessible and current information about immigration in Minnesota. It details the history of immigration to Minnesota, gives statistical data about immigration trends, and gives personal stories of immigrants in Minnesota.

6.3.3 Organizations with helpful web-sites

- [Cities of Migration](#) by The Maytree Foundation
This website highlights exemplary integration programs from cities all over the world. It is an essential resource for anyone working to strengthen cities through migration – foundations, government, community and private sector organizations and urban citizens. The website also aims to help cities and city actors advocate effectively for appropriate state, national, and international policies through increased understanding of common integration issues. Strengthen connections and facilitate information sharing between key actors in urban integration.
- [Grantmakers Concerned with Immigrants and Refugees](#)
The GCIR website contains many helpful resources on immigrant integration for communities and organizations. One particularly helpful tool is the “immigrant integration toolkit.” In addition to a resources such as factsheets, a glossary of terms, definitions of integration, and program and policy models this tool summarizes “promising practices” on a number of issues including language access, language acquisition, education, health, economic development, civic participation, etc. It also includes a list of recommended reading on immigrant integration, demographics, immigration policy, undocumented immigration and receiving community responses and other critical issues such as language and education.
- [HACER-MN Reports](#) by Hispanic Advocacy and Community Empowerment through Research
According to the explanation on their home page, “Hispanic Advocacy and Community Empowerment through Research (HACER) is a nonprofit, community-based research organization that originated in 1988 as a collaborative effort between Ramsey County

Human Services, Comunidades Latinos Unidos en Servicio (CLUES), and Metropolitan State University to address the lack of information about Latinos and Latino issues in Minnesota’s public discourse. HACER is housed within the University of Minnesota’s Center for Urban and Regional Affairs (CURA).”

- [Immigration Policy Center](#) by the American Immigration Council
This website publicizes the research and policy recommendations prepared by the IPC, a non-partisan organization dedicated to providing data necessary for rational discussions of immigration issues. It includes “Issues” and “Research and Publications” sections with publications on a number of issues related to immigration. It is a good resource for understanding immigration policy at various levels of government.
- [League of Minnesota Cities](#)
This website provides a number of resources in the “Issues and Trends” portion of the site under “Changing Demographics.” Of particular interest to community members is the demographics toolkit called *Community Conversations: Minnesota’s Changing Demographics*. It includes booklets and best practices for issues relating to several population trends including the growing senior population, immigrant populations, and younger generations. The “Governing and Managing” section of the website also includes links to other helpful reports such as the [Local Government Innovation and Redesign guide](#) by the Humphrey Institute. This guide aims to help Minnesota officials to find new and better ways to deliver public services.
- [Minnesota Compass by the Wilder Foundation](#)
Minnesota Compass is a large nonprofit research and evaluation group led by Wilder Research, a division of the Amherst H. Wilder Foundation. It is a good resource for practical research in the field of human services. Organizations affiliated with Minnesota Compass include the Center for Rural Policy and Development, Southwest Initiative Foundation, Minnesota State Demographic Center, University of Minnesota Extension, Minneapolis United Way, McKnight Foundation, Blandin Foundation, St. Paul Foundation, Minneapolis Foundation, and several others. The portion of their website dedicated to immigration includes demographic information, “ideas at work,” a list of organizations and initiatives involved in immigration issues in Minnesota, and a “library” of featured reports and web sites.
- [MN Council of Non-Profits](#)
The Minnesota Council of Nonprofits is a state association of nonprofits with over 2,000 members. It provides resources, training, and information for nonprofits. It also publishes research on “key issues of common interest.”
- [Nonprofit management toolkit](#) by the McKnight Foundation.
This website provides links to a number of other resources for nonprofit management.

6.3.4 Non-profit and Government Reports

- Ancheta, Jocelyn. 2007. *Expanding Immigrant and Refugee Funding in Minnesota: What foundations and Nonprofits Can Do*. Grantmakers Concerned with Immigrants and Refugees, Sebastopol, CA.

This report gives a helpful overview of history of giving to immigrant and refugee issues, identifies current and emerging funding trends, recommendations for foundations and recommendations for immigrant/refugee-serving organizations. Parts of this report will be helpful for every reader, including residents wishing to learn more about immigration and both public and private service providers. The report expands on five recommendations specifically of interest to immigrant/refugee-serving organizations:

- (1) Re-evaluate mission to reflect evolving organizational capacity and community needs.
- (2) Incorporate a human rights and civil liberties framework.
- (3) Shift to an empowerment-based approach.
- (4) Move from an ethnic-specific focus to a multi-ethnic approach.
- (5) Strengthen organizational capacity.

- **Center for Rural Policy and Development. 2009. Addressing Diversity: Making a Difference in Our Communities. St. Peter, MN: Center for Rural Policy and Development.**

This report details programs relating to diversity in several Minnesota cities, including Willmar, Worthington, Faribault, Albert Lea, Winona, Mankato, Marshall and many more. It classifies programs into three categories (Making a Welcoming Place; It Starts with the Children; Community Engagement Through Skill-Building) and gives a full-page profile of each individual program.

- **Center for Rural Policy and Development. 2009. A Region Apart: A look at challenges and strategies for rural K-12 schools. Center for Rural Policy and Development, St. Peter, MN.**

This report includes an overview of the demographic and economic conditions affecting rural school districts, with detailed information about the unique challenges these conditions create in each of several regions, including Central and Southwestern Minnesota. The report also gives a review of literature on strategies for rural schools, specifically those that “maintain or improve student achievement at less cost or at the same cost to the school district.” One section includes recommendations for policy and resource changes that help address needs identified by administrators and superintendents. Another section contains four specific approaches to improving quality and reducing costs: high-quality public preschool programs, smaller class sizes, programs to stem dropout rates and consolidation. Finally, the report gives overarching policy recommendations. Each section is geared toward controlling costs without sacrificing quality.

- **League of Minnesota Cities’ Cultural Diversity Task Force. 2003. *Building Inclusive Communities: An Action Guide for City Leaders*. League of Minnesota Cities. Accessed August 3, 2011.**

This publication is an excellent resource for city officials and community leaders. Each of seven chapters, on topics such as “Become ‘culturally competent,’” “Encourage economic development,” and “Enhance public safety efforts” contain multiple sections of advice, including:

- (1) Why city officials should get involved
- (2) What city officials can do
- (3) Outcomes to work toward

(4) Recommended action steps

The report also includes an invaluable index of ‘Resources for Building Inclusive Communities,’ which lists state and national organizations, federal programs, grant-makers and sources and suggested reading.

- **Minnesota School Integration Council.** [*Every Child Every Day: Educational Equity Through Integration*](#). Statewide Task Force on School Integration, January 2011.

This study examines Minnesota’s current desegregation policy. It was conducted by a statewide task force on school integration convened by the Minnesota School Integration Council with the knowledge and support of the Minnesota Department of Education. It gives nineteen recommendations that fall into the following five categories: Clarify purpose of integration policy; Establish and enforce accountability measures; Identify and support effective practices tied to results; Seek partnerships and support collaboration; Distribute resources to meet outcomes.
- **Pease, Katherine & Associates.** 2003. [*Inside Inclusiveness: Race, Ethnicity and Nonprofit Organizations*](#). The Denver Foundation Initiative for Expanding Non-profit Inclusiveness, July 2003.

This report outlines useful “best practices” in several areas, including leadership, comprehensive commitment to inclusiveness, money, race, ethnicity and non-profits, staff programs and outreach. While these concepts are geared toward non-profit organizations, they are equally useful for private for-profit and public institutions.
- **Owen, Greg, Jessica Meyerson and Christa Otteson.** 2010. [*A New Age of Immigrants: Making Immigration Work for Minnesota*](#). The Minneapolis Foundation/Wilder Center.

This report contains findings that provide a ground-work for informed, constructive discussion to shape immigration-related programs and public policies related to immigration. It provides information on the general characteristics of the immigrant population in Minnesota, the economic, social and cultural effects of immigration, policy considerations, recommendations for research, and opportunities for improving knowledge and encouraging discussion. Of particular interest to Faribault is the section on “Rural Minnesota” followed by a case study of Willmar, Minnesota. The report also provides an interesting discussion of undocumented immigration to Minnesota.
- **Reed, Ron.** 2009. [*MergeMinnesota: Nonprofit merger as an opportunity for survival and growth*](#). MAP for Nonprofits.

This study presents the results of research on nonprofit mergers in order to provide recommendations for successful mergers. It rates the relative importance of a number of variables in successful mergers, including characteristics of the merging organizations and environmental factors.
- **Vanderwall, Kim Sundet and Ellen Benavides.** 2006. [*Coloring Outside the Box...One Size Does Not Fit All in Nonprofit Governance*](#). MAP for Nonprofits.

This publication presents research from interviews with organization leaders throughout Minnesota about organizations based in rural communities. Organizations in small or

rural communities often have different priorities, perspectives and resources than larger organizations.

6.3.5 Student Reports, Dissertations and Theses

- **Lee, Moosung. 2009. *Decoding Effects of Micro Social Contexts on the Academic Achievement of Immigrant Adolescents from the Poor Working-Class: Peers, Institutional Agents, and School Context*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota.**
This dissertation examines a number of factors that influence academic achievement of immigrant youth in working-class families. The author emphasizes the importance of peers and adult staff.
- **Olson, Jamison. 2006. *An Analysis of the English as a Second Language Program Needs of Somalians in Barron, Wisconsin*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota.**
This dissertation may be useful to clarify the strengths and weaknesses of English as a Second Language programs in Faribault and better understand what is needed to improve the quality and accessibility of these programs.
- **Panchmatia, Niel A. 2010. *The Catholic Church and Faith-Based Social Justice Engagement: A Comparative Study of Latino and Somali Immigrants in Central Minnesota*.**
Religious institutions have historically been very important actors in immigration. This study examines the importance of religion by comparing two immigrant groups with very different religious heritage, neither of which are majority religions in Minnesota.
- **Pedersen, Jamie. 2006. *Nicollet County, Minnesota: The Faces of Immigration*. Nicollet County Historical Society.**
This report documents various life stories from Sudanese, Somali, and Hispanic individuals, with hope to further integrate and unite the community. It serves as a useful model for a Faribault-based project to collect biographies of local residents towards increasing mutual understanding.
- **Schaid, Jessica and Grossman, Zoltan. 2003. "Somali Immigrant Settlement in Small Midwestern U.S. Communities: The Case of Barron, Wisconsin." In Kusow and Bjork (Eds). "From Mogadishu to Dixon: The Somali Diaspora in a Global Context." Lawrenceville, NJ: Africa World Press.**
This book chapter, originally an undergraduate paper, examines the "urban to rural" migration of Somali immigrants and some of the economic forces behind this migration using Barron, WI as a case study. The report also includes several case studies of Minnesota towns, detailing their responses to changing demographics.

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6.6 ENDNOTES

- ¹ Schaid and Grossman 2003.
- ² Migration Policy Institute 2011.
- ³ Downs Schwei and Fennelly. 2007.
- ⁴ League of Minnesota Cities 2009. The League of Minnesota Cities recently found that the percent of Minnesota cities experiencing immigration-related changes is 66 percent, with 54 percent experiencing “some change” and 12 percent experiencing “great change.”
- ⁵ Owen et al. 2010.
- ⁶ U.S. Census Bureau 2010.
- ⁷ League of Minnesota Cities 2003.
- ⁸ Minneapolis Foundation. 2008.
- ⁹ Sources for the information in this table include Aamot 2006; League of Minnesota Cities 2003; Minnesota Historical Society 2011; Minnesota State Demographic Center 2011; and Ronningen 2009.
- ¹⁰ Grossman and Schaid 2003
- ¹¹ Owen et al. 2010, 38
- ¹² Fennelly 2005
- ¹³ Fennelly and Ford 2003
- ¹⁴ Martin 2011
- ¹⁵ Interview 16
- ¹⁶ Grossman and Schaid 2007, 303
- ¹⁷ League of Minnesota Cities 2010
- ¹⁸ Fennelly and Ford 2003
- ¹⁹ Ronningen 2009.
- ²⁰ Minnesota Planning 2000
- ²¹ U.S Census Bureau 2010.
- ²² U.S Census Bureau 2011a, 2001b and 2011c.U.S.
- ²³ Severns Guntzel 2011
- ²⁴ U.S. Census Bureau 2010
- ²⁵ U.S Census Bureau 2011a, 2001b and 2011c.U.S.
- ²⁶ Fennelly 2005.
- ²⁷ Data from the Minnesota Department of Education
- ²⁸ Interview 35.
- ²⁹ Buckham Memorial Library 2010.
- ³⁰ Interview 2
- ³¹ Schwei and Fennelly 2007, 9
- ³² Diversity Coalition blog, accessed June 2011
- ³³ Diversity Coalition blog, accessed June 2011
- ³⁴ Interviews 1, 7, 15, 21, and 25
- ³⁵ Interviews 16 and 33
- ³⁶ Interviews 16 and 33
- ³⁷ Interviews 25 and 35
- ³⁸ Interviews 13 and 22
- ³⁹ Interview 16
- ⁴⁰ Alba and Nee 2003, 10-11
- ⁴¹ Interview 21 and 33
- ⁴² Interview 16, 31, 4, and 32
- ⁴³ Interview 31
- ⁴⁴ Interview 34
- ⁴⁵ Interview 14
- ⁴⁶ Interview 5
- ⁴⁷ Interview 20
- ⁴⁸ Interview 12
- ⁴⁹ Interview 24 and 28
- ⁵⁰ Interview 34

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- 51 Interview 30
 - 52 Interview 15 and 19
 - 53 Interview 17 and 22
 - 54 Interview 7 and 32
 - 55 Interview 15 and 17
 - 56 Interview 19
 - 57 Interview 21 and 22
 - 58 Interview 4
 - 59 Interview 29
 - 60 Interviews 4, 26, and 34
 - 61 Interviews 11 and 26
 - 62 Interview 17
 - 63 Interviews 5, 23, 26, 2, and 35
 - 64 Interview 5
 - 65 Interview 2
 - 66 Interviews 7 and 18
 - 67 Interviews 15, 23 and 30
 - 68 Interview 30
 - 69 Interview 20
 - 70 Interview 10
 - 71 Interview 14
 - 72 Interviews 2, 16, 20, and 26
 - 73 Interview 20
 - 74 Interviews 26 and 27
 - 75 Interview 29 and 31
 - 76 Interviews 18 and 26
 - 77 Interviews 2, 15, and 19
 - 78 Interview 20
 - 79 Interviews 10 and 22
 - 80 Interviews 22 and 28
 - 81 Interview 32
 - 82 Interviews 7, 22 and 25
 - 83 Interview 29
 - 84 Interview 9
 - 85 Interviews 26, 28 and 29
 - 86 Interviews 10 and 20
 - 87 Interview 33
 - 88 Interview 22
 - 89 Interviews 14 and 17
 - 90 Interview 31
 - 91 Interview 3
 - 92 Interview 34
 - 93 Interviews 8 and 27
 - 94 Interview 20
 - 95 Interview 25
 - 96 Interview 9
 - 97 Interview 9
 - 98 Interviews 14, 16, 28, 31, and 33
 - 99 Interview 22
 - 100 Interview 2
 - 101 Interviews 2, 17 and 21
 - 102 Interviews 21, 25 and 26
 - 103 Interviews 23, 30 and 31
 - 104 Interview 5, 8 and 22
 - 105 Interviews 5 and 23

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- 106 Interview 35
 - 107 Interviews 12, 16 and 23
 - 108 Interview 9
 - 109 Interview 17
 - 110 Interview 33
 - 111 Interview 3
 - 112 Interview 33
 - 113 Interviews 7, 15, and 30
 - 114 Interview 27
 - 115 Interviews 27 and 32
 - 116 Interview 5
 - 117 Interview 31, Interview 4
 - 118 Interviews 25 and 28
 - 119 Interview 16
 - 120 Interview 28
 - 121 Interview 2
 - 122 Interviews 2, 8, 20 and 33
 - 123 Interview 20
 - 124 Interview 32
 - 125 Interview 10
 - 126 Interview 5
 - 127 Interview 35
 - 128 Interview 35
 - 129 Interviews 2, 3, and 32
 - 130 Interview 8, 14, 21, and 22
 - 131 Interview 32
 - 132 Interview 32
 - 133 This graphic was created by Lisa Drewry, Austin Bly and Meredith Berninger for the May 16 public presentation at the Faribault Senior Center.
 - 134 Interview 33
 - 135 Interview 20
 - 136 Interview 32
 - 137 Interview 28
 - 138 Interview 9
 - 139 Interview 21 and 28
 - 140 Interview 31
 - 141 Interview 31
 - 142 Interviews 1, 21, 28, and 33
 - 143 Interview 33
 - 144 Interviews 4, 21, and 28
 - 145 Interview 25
 - 146 Interview 19
 - 147 Interviews 4 and 33
 - 148 Interview 2
 - 149 Interview 21
 - 150 Interviews 26 and 30
 - 151 Interview 13
 - 152 Interview 32
 - 153 Interview 9
 - 154 Interviews 5 and 28
 - 155 Interview 19
 - 156 Interviews 27 and 28
 - 157 Interviews 6, 28 and 32
 - 158 Interview 32
 - 159 Interview 21

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- ¹⁶⁰ Interview 13
- ¹⁶¹ Interview 9
- ¹⁶² Interview 19
- ¹⁶³ Interviews 13 and 34
- ¹⁶⁴ Interview 28
- ¹⁶⁵ Interviews 32 and 33
- ¹⁶⁶ Interview 27
- ¹⁶⁷ One elected official, Jason Engbrecht, who serves on the School Board, was included in the study because his employment at St. Olaf College made him known to Tegtmeier Pak.
- ¹⁶⁸ Interviews 16 and 25
- ¹⁶⁹ Interviews 8 and 26
- ¹⁷⁰ Interview 26 and 35
- ¹⁷¹ Interview 35
- ¹⁷² Interview 11
- ¹⁷³ Interviews 28 and 35
- ¹⁷⁴ Interview 35
- ¹⁷⁵ Interview 32
- ¹⁷⁶ Interview 8 and 26
- ¹⁷⁷ Interview 8
- ¹⁷⁸ Interview 8
- ¹⁷⁹ Interview 11
- ¹⁸⁰ Interview 29
- ¹⁸¹ Interview 8
- ¹⁸² Interviews 1, 2, 7, 10, 20, 26, 32 and 35
- ¹⁸³ Interview 7
- ¹⁸⁴ Interviews 2, 14, 21 and 33
- ¹⁸⁵ Interview 21
- ¹⁸⁶ Interview 2
- ¹⁸⁷ Interviews 1, 20, 21, and 33
- ¹⁸⁸ Interview 20
- ¹⁸⁹ Interview 34
- ¹⁹⁰ Interview 30
- ¹⁹¹ Interview 33
- ¹⁹² Interview 20
- ¹⁹³ Interviews 1 and 7
- ¹⁹⁴ Interview 2
- ¹⁹⁵ Interview 34
- ¹⁹⁶ Interview 2
- ¹⁹⁷ Interviews 16, 21, and 29
- ¹⁹⁸ Interview 21
- ¹⁹⁹ Interviews 17 and 33
- ²⁰⁰ Interview 28
- ²⁰¹ Interview 31
- ²⁰² Interview 28
- ²⁰³ Interview 28
- ²⁰⁴ Interview 28
- ²⁰⁵ Interview 35. This quote has been lightly edited to improve the flow.
- ²⁰⁶ Interviews 21 and 28
- ²⁰⁷ Interviews 17 and 21
- ²⁰⁸ Interview 21
- ²⁰⁹ Interview 32
- ²¹⁰ Interviews 2 and 17
- ²¹¹ Interview 32
- ²¹² Interview 23
- ²¹³ Interview 35

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- 214 Interview 16
215 Interview 25
216 Interviews 12, 19, and 35
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218 Interview 35
219 Interview 35
220 Interview 30
221 Interview 30
222 Interview 3
223 Interview 17
224 Interview 5
225 Interview 32
226 Interview 33
227 Interview 33
228 Interview 32
229 Interview 32
230 Interviews 2, 27, 28, 31
231 Interview 7
232 Interview 5
233 Interview 3
234 Interview 22
235 Interview 32
236 Interview 35
237 Interviews 17 and 35
238 Interview 13
239 Interview 33
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242 Interview 21
243 Interviews
244 Interview 26
245 Interviews 11 and 15
246 Interview 15
247 Interview 20
248 Interview 26
249 Interview 14
250 Interview 26
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252 Interviews 10, 14 and 28
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300 Interview 19
301 Interviews 18 and 19
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303 Interviews 7 and 10
304 Interview 21
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316 Interview 2
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318 Interview 29
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320 Interviews 20 and 29
321 Interview 7
322 Interview 29
323 Interviews 4 and 28

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326 Interview 13
327 Interview 9
328 Interview 1
329 Interviews 2 and 3
330 Interview 2
331 Interview 15
332 Pew Hispanic Center 2010
333 Owen et al. 2010
334 Interviews 4, 6, 12, and 22
335 Interviews 6 and 22
336 Interviews 5, 12, and 34
337 Interviews 5, 12, and 22
338 Interview 4
339 Interview 12
340 Interviews 12 and 19
341 Interviews 16 and 21
342 Interviews 3, 7, and 12
343 Interviews 22 and 28
344 Interview 21
345 Interviews 4, 15 and 17
346 Interview 4
347 Interview 13
348 League of Minnesota Cities 2007
349 Polta 2011
350 Minnesota School Integration Council 2011, 15
351 Pease et al. 2003
352 Minnesota Department of Education 2011