

Latino Immigrants, Americans, and Undocumented Immigration

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Abstract

In order to explore how Latino immigrants see themselves within American society and to gain a clearer picture of racial relations between these groups, a survey study and a series of in-depth interviews were conducted. In the first study, Americans and Latino immigrants in Baltimore City were surveyed about social interaction with one another and their views on the issue of undocumented immigration. Non-white Americans were more sympathetic to the situation of undocumented immigrants than white Americans and Latino immigrants felt very negatively towards non-white Americans. Further interviews of documented and undocumented immigrants explored the difference in opinion and experience between these groups and also focused on the issue of race. A strong identification with the dominant, white, law-abiding culture in the United States on the part of Latino immigrants emerged from these surveys and interviews. If the prejudices against undocumented immigrants and non-white Americans could be overcome, dialogue and community-building between the Latino (documented and undocumented) population and the non-white population of Baltimore have the potential to lead to greater political strength and support for both communities.

Latino Immigrants, Americans, and the Undocumented Immigration Debate

The recent surge in Latino immigration and coverage in the media has made the issues of immigration and undocumented immigration highly controversial. It is projected that by 2050 nearly 1 in 5 US residents will be immigrants and that newly arriving immigrants will make up 47% of that increase (Latino Nutrition Coalition, n.d.). The economic and social consequences of this demographic shift have inspired a great deal of research.

Many studies have been conducted on American citizens' views of Latino immigration, often exploring the fiercely negative attitudes many Americans have toward Latino immigrants. Much attention is focused solely on Latino immigration, despite the fact that immigrants, many illegal, arrive from many other parts of the world as well. It has been suggested that Latino immigration is more distressing to Americans because of their attitudes towards non-white races, making European immigration less of a threat (Cowan, Martinez, & Mendiola, 1997).

There are some Americans with very positive views of Latino immigrants and their role as manual laborers in entry-level and low-skill-level jobs (Lofton, 2007). Some also think that, as African Americans become better educated, more blue-collar positions will need to be filled, making Latino immigrants a vital part of the economy. However, such opinions are not very popular and widespread stereotypes about Latino immigrants often present them as an economic burden. The reality of the situation, however, is less clear. Undocumented immigrants do not have access to the vast majority of public benefits or social services, but still pay taxes, contributing "\$6–7 billion in Social Security funds that they will be unable to claim" (Top Six Myths About Undocumented Immigrants, 2006, p. 21). These stereotypes influence citizens who

are not privy to contradicting information and have created a large, anti-immigrant force. In 2006, 10% of polled Americans ranked immigration higher than any other national problem (Brader, Valentino, & Suhay, 2008). Many of these beliefs are formed by what Americans see in the media and how politicians or reporters present immigration.

Studies show that Latino immigrants are also influenced by media coverage of events and politics, becoming more concerned with racism and discrimination in response to the perceived national attitude towards immigrants. (Michelson, 2001). When immigration is a less controversial and sensitive issue, Latino immigrants worry more about general societal concerns such as crime and drugs instead of focusing on their personal situation in the political limelight (Michelson, 2001). This identification with mainstream society shows a greater level of over-all integration.

Identification with society also seems to occur in the context of race. Studies have shown that Latino immigrants have been found to harbor prejudice against non-white Americans (McClain, Carter, DeFrancesco Soto, Lyle, Grynviski, Nunnally, et al., 2006). This alienation of another racial minority is an interesting phenomenon that makes the relationship between Latino immigrants and American society more complex.

The current research was designed to investigate how documented and undocumented immigrants locate themselves within American society in relation to each other and in relation to other Americans of different races. While research has explored the opinions of Americans about Latino Immigrants and also the opinions of Latino immigrants about Americans, to date, research on the Latino immigrant perception of undocumented immigration and the role of undocumented immigrants in America has been scarce. This is due, in part, to the

methodological difficulties presented by researching a group that does not fit easily into Western thought patterns and often does not speak English (Pernice, 1994).

It was expected that Latino immigrants would not perceive themselves as an economic difficulty and would be hostile towards the US legal system while Americans were expected to exhibit the negative attitudes most commonly represented in the media. An emphasis was put on investigating how the racial situation in Baltimore City would affect immigrant views and whether white and non-white Americans had different opinions. An analysis of these relations and attitudes could provide deeper insight into the racial interaction and reality of Baltimore and clarify the varied opinions about the Latino immigrant population.

Summary of Introductory Study

In the survey study, Latino immigrants and both white/non-white Americans were surveyed about undocumented immigration in Baltimore City. A total of nineteen Americans ($M(19)=37.580$, $SD=12.416$) were surveyed of which 47% self identified as black or a non-white racial mix while 47% self identified as white or a European mix. The twenty-one Latino Immigrants ($M(21)=30.90$, $SD=8.006$) who participated came from Mexico (57.1%), Honduras (14.3%), the Dominican Republic (9.5%), El Salvador (4.8%), Guatemala (9.5%), and Colombia (4.8%).

The survey data indicated ways in which Latino immigrants position themselves within American society. Comparisons between Latino immigrants, white/European Americans, and non-white Americans revealed Latino immigrants' surprisingly negative attitude towards black Americans, seeing them as lazy, violent, and undeserving of their opportunities as American

citizens. This may be related to the fact that competition between undocumented Latino immigrants and Americans for jobs often occurs with non-white Americans.

However, many non-white Americans have more radical and liberal beliefs regarding undocumented immigrants than white Americans and Latino immigrants themselves. This contradictory situation could be justified by the fact that non-white Americans may be aware of social injustices within society and do not have incentives to buy into a system that disempowers them. Because they are legal citizens and not as motivated to see US society as a new world full of opportunity, they may feel more comfortable acknowledging the unfair aspects of the undocumented Latino situation while Latino immigrants may be more inclined to see the situation in a positive light because they put so much work into getting to the US and want to feel good about their personal situation.

The negative attitudes of Latinos towards black Americans have been documented in other studies (McClain et al., 2006). Many Latinos see themselves as having more in common with white Americans than with Black Americans, even those living in predominantly black neighborhoods. The length of time an immigrant spends in the US and has more social contact with Black Americans did not seem to affect these attitudes. This might mean that these attitudes were formed in the immigrants' countries of origin (McClain et al., 2006).

White identification might also be a survival tactic in which undocumented immigrants model themselves on the dominant groups in society in order to acquire as many benefits as possible. This may explain Latino immigrants' positive view of participation in the economic system. As contributing, productive members, they should have access to basic rights, social services, and fraternization with groups in power. Conversely, refusal to identify with

disempowered groups means avoiding discrimination and the socially negative practices of such groups.

While these results provide an excellent comparison of general opinion, they are limited in giving us an accurate picture of Latino immigrants' self-conception because there is no way to compare the experiences or opinions of documented and undocumented Latino immigrants.

There is also no way to know where their beliefs about non-white Americans developed, and so the next study focused on these two issues to further explore how Latino immigrants, both with and without papers, see themselves within an American context.

Interview Study

In order to address the questions raised by the survey, the researcher conducted an interview study with both documented and undocumented immigrants about many of the topics covered in the survey, specifically race. The key difference in this study is the definite knowledge of each participant's legal status. Knowing this allows differences and similarities to emerge and adds further complexity to the relations between races and type of immigrant.

It was expected that there would be definite differences in opinion and experience directly related to legal status. For example, previous studies have shown that the health of Latino immigrants suffers from the stress of coming to a new country, but that those immigrants without documents also struggle with the mental stress that comes from fear of deportation. (Cavazos-Rehg, Zayas, & Spitznagel, 2007). In this study, social identity instead of health was the focus, but the overarching influence of legal status was expected to shape these experiences as well.

Method

Participants

A total of five people were interviewed, two women and three men. All participants were adults but varied widely in age ($M(5)=38.40$, $SD=15.71$, $r=20-65$). All but one subject were from Baltimore City and were clients of Esperanza Center, a community agency created to aid Latino immigrants. The other subject was from Virginia. No real names are used in this paper.

Leti is a beautiful, 30-year-old woman from Mexico. She has lived in Baltimore for six years with her husband and her son without papers. She has another son and a daughter living in Mexico with her parents. She works a steady job as a cleaner in the Inner Harbor and she plans to return to Mexico in the next year or two.

Carlos is also from Mexico, without documents, and has lived in Charlottesville, Virginia for a year and nine months. He is 21, unmarried, and lives with two brothers and two cousins who also work with him constructing pools. He is not sure of his plans for the future, but intends to make a new life for himself in the US.

Obdulio is 61, from Honduras, and received his work visa through his daughter, who is married to an American. He has lived in Baltimore with his daughter for 11 years and was recently laid off when the company he worked for went bankrupt. He is currently looking for work and plans to spend the rest of his life in the US, although he may go back to Honduras to visit.

Flor is 47 and moved to the US from Honduras 25 years ago when her brother applied for her papers. She is now an American citizen living in Baltimore and working in a bakery. She is married with no children and visits her home country at least once a year.

Elvi is 33, from Honduras, and was brought to the US legally by his wife, Flor, one year ago. He would like to become a US citizen as well and is currently doing odd jobs while looking for steady work.

Materials and Procedure

Four participants were interviewed at Esperanza Center, located in Fell's Point, Baltimore. Interviews were between 20 minutes and an hour long and were conducted in a private office. The fifth participant came from the researcher's social network and was interviewed in a quiet area on the researcher's college campus.

Results

Participants' answers tended to gravitate towards specific themes, though not towards consensus. Certain topics revealed a split in opinion that often resulted in polarized data. Responses have been organized according to certain experiences or views.

Coming to the US

All interviewees came to the US either for work or for family, or a combination of the two. Some came out of necessity to support their families, others in search of new opportunities. Immigrants without documents were less likely to have plans to stay in the US permanently while immigrants with documents saw the US as their permanent home.

Leti came with the intentions of leaving after making enough money to support her family. She has stayed “for the good of my son, because I’m hoping he will study a bit.” She was never able to study herself and wants to give her youngest son, born in the US, the opportunity while he has it. Carlos came lured by the stories he heard about the US as “the country of wonders” where there was no violence.

All three documented immigrants acquired their papers through naturalized family members such as siblings and spouses. Obdulio, Elvi, and Flor are all happy to be living in the US, where most of their families also reside. Most of Obdulio’s children live in Baltimore, while Elvi was reunited permanently with his wife Flor when he came a year ago.

Flor, who has lived in the US the longest, remembers hating the US when she first came as a tourist. She hated the cold and how little she saw her brothers who were always at work or asleep. But she decided to immigrate in order to work and is unequivocal in her belief that it was a good decision because “here, there is a future.”

Life and Work in the US

This topic generated a similar response from all participants that focused on the centrality of work in their lives and how different the way of life in the US is from that in their home countries. Documented or undocumented, all participants reported lives dominated by work. No matter their former jobs or qualifications, they tend to find work doing manual labor or on assembly lines.

Despite the fact that he was a masseuse in Honduras, Elvi has only been able to find short-term jobs and would have to earn a diploma in order to keep working in his previous profession. Flor was well aware of this situation beforehand: “I already knew that my life was

going to change radically because after being seated in an office.... I was going to come to do anything at all in the US.” She worked for seven years processing fish in Alaska, and now works at a bakery. Her jobs have often required long hours on her feet without rest, but she was never surprised. According to Flor, “there’s always a margin” in society, and while she was not in this margin in Honduras, she became part of it in the US.

While the work may be equally hard for all immigrants, those with documents reap more rewards. Leti says that if she had good documents, she would be paid \$8.00 an hour instead of \$6.50. In addition, undocumented immigrants have no legal recourse if their work goes unpaid, a practice that is not uncommon. According to Leti, some workers lose \$1,000 in earnings to companies who simply refuse to pay them. And loss of work altogether is more difficult. Unlike Obdulio, who is currently receiving \$360 a month for unemployment, undocumented immigrants must simply hope to find another job before the rent is due.

According to interviewees, the pace of life is different in the US. Even before Flor immigrated, her friends told her “the US is not like Honduras, it is very different...life is more fast-paced, it’s a life of work, work work. And if you do not work, you do not have anything.” Obdulio found it hard to adjust to the new lifestyle, saying that he missed the greater freedom he had in Honduras where he walked everywhere and spent time with friends after work. “Here it’s from the car to work, from work to the car, from the car to the house.” Interviewees noticed that outside of work people do not greet one another in the same way as they do in their home countries and that there are fewer public social opportunities.

However, all interviewees expressed satisfaction with their work because of the tangible results. Leti does not like her work in itself, but she works for her son’s benefit and has stayed with her company because the position is steady. Her son does not like secondhand clothing and

wants to shop in the mall, so when he does not want to get up at 5:00AM to go to the babysitter's before her work, she explains to him that he must do his part as well if he wants new clothes. Flor sums it up by saying: "Here, you get something for working." The long hours and difficult conditions are worth it in light of the gains they make possible. These are the opportunities that they came to the US to take advantage of, and hard work does not seem too high a price to pay.

English

English was another topic that resulted in similar responses from all interviewees. All agree that it is important, if not necessary. All interviewees have taken English classes in America, often told to go by other family members. For most, English is the most difficult part of living in the US. It can make any situation a hassle and is especially difficult in workplaces created for English speakers.

English presents a problem in that it can often be difficult to learn. Classes and study require time, which many immigrants often do not have. Carlos had to stop attending classes because his workdays became too long during construction season. Other immigrants, like Obdulio, have difficulties learning because they came to the US later in life. Flor could speak English, but felt comfortable with it only after practicing it in Alaska where she was almost the only Latina and had no other choice.

English may be the only barrier that affects documented and undocumented immigrants in the same way—it is equally vital and difficult for all of them.

Undocumented Immigration

Clear divisions in opinion about undocumented immigration emerged between immigrants with documents and those without. Documented immigrants tended to see the situation of undocumented immigrants as avoidable, and many problems as self-created. They strongly supported the law and the right of the US to enforce laws. Undocumented immigrants also appreciated the law-abiding culture of the US, but had a more complex vision of their situation.

Everyone agreed, at least in part, that undocumented immigrants have been beneficial to the US, highlighting their role in the workforce throughout US history. According to Flor, “without immigrants, this country would not exist.” However, when it comes to the current situation, opinions begin to vary.

A central theme in the opinions of documented immigrants was the importance of abiding by the law. If immigrants get in trouble with the law, it is their fault for not paying attention to it in the first place. Obdulio especially saw problems as self-generated in immigrants’ lives, saying that immigrants do not make use of their resources and that they should go to places like Esperanza Center to find out how to get licenses and documents. He does not approve of using false papers or driving without a license. His depiction of the US police force is one of fairness with an emphasis on honesty. “I’ve never been treated badly by the American police...I do not give them a reason.” He also disapproves of people using false social security numbers, especially because he is currently paying a lawyer to clear his record with the IRS after an undocumented immigrant used his number illegally. Flor is in favor of legalizing people who are already here if they have a clean record, but anyone with a criminal record should be deported. According to her “it’s better if people do not come to cause problems here.”

Undocumented immigrants also supported the law and fairness, but saw themselves as equally law-abiding members of society. They tended to focus on their contributions through work and taxes as reasons for their belonging and did not see themselves as negative influences in the US. In response to the idea that Latino immigrants occupy job positions that would otherwise go to Americans, Leti objects strongly saying: “That is their idea. They have more benefits, everything that they take out of our checks benefits Americans...we Latinos work for the city, for the US. You have to pay taxes. The Latinos come to give money to the US.” In her opinion, Americans should be grateful.

Carlos too sees himself as an active and beneficial part of the system, contributing through his work. He has gone through the process of acquiring a license (though using a Maryland address that is not his because he cannot get a license in Virginia), but explained that getting immigration documents was too complicated. He might have applied for an 8-month work visa, but knew he wanted to stay longer, and if he wanted to apply for documents now, he would have to return to Mexico and wait for his employer to make the request through the government.

Most interviewees agreed with the practice of taking taxes out of undocumented immigrants’ checks, but Leti disagreed, saying that she never saw any of the benefits that she funded, and that her company has never provided her with the medical insurance it promised.

This division of opinion according to personal experience as either a documented or undocumented reveals a tension within the Latino immigrant community pitting the documented against the undocumented.

Racism

This discussion centered on racism felt by interviewees as Latinos, and also their perceptions of white and black Americans. A wide variety of opinions were expressed with some indication as to where these opinions might come from.

Most interviewees reported positive interactions with Americans in their personal lives, but also an awareness of negative opinions held by certain groups and reported in the news. Most also had several American friends, and said that they are always treated well, often with affection. However, sometimes they feel unwanted or unwelcome. Obdulio talked about going into his favorite bar and sometimes noticing negative reactions from others. He never pushes the issue and sits as far away as possible to avoid causing trouble. The news is by far the most common and reliable source of negative views on Latino immigrants, and reactions to this ranged from outrage to hurt.

Personal opinions on black and white Americans were based on a combination of personal experiences in the US and attitudes already formed before immigration. Leti bases her views on a person-by-person basis, stating matter-of-factly that there are good and bad people in every race. Her anecdotes centered on defending the image of black Americans, recounting the kind treatment of a black co-worker and the superiority of her son's current black teacher to his previous white teacher. She has black friends and white friends, and seemed reluctant to make any sweeping judgments about any race as a whole.

Other participants commented on observed differences between the two races but did not express many personal attitudes about their interactions. Carlos said that black and white Americans are different people, but the only difference he mentioned was that, in his work experiences, black people "like to talk; white people work a little more than they do."

Flor used her workplace environment to explain the differences. More black people work there than white people, but “the white people are the supervisors.” While she notices this economic disparity, she blames black people for the situation. She thinks that black people feel inferior to white people and cause the situation themselves. She also noted that white Americans and black Americans had different modes of expression. In her opinion, white people know how to say something and make it sound courteous, while black people often come off as rude. She also based her opinions on her experiences in Honduras, saying “There are black people in my country. You already know them well, what black people are like. When you come here, black people’s attitudes do not surprise you anymore.”

The only interviewee to express personal discomfort with black people was Obdulio, who said “I get along with white-skinned Americans.” He only whispered the word “black people” when we first started to discuss the subject, but became more confident as the interview progressed. He talked about the time he accidentally bumped a black woman on a bus and she began screaming at him while he sat quietly in his seat hoping for his stop to come. He attributed her actions, and many of the actions of other black people, to racism against Latinos. Unlike Flor, however, his negative attitudes only apply to black people in America. He claims that black people in Honduras are different, friendlier. He identified proudly as Indian (native to Honduras), and said that: “The black race gets along well with the Indian race.” It is interesting to note his change of opinion upon coming to the US.

Hopes for the Future

Interviewees' personal goals for the future involved deciding whether to stay in the US or to return home. However, they also mentioned the larger political situation in relation to their status as immigrants. Most were very hopeful in their outlook.

All documented immigrants planned to continue living in the US. Obdulio would like to become a citizen. Leti, however, plans to leave the US in a year or two to be reunited with her family. She never intended to stay or apply for papers. Carlos, the youngest and one of the most recent arrivals, does not have any specific plans, but knows that he wants to stay in the US for a while to create a new life for himself.

Interestingly, President Obama was voluntarily brought up in every interview without any initial reference from the researcher. It appears that a number of Latino immigrants are aware of the current political situation in the US, though they have different levels of confidence in his ability to help them. While discussing the current difficulties in the economy, Leti said that Obama might change things and improve the situation, but that she had doubts because other people have promised to change things and failed to do so. Flor however demonstrated a faith in Obama and claimed him for the Latino cause saying, "who voted for Obama? The Hispanics." Obdulio also demonstrated a great affection and respect for Obama as well as a belief that he would create more work for Latinos. He believes that "He is going to be a good president"

General Discussion

This study furthered research by assessing the opinions of Latino immigrants about their position in American society and revealing the complex interplay between legal status and race. The opinions expressed in the survey and the detailed information later gleaned from personal

interviews revealed differing degrees of identification with white, law-abiding American society and generally negative attitudes towards black Americans.

Within the group of Latino immigrants, there is a division between those with documents and those without. Personal experience differs in that undocumented immigrants have worse economic situations, are less rooted in American society, and sometimes feel antagonized by immigrants with papers and citizenship. Latino immigrants with documents identify more strongly with the laws and individualistic philosophy characteristic of white Americans.

It is interesting to note the definitively individualistic attitudes expressed by immigrants with documents, who tended to blame undocumented immigrants for their problems, fault them for their lack of papers, and disapprove of their illegal activities. The underlying message seems to be that undocumented immigrants are lazy and should have found a way to come legally. This viewpoint on the part of documented immigrants is ironic, because none of the interviewees immigrated through dint of their hard work or law-abiding natures. They simply had the good fortune to have family members with papers who applied for their documents. That is not to say that they do not work hard, but simply that they did not get their papers through individual merit. However, they expect this individual merit to be the basis on which undocumented immigrants should attempt to get papers.

Not only do immigrants with papers tend to hold undocumented immigrants responsible for their situations, but they hold black Americans to this standard as well. There is an inherent comparison between the two groups, with the implication being that black people should stop complaining and being lazy and should learn to work like the immigrants. Even though the economic inequality between white and non-white Americans is noted, the causes are perceived to be in the black community, and not within the social structure itself.

These negative beliefs may be a serious political hindrance to all racial groups involved. If the differences between documented and undocumented Latino immigrants could be discussed, perhaps the two groups would find unity in many of their similar experiences, such as difficulty with the language, adjustment to a new life of work, and recognition of similar motivations for coming to the United States. A deeper understanding of the economic and political difficulties on the part of immigrants with documents might lead to a stronger sense of community for all Latino immigrants. In addition, all Latino immigrants could find helpful allies within the non-white community in Baltimore, especially as this represents the majority of the population. Both groups share similar situations and it is possible that there is a great deal of untapped political support within the non-white American community.

In order to make both communities aware of the potential in political affiliation, events and connections that generate dialogue should be created. The key to this dialogue would be the creation of positive experiences from which to develop opinions and beliefs. Community leaders within the Latino community and the black community in Baltimore could be invited to an open discussion about political issues common to both groups and ways in which the two communities can support one another. Social events designed for both communities would increase communication between the individual members as well. Advertisements in both Spanish and English should be placed in targeted areas. Potential events could be dance parties, town hall discussions, art exhibitions featuring the work of local artists, and informational meetings that correct negative stereotypes about both groups.

Community agencies such as CASA de Maryland (Central American Solidarity Association of Maryland), EBLO (Education Based Latino Outreach), and Esperanza Center could try to recruit more non-white volunteers and make connections with the non-white

American community. One political organization, The United Workers in Baltimore, has already reached out to the Latino community and included their issues in protests and political meetings (Unity Blog Unidad). There is strength in numbers and mutual support, and the Latino and black communities in Baltimore City can find valuable aid in one another.

Further research could delve into the details of racial tension in Baltimore City between Latino immigrants and non-white Americans. Examinations of the history of racial relations in Central and South American countries would provide a good background from which to understand current opinions held in the United States. An analysis of the media consumed by Latino immigrants and racial portrayals in this media would also serve to further understanding. Research on misconceptions held by the different groups about one another could also provide focus-areas for educational outreach and action to directly affect this situation. There is still a great deal to be learned and much to be gained through application of that information.

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Table 1 Significant Correlations for American Participants

	Comfort w/ Imm. stranger	Pos. work exp.	Pos. soc exp.	Compete w/ Amer.	Benef. To US	Access to services	Age	Ec. Prob.	Friends
Comfort w/ Imm. Strangers	-----	.654**	.794**	-----	.612**	-----	-.461*	-----	-----
Imm. Is Econ. Problem	-----	-----	-----	-----	/	-.457*	-----	-----	-.568*
Imm. Are Beneficial To US	/	-----	.603**	-.491*	-----	.570*	-----	-.563*	-----

* p < .05; **p < .01 / =repeated elsewhere in the table

Table 2 Significant Correlations for Latino Immigrant Participants

	Comfort w/ Am. stranger	Pos. work exp.	Pos. soc exp.	Compete w/ Amer.	Benef. To US	Access to Services	Pers. Treat. Law	Violence a problem
Comfort w/ Am. Strangers	-----	.535*	-----	.445*	.688**	.644*	.517*	.592**
Imm. are Beneficial To US	/	/	-----	.447*	-----	.625**	-----	.469*
Pos. work exp.	/	-----	.619**	.597**	.697**	.642**	-----	-----
Access to Services	/	./	-----	-----	/	-----	.598**	.611**

* p < .05; **p < .01 / =repeated elsewhere in the table

Table 3

Category	Sample Questions
Basic Information	How long have you lived in the US? What is your country of origin?
Coming to the US	How did you arrive? Did you come with anyone else? Were your expectations met? What surprised you the most?
Current Situation	Was coming to the US a good decision? Have you learned anything about yourself? Do you have American friends?
Plans for the Future	Do you intend to go home? Do you plan on becoming a citizen?
Americans	What is the typical American to you? What have your experiences with Americans been like?
Racism	Have you noticed any racial tension in Baltimore? Do you interact differently with different races? Do you feel discriminated against in your personal life?
Undocumented Immigration	Do you think undocumented immigrants compete with Americans for jobs? Do you think undocumented immigrants have been beneficial to the US?

Figure Caption

Figure 1 **I think the treatment of undocumented immigrants by the police and legal system of the United States is fair**

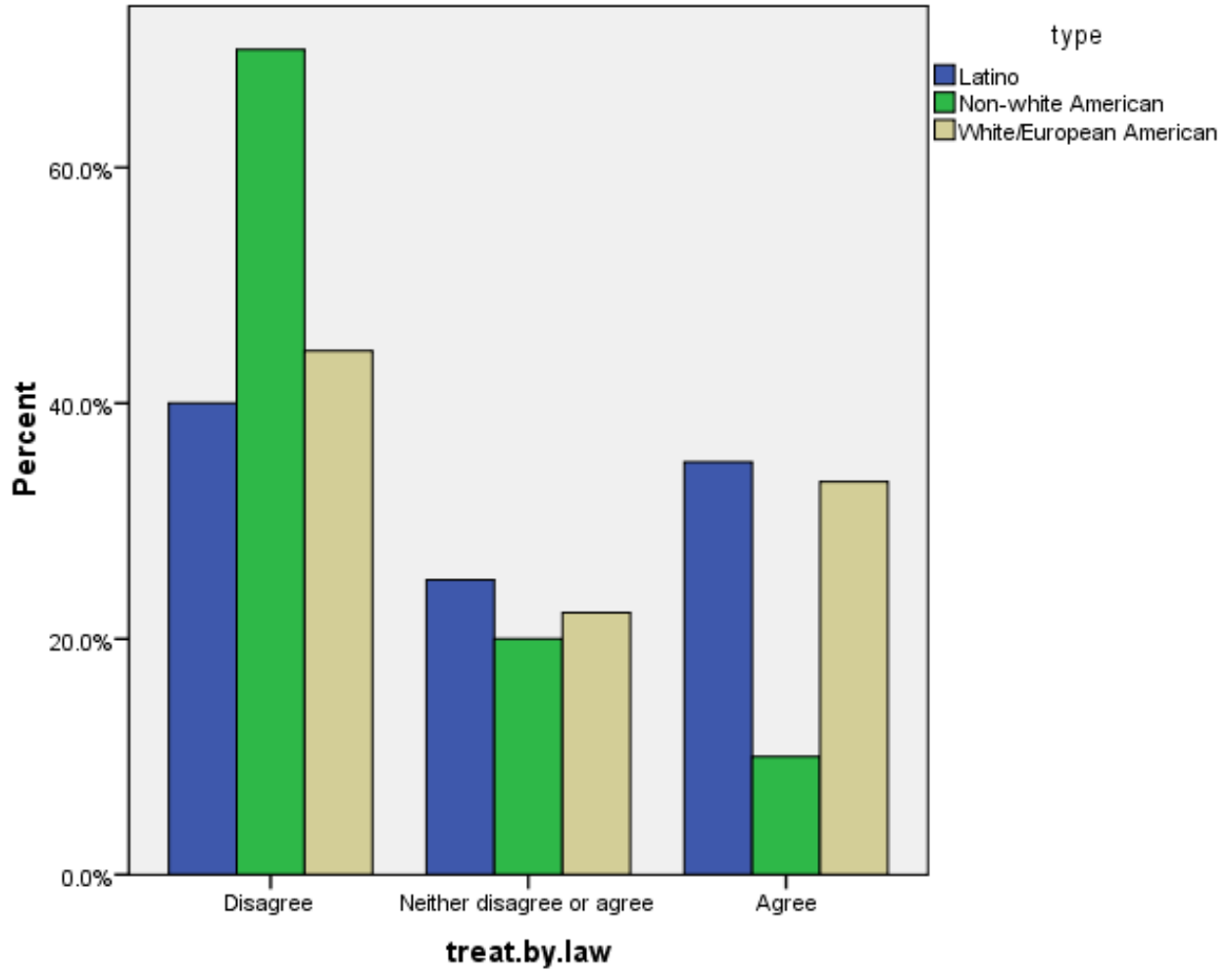


Figure Caption

Figure 2. I am in favor of taxes being taken out of undocumented immigrants' paychecks

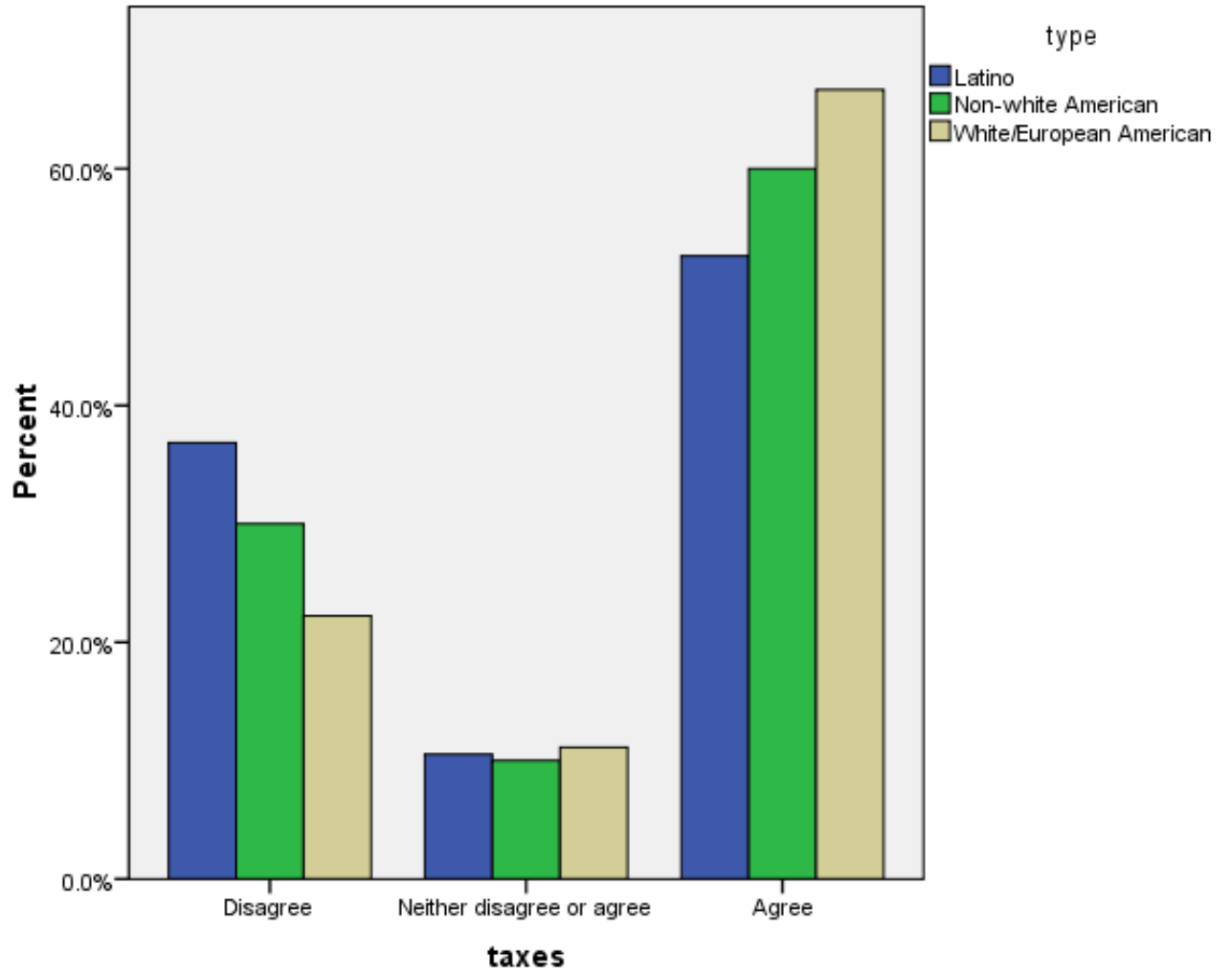


Figure Caption

Figure 3. I think undocumented immigration is a serious problem for the US economy

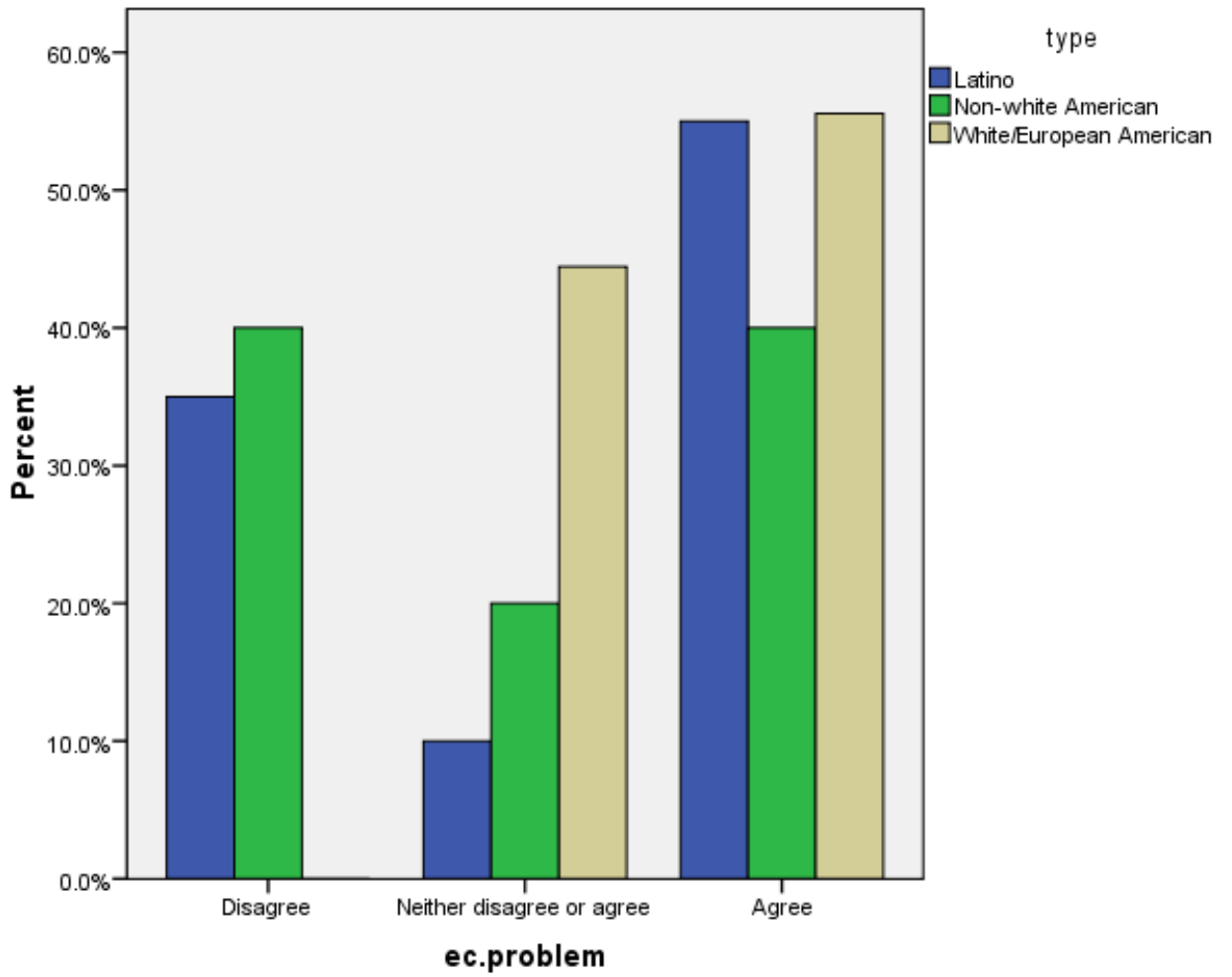


Figure Caption

Figure 4. I think undocumented Latino immigrants have been beneficial to the US

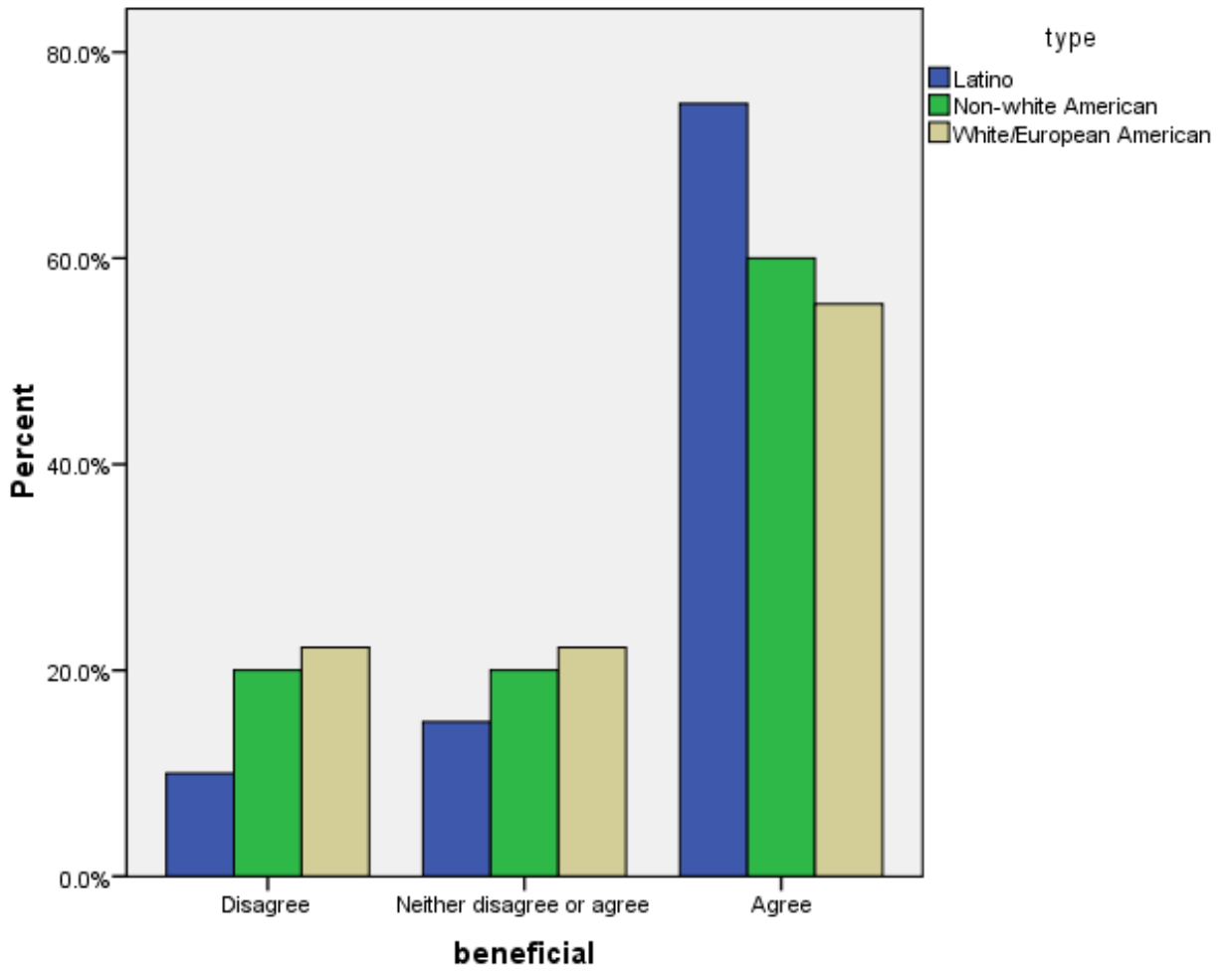


Figure Caption

Figure 5. I think undocumented immigrants compete with Americans for the same jobs

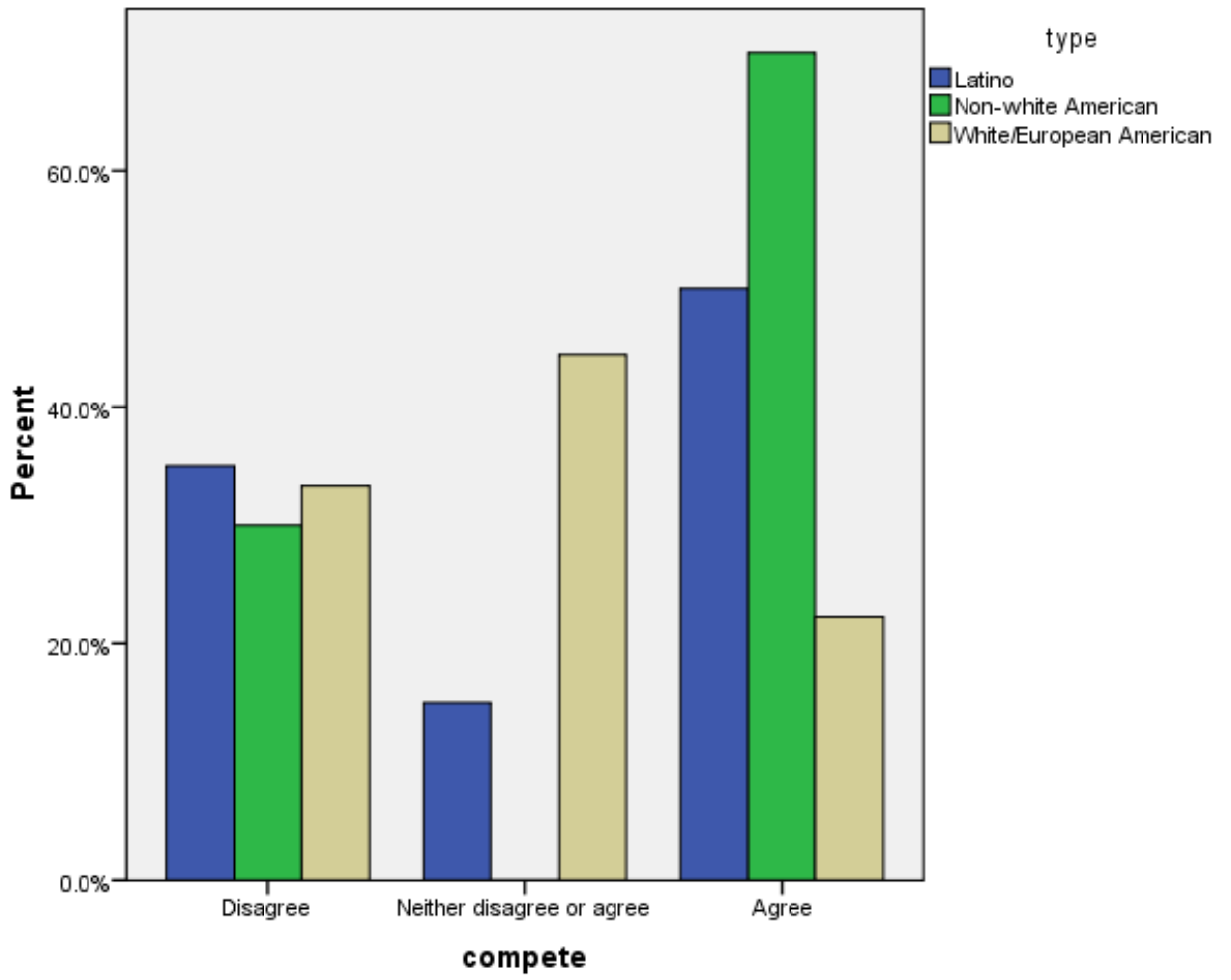


Figure Caption

Figure 6. I think undocumented Latino immigrants should have access to basic social and health services

