

**A Report on the Impact of Changing Demographics
and Growing Diversity in the City of Goshen:
Issues, Challenges & Opportunities**

A Study Commissioned by the
Community Relations Commission

Submitted by D³ Associates
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Introduction: Mandate and Research Process	

In the fall of 2006, D³ Consultants was hired by the City of Goshen’s Community Relations Commission to conduct a study of the community regarding increasing diversity, focusing primarily on the demographic shifts and growing Hispanic population in the last 25 years. The purpose of the study was twofold: to gather data and perspectives on the impact of these trends, and to identify ways in which the community could more proactively and strategically anticipate the future.

The original mandate from the Community Relations Commission was to conduct open-ended interviews with 10-12 community leaders and stakeholders regarding diversity. However, as we began the interview process, it became apparent that 10-12 interviews would be insufficient and unrepresentative of the many perspectives in the community. In order to allow for a more diverse body of perspectives to be heard, the list was expanded to 30, and only cut off due to limited resources and time.¹ Each interview was conducted by one or more of the D³ Consultants, and lasted up to two hours. Each interview was audio-recorded, and individual reports were drafted for group processing and later analysis for this report. Each person interviewed was sent a copy of this report for comment prior to its submission to the Community Relations Commission.

We recognize that additional interviews would undoubtedly create a richer picture of our community, yet we also believe we have heard enough perspectives to record a constructive sampling of the voices in the community. Our priority was to hear from a diverse set of *perspectives*, and we believe this was accomplished. If at a later date more resources are available to conduct additional interviews, these findings could be incorporated into the work of the Commission.

In addition to the personal interviews, we investigated print sources and statistical data. Print sources include archival documents, as well as articles and editorials in the *Goshen News*. Statistical data pertaining to Goshen over the last 25 years was provided by the Goshen Community Schools, the Police Department, and the National Census Bureau. While the

¹For a full list of interviews see Appendix A.

statistical information was sufficient to give support to our report, it was not the primary focus. We did not have the time or means to gather our own statistical data where it had not already been gathered by another organization.

This project is based on the assumption that there is both an *objective-external dimension* and *subjective-internal dimension* to this issue. The objective-external dimension consists of that which is observable and can be objectively stated as fact. This dimension is documented through statistics and objective data. The *subjective-internal dimension* addresses the different ways individuals experience and interpret these realities. This dimension consists of the stories and experiences that shape our lives. We believe that in order for productive conversation to be possible, we must understand how these two dimensions – the stories lived and the stories told – are interrelated. What stories are being told in Goshen about who we are and how we envision the future? What values are fore-grounded in the stories we tell? Which stories go untold or unheard? What kinds of patterns have emerged?

This report does not attempt to suggest a consensus on these questions. Our aim is rather to provide a framework that documents the multiplicity of perspectives – their logic and their concerns – in order to achieve greater understanding. Regarding the demographic changes in Goshen, this report will 1) situate Goshen within an historical and national context (2) identify the substantive issues in current conversations (3) identify the assets and opportunities the community has to address these challenges and (4) offer a few recommendations as to how to move forward proactively and productively as a community. The findings of this report are by no means conclusive. They are, however, a starting point. It is our hope that this report will help Goshen move together constructively, while still valuing its diversity of opinions and contexts.

Context

Goshen: A Changing Community

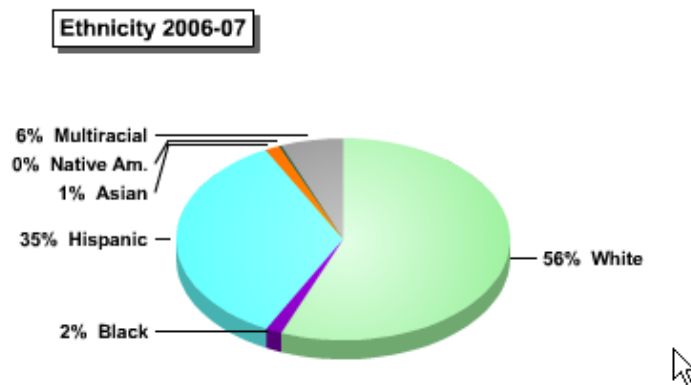
Goshen has made many substantial changes over the last 25 years. It has grown from a town of about 20,000 people in 1980, to nearly double that population in the semi-urban and expanding city of Goshen of today. This growth is sustained by a diversified economy, including industries such as recreational vehicle manufacturing and manufactured homes, as well as agribusiness, health care, a liberal arts college, and increased service industries. Goshen also sustains a rising geriatric population, which according to Elkhart County Commissioner Mike Yoder, has grown at a startling 100% compared to the national average of 20% in the last year.² Everett Thomas of the City Council noted a growing “creative class,” a group of “younger entrepreneurs, thinkers and artists...transforming old dives and investing in a new kind of Goshen,” citing examples such as the Electric Brew, the Farmers Market, Artist’s guilds, New World Theatre and a host of newly renovated apartments downtown.

² Everett Thomas, interview by Phil Thomas and Paul Shetler, 20 December 2006.

Yet it is the ethnic and racial composition of Goshen that has undergone some of the most drastic changes. According to the US Census Bureau, between 1980 and 2000 the percentage of Goshen that self-identify themselves as black has tripled. In this same time period, the Asian population is five times higher, and the Hispanic/Latino population is seven times higher.³ The percentage of minority students in Goshen Community Schools has grown from 9.2% in the 1993-94 school year to 44% in 2006-07.

Likewise, the number of Language Minority Students in the Goshen Community Schools has grown from 4.7% in 1992 to 36.3% in 2006.⁴ Goshen residents currently represent at least 41 different countries of origin, and according to GCS reports, speak over 25 different languages other than English at home. “By 1990, we had diversified to where about 5% of us were minorities. In the next ten years, the minority population had grown to 20%,” said Mayor Allan Kauffman in his State of Goshen Address in 2004. In the past six years this number has nearly doubled to anywhere from 36-40%. In the words of Allan Kauffman, “We are, indeed, a cosmopolitan community.”⁵

Of these changing demographics, the Hispanic/Latino community in Goshen has seen the most growth, increasing from 4.8% of the total population in 1990 to 19.3% in 2000, and represents over 18 countries of origin. As the following graph shows, by the 2006 Hispanic/Latino students constituted 35% of the student population in Goshen Community Schools – 80% of the ethnic minorities in the school district.⁶



Evidence of this growing community can be seen everywhere in Goshen – from shops on Main Street to the increasing number of Mexican restaurants and Spanish-language churches.

³ See Appendix B for more complete Census data from 1980-2000.

⁴ See Appendix C for more complete minority and ethnicity data from Goshen Community Schools.

⁵ Allan Kauffman, “State of the City Address,” Chamber of Commerce Luncheon, 25 March 2004.

⁶ See Appendix C for more complete minority and ethnicity data from Goshen Community Schools.

These changes have had profound effects on the community. The *Goshen News* deemed immigration the top news story of 2006, as it became a high profile campaign issue in the recent state and national elections and generated heated debates on both a local and national level. It is for this reason that this report will focus primarily on this aspect of Goshen's diverse population. We acknowledge that the growing Hispanic/Latino population is merely one aspect of the many ongoing changes in Goshen. However, considering the polarities within our community, it has become both timely and urgent that it be addressed if Goshen is to continue to be a successful, peaceful, and cohesive community.

National and Global Context

It is important to note that increasing demographic diversity, especially that which is caused by immigration, is both a national and international phenomenon. Global migration, caused largely by economic opportunity, political instability and natural disasters, is occurring on an unprecedented scale. According to the United Nations, roughly 200 million people were living outside their country of origin in 2006, one-fifth of which took residence in the United States.⁷ While in the past, the majority of immigrants to the US were from Europe and the former Soviet Union, the majority of immigrants coming to the US today – 78.9% – are from Latin America and Asia.⁸ On a national level, politicians are in heated debates about how to address the influx of immigrants, particularly those who do not come through legal mechanisms. As resident, Mauveen Coyne noted, “We can't solve the whole immigration problem here in Goshen; this is a national issue.”⁹

Recognizing Differences Within and Between Groups

It is also important to note that the so-called “Hispanic/Latino community” varies in ethnic background, political persuasion, and particular experiences. Many Hispano/Latinos have lived in Goshen for two and three generations and are well established within the fabric of the community. Many are US citizens. “I have been in school with Latino kids as long as I can remember,” said Carol Rhudy, life-long resident of Goshen.¹⁰ “I grew up on Indiana Avenue here in Goshen,” said Police Chief Penland. “And my two best friends were my Hispanic neighbors.”¹¹ Hispanic/Latinos in Goshen represent over 18 different countries and at least as many distinct cultures. “Our students come from drastically different backgrounds,” said Tom

⁷ “Global Migrants Reach 191 Million,” *BBC News*, 7 January 2007. Available from <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/5054214.stm>

⁸ “Foreign-Born Population by Sex, Age, and World Region of Birth: 2004,” *U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Survey, Annual Social and Economic Supplement, 2004*. Available from <http://www.census.gov/population/www/socdemo/foreign/ppl-176.html#reg>. In 2004, 53.5% of immigrants to the US were from Latin America and 25.4% were from Asia. See Appendix D.

⁹ Mauveen Coyne, interview by Paul Shetler and Phil Thomas, 4 December 2006.

¹⁰ Carol Rhudy, interview by Sarah Roth, 15 December 2006.

¹¹ Gary Penland, interview by Sarah Roth and Phil Thomas, 4 December 2006.

Good, director of the English as a New Language (ENL) program at Goshen Community Schools. “Not all our students are from Mexico, and even if they were, they are not from the same province, city, or school -- all of which provide a different set of experiences. Seeing the immigrant or minority students as a monolithic ‘them’ is at the root of a lot of our problems.”¹²

Dealing with Our Differences

Historically, Goshen has had varied responses to diversity. In the 1950 and 1960s, Goshen was considered a “sundown town,” a community that actively dissuaded people of color – often under threat of violence – from living within city limits or remaining in Goshen after dark. The racist overtones are apparent in the 1955 edition of the *R.L. Polk Directory for Goshen*, in which an unnamed local contributor stated that, “contributing a large measure to the absence of crime is the character of the population—97.5% native-born white, 2.5% foreign-born white, and there are no Negroes.” This racist inference finally disappeared in the 1979 edition. It wasn’t until 1969 that an African American purchased a house in Goshen, and was put through a police check to do so, something unheard of for white residents. “Thankfully, we’ve improved from those sad days,” said Mayor Allan Kauffman. “But the memory is not far behind us.”¹³

Mirroring national trends, over the last 20 years Goshen become home to an increasing number of immigrants from Latin America. Mayor Allan Kauffman noted that the Ukrainian and Russian immigrants have had a sizable presence in Goshen for some time, but “since they ‘look like us’ no one noticed or treated them differently. It is this flood of people who ‘don’t look like us’ that is now causing all the commotion, as some residents suddenly realize how much their old community or neighborhoods has changed, and are not pleased with some aspects of that change.”¹⁴

Yet actions have been taken to make Goshen more hospitable toward its increasingly diverse residents. In 1995, the Human Relations Commission (HRC) was created out of a joint venture between the City of Goshen, the Ministerial Association, and the Chamber of Commerce with the goal of addressing complaints of discrimination. Though there was no ordinance to provide it statutory power, in 1996 the HRC started Diversity Day as a counter to a Ku Klux Klan rally to be held in Goshen. Now ten years later, Diversity Day continues to recognize and celebrate Goshen as a multi-cultural community. Schools, churches, social service agencies and the city have worked through a variety of mechanisms to continue to address issues relating to diversity. Some of these include the development of the ENL program in 1992, the Diversity Study Circles in 2002, Community Dialogues/Diálogos Comunitarios in 2006, the passing of the ordinance to form the Community Relations Commission, and the many social services that provide Spanish language services.

¹² Tom Good, interview by Sarah Roth, 14 December, 2006.

¹³ Allan Kauffman, “State of the City Address,” Chamber of Commerce Luncheon, 25 March 2004.

¹⁴ Allan Kauffman, interview by Phil Thomas, Paul Shetler and Sarah Roth, 19 October, 2006.

Rising Sense of Anxiety and Fear

In spite of – and in part *because* of – these measures, tensions continue to rise over the influx of new residents in the community. Throughout the interviews it became clear that interwoven through the debates about the growing immigrant population are the anxieties and emotions of individuals within the community. As resident Dixie Robinson commented in a Letter to the Editor in the *Goshen News*, there are feelings of “distress, uneasiness, and sometimes fear of what’s coming next *on all* sides of this issue and from all parts of the community. We didn’t used to [feel this way], but we do now.”¹⁵

Many of our interviewees indicated that Goshen was approaching a critical point in this issue, and that latent tensions could escalate if they were not properly addressed. Yet there was also a sense that this anxiety is as much a fear of what *could be*, rather than what is:

- “Goshen is a very welcoming community...but the pace of this change is really pushing people. Most of these folks feel like they woke up one day and their whole community changed.”¹⁶ (Larry Gautsche, Director of LaCasa)
- “If we don’t do something...we’re going to have segregated school system with an overtaxed public system of minority students and wealthy white private system as those folks leave.”¹⁷ (Chuck Wicks, Chairman of the Elkhart County Republican Party)
- “We are on the brink of crisis with these issues, and the window of opportunity is going to be pretty short.”¹⁸ (Everett Thomas, City Council president)
- “It will be chaos if we don’t get illegal immigration under control.”¹⁹ (anonymous *Your Turn* contributor)
- “Where is the tipping point? We have been able to handle this situation so far because our value base has been strong enough to support a culture of tolerance, but how is it shifting? We are at a crux: which way are we going to go?”²⁰ (Don Jantzi, Principal of Chamberlain Elementary School)

¹⁵ “Resident Feels Issue is about “Illegal” Aliens,” *The Goshen News*, 16 December 2006.

¹⁶ Larry Gautsche, interview by Phil Thomas, Sarah Roth and Paul Shetler, 30 November 2006.

¹⁷ Chuck Wicks, interview by Paul Shetler, 6 November, 2006.

¹⁸ Everett Thomas, interview by Phil Thomas and Paul Shetler, 20 December, 2006.

¹⁹ *The Goshen News*, 2 December, 2006.

²⁰ Don Jantzi, interview by Phil Thomas, Paul Shetler and Sarah Roth, 5 December, 2006.

Key Challenges and Concerns

What exactly are these points of tension? Throughout the interviews, we identified nine reoccurring challenges and concerns regarding growing diversity in Goshen. These concerns seemed to pool into two different categories: Substantive Issues and Challenges in Conversation.

Substantive Issues

The following issues are ones that seem to be the most critical/contentious and of greatest concern in the current conversation. In framing these, it is important to recognize that these concerns have many factors, most specifically, general population growth and increasing poverty. “The issues in many ways end up being more class based than racial, although being of a different culture and language background can compound many factors,” said Don Jantzi, principal of Chamberlain Elementary School. “Fifteen years ago our manufacturing jobs used to be pretty high paying jobs. People could work their whole lives and make a good life. But now many folks are just trying to get by, just surviving.”

While the following comments are made about Chamberlain Elementary School, they are indicative of growing poverty in Goshen. “Chamberlain district used to be unique in the level of poverty among its students, but that has changed. More poverty has been moving in across the board,” said Jantzi. At Chamberlain, 50% of the students come from single parent homes and only 12% of our children have a parent that stays at home. Low paying jobs, a high cost of living and the challenges of unforeseen costs contribute to a problem of constant relocation and instability. “Partially because of the heavy percentage of renters in our district, we have about 270 “ins and outs” (enrollment or withdraw of a child) in a year,” said Jantzi. “Only 35-45% of our kids are here from Kindergarten through 5th grade, which means that 60-65% are transient... Most of our kids are living on the line and it doesn’t take much to push them over.”

We recognize – as did almost all our interviewees – that these issues are multi-dimensional and interconnected. However, as mentioned before, we are foregrounding issues of diversity since in current public discourse it has been an entry point into the conversation.

Impact on School Performance and Budget

Between 2003 and 2006, the pass rate of Goshen High School 10th graders fell from 66% to 54.7% in English/Language Arts, and from 70% to 62.3% in Math, falling well below state averages.²¹ Many in the community perceive this to be a direct result of the influx of immigrants. “Ever wonder why the ISTEP scores are what they are? English was not meant to be a second language in this country,” said Goshen resident Bob Schrameyer in a recent Letter to the Editor.²²

²¹ “Education Test Results Remain Flat,” *The Goshen News*, 23 December, 2006. State average passing rates are 70% in ELA and 73% in Math.

²² “Taking Issue with Stance of Goshen Pastors,” *The Goshen News*, 14 December, 2006.

Those interviewed added other factors that contribute to lower test scores. School Superintendent Bruce Stahly, framed it as the natural consequence of population growth. “We face issues that every urban school faces – namely the high cost of educating children of poverty and our ENL population; families of these students tend to congregate in urban areas.” Others point out that *all* students are required to take the ISTEP test regardless of language ability, leaving many recent immigrants – documented and undocumented – at a distinct disadvantage. “Every scrap of research that I’ve read or heard of says it takes 3-5 years to learn conversational English and 5-7 to learn academic English, and our students pretty well move to a fluent status in 5 years,” said Tom Good, Director of ENL in Goshen Community Schools.

“Comparing non-labeled students of Goshen High School with non-labeled students from other county schools, we are very competitive – in fact, we’re really doing very well,” said Stahly. “It’s only when you look at overall statistics that scores are disappointing.”²³ Under the leadership of David Daugherty, the Goshen City Chamber of Commerce is currently pushing the State Chamber to break ISTEP scores into more specific sub-categories. “We hope to demonstrate that our ‘more fortunate kids’ are performing as high or higher than surrounding schools. This doesn’t come across when all you see is the averages,” said Daugherty.²⁴

Impact on School Resources

Increased costs incurred by the expanding English as a New Language (ENL) program and other programs catering to the Hispanic population are also a concern. Stahly commented that there is a “perception that teachers are spending so much time with Latinos that they ‘don’t have time to meet the needs of my child.’ These people are apt to find another community with more homogenous classes.” Stahly was quick to point out the benefits of the additional programming: “Yes, there is an additional cost for ENL Instructors, but a lot we do benefits non-labeled students as well. Good teaching is good teaching and due to the extra efforts of our teachers in doing a better job of teaching *all* children, our teaching has improved.”

Impact on Tax-Base/School Demographics

According to Allan Kauffman, the “perception of lowered school performance has a reinforcing effect, discouraging upper/middle class people from coming to Goshen, while the ENL and low-income population increases. This is an economic development issue.” Such a shift reduces Goshen’s tax base and further stretches community resources.

- “Many realtors are steering people outside Goshen, perhaps for legitimate reasons, but these move-outs from the community are almost all white and generally decrease our overall ISTEP performance.” (Bruce Stahly, Superintendent)
- “In the last ten years, Jim Dague (CEO of Goshen Health Systems) has brought in 95 new doctors to work for Goshen Health System and only a few have been

²³ Bruce Stahly, interview by Phil Thomas, Sarah Roth, and Paul Shetler, 5 December 2006.

²⁴ Dave Daugherty, interview by Phil Thomas and Paul Shetler, 19 December, 2006.

willing to live in Goshen. This is a significant change from the days when Larimar Greens was built and the upper-class was moving in fast.” (Everett Thomas, City Council)

- “No one is building high end homes in Goshen. They just won’t sell. Goshen is becoming more and more a rental community.” (Don Jantzi, Chamberlain)
- “In older neighborhoods, homes previously owned as large single family residences, have now been turned into multi-unit rentals to take advantage of a shortage of affordable housing for recent immigrants.” (Larry Gautsche, La Casa)
- “There is also a danger in flaunting how well we deal with diversity. The more we lead with how accepting and wonderful a place Goshen is – from our school system to culture – the more we market to poor non-whites and the less attractive we are to the middle/upper class.” (Allan Kauffman, Mayor)

Impact on Social Services

Another frequent complaint is that undocumented peoples are taxing social service agencies and community safety nets. Many organizations and businesses are feeling pushed to offer Spanish language services and representative staffing.

Social services are feeling a strain on their service capabilities. Maple City Health Clinic, which serves 40-50% Hispanic/Latinos, is currently at capacity and not taking new patients. Center for Healing and Hope, a local health clinic, recently opened a new clinic in Elkhart to meet rising demands, and is looking for more doctors and volunteers. “We currently have two doctors, three nurses and they are all at capacity. When we open at 4:00 pm, people are often lined up at the door. We can only take the first 20 patients, so we often have to turn patients away,” said Dale Wentorf, Director of CHH. “We are looking at opening a fourth or fifth night each week, but in order to do so we would need more staffing and support.”²⁵

Impact on Government Services

The Fire Department and Police Department noted the difficulties of language barriers and translation during tense situations. These demands represent significant financial costs, and may be structurally impossible with the slow rates of attrition and limited budgets. “80% of our officers have taken Spanish immersion classes which are anything from a 2 day to 3 week course,” said Chief Penland. “But most of our instruction is devoted to keeping up with technological advances and computer systems.”

Some have made accusations of tax evasion on the part of undocumented residents that have cost Elkhart County as much as \$8 million. Although some question the accuracy of this figure, this is a point of concern expressed within the community. However, according to a recent documentary on immigration by Tom Brokaw, an estimated \$50 billion has been paid to Social

²⁵ Dale Wentorf, interview by Sarah Roth, 16, November 2006.

Security over last decade by undocumented individuals who will likely not receive these benefits.²⁶

Impact on Security/Citizen Safety

The increased population and the resulting higher levels of crime, has stretched law enforcement capacities. Goshen native Chief Penland noted how difficult it has been for the police force to keep up with rapid growth. “I used to work the midnight shift and not deal with anyone for 2 days in a row. That is not the case anymore. The dayshift can’t keep up. We run 56 officers – that’s a big force – and there were 50,000 calls in the 2005-06 year alone.”

Additionally, there is a “perception that our communities are growing unsafe because of gangs,” said Superintendent Bruce Stahly. Others believe that this fear may be exaggerated. “I wouldn’t say we have a violent community – certainly not as violent as people think,” said Goshen Chief of Police Gary Penland, “especially compared to an Elkhart or South Bend that have violence on a weekly basis.”

Cultural Differences

It is clear that there are different cultures present in Goshen with different social norms. Some Goshen residents have complained about parties on the porch, too many cars in the driveway, roadside mechanics, keeping small livestock, and the presence of Spanish on signs. These are not legal concerns or matters of clear right and wrong, but expressions of cultural differences that have caused tensions and reinforced negative stereotypes.

Instances of Discrimination

In recent years, individuals within the Goshen community have voiced experiences of discrimination. The intent of this report is not to tally a complete list of discriminatory actions. We recognize that incidences of discrimination are not always straight-forward or one-sided. In the words of local resident Rolando Sosa, “in the victimization process, there can be exaggeration and unfounded assumptions in the stories that are told. People tell stories to fit their models and their worldview.” At the same time, however, “we cannot deny that something is going on...If we don’t validate the stories, we victimize them again.”²⁷ Indeed, it became apparent in our interviews that there are *patterns of stories* within the community that must be acknowledged.

The exact number of incidences, the extent of these patterns, or an investigation into these incidences is beyond the scope and resources for this project. What follows is an illustration of the *kinds* of complaints we heard. Not all of these instances necessarily demand legal recourse.

²⁶ Tom Brokaw reports: *In the Shadow of the American Dream*, first aired on NBC, 26 December 2006.

²⁷ Rolando Sosa, interview by Phil Thomas and Paul Shetler, 21 December 2006.

We have included racist or derogatory comments and other modes of intimidation that contribute to an atmosphere of hostility, mistrust and fear.

Racial profiling

- Rolando Sosa, long time resident and legal immigrant from El Salvador, remembers how difficult it was when he first moved to Goshen. He would often be followed in stores to make sure he didn't steal. Wal-Mart employees would staple his bags shut at the register, something never done to Anglos. "I get upset," says Sosa, "that they did this to me... [and by doing that] you're telling me you don't trust me."

Police intimidation

- Mary Liechty, teacher in the Adult Education Program, stated that she heard from numerous students about a particular policeman. "What he does has to be on the fringe of being legal. He tears up carpet, pokes holes on ceilings, destroys things, vandalizes property and says he's looking for IDs."²⁸

Housing discrimination

- Larry Gautsche noted housing discrimination ranges from "intimidation of revealing documentation status, to simply taking advantage of people's lack of knowledge about the laws, processes, and options. This affects the immigrant populations disproportionately, but it is also a more general problem that affects most low and moderate income, whatever their heritage."

Labor discrimination

- Chief Penland stated: "I've heard there is labor discrimination. In one company, 15 Hispanics walked off the job. The manager fired them and they had zero representation."

Within and among Hispanic/Latinos

- Everett Thomas noted the presence of a high profile factory owner that subcontracts a mafia "don" to control his workers and exploit the situation of undocumented workers. Such exploitation is difficult to stop. "Most of the RV industry is not part of the Chamber, so there is little to no leverage there... The only real way to stop it would be to clean house and enforce immigration law, but our police officers are not deputized to enforce immigration law, and much of the community likes it that way."

²⁸ Mary Liechty, interview by Sarah Roth, 8 November 2006.

Systemic/structural issues experienced as discrimination

Staffing structures that do not adequately reflect Goshen's diversity:

- “I would like to hire more (Hispanic/Latinos), and I asked for five additional sworn officers for the next year, but I got allocations for hiring only one in 2007,” said Chief Penland. This is attributed to lack of funding, slow job turnover, and the insufficient time to adjust to rapid growth.
- “We have a hard time getting enough minority representation on our board, and it's not like we don't try. There are just too few people who have the time, energy and skills to fill all the needed leadership roles. But we hope this will change with time.” (Larry Gautsche, La Casa)
- “Girl's Golf and the Crimsonaires (at Goshen High School) don't have minority representation. Those perceived “elite” things where you need parental involvement, private lessons, or community connections aren't as accessible to minority language students. Of course, officially you are allowed to participate, but there are unwritten rules, and knowledge that prevents that. It takes specific initiation on the part of people who know to invite you to be apart of that. It takes role modeling.” (Tom Good, Director of ENL)
- Though not directly related to the tensions over current demographic shifts, resident, Rich Meyer pointed out that the Goshen High School mascot, the “Redskins” is a subtle manifestation of the prejudice engrained into the very fabric of a community.²⁹

Other

- Dr. James Gingerich of Maple City Health Clinic shared an experience of one of his patients who is married to an African American man. When she requested assistance from a local agency to avoid eviction from her apartment, she reported receiving the response that, “she could just stay at a mission (i.e., become homeless), and ‘that's what you get for marrying a n*****.’”³⁰
- Resident Mauveen Coyne noted the presence of Confederate flags flown in front of some Goshen homes.

Both the Police Chief and Sheriff have acknowledged the genuine possibility of improper conduct on the part of their officers. They expressed concern over these accusations and committed to follow up with appropriate measures if presented with the necessary evidence. As Sheriff Michael Books agreed, “perceptions are important and these incidences need to be

²⁹ Rich Meyer, interview by Paul Shetler, 21 December 2006.

³⁰ James Gingrich, interview by Sarah Roth, 14 December 2006.

addressed seriously.”³¹ Concern has been raised that those with complaints about police conduct will not provide the necessary personal evidence because they are afraid of retribution. This is an area that will require more communication in order to move forward.

Are most individuals in Goshen overtly and antagonistically opposed to people of other cultures and races? Probably not. However, when asked to rate the level of prejudice in Goshen on a scale of one to ten most of those interviewed put it around seven.

Job Competition and Other Economic Factors

Competitive global markets and the desire for cheap goods have created a demand for cheap labor and services. One way businesses have addressed this is by outsourcing work formerly located in the US, to other countries. Other businesses neglect to screen their employees for proper documents, employing – and sometimes exploiting – undocumented peoples for cheaper labor. According to Larry Gautsche, “manufacturing jobs in Elkhart County have tended to pay 20% less than the state average, largely because of the continuous stream of immigrants willing to take these jobs. This large work force explains why so many businesses would like to work in Goshen, and probably will continue coming to Goshen.” This is not unique to Goshen.

“Unfortunately, current US government policy makes [legalization] extremely difficult, since politically and economically they are more valuable as ‘illegals’ than they would be as ‘legals,’” said one anonymous resident in *Your Turn*.³²

“In a place with only 3-5% unemployment, few if any people are actually being displaced,” said David Daugherty of the Chamber of Commerce. “Job loss is more a perception than a reality, but perceptions tend to rule.” However, it *was* a reality for at least one Goshen resident. Dixie Robinson lost her job at Johnson Controls when the factory was relocated to Mexico. She described her situation in a Letter to the Editor in *The Goshen News*:

“At Johnson Controls we had 1,259 employees and the company announced it was going to move some jobs to Mexico. They built two new factories in Mexico. They brought some Mexicans to Goshen and JCI employees had to teach them how to do their jobs...They continued to bring Mexicans up here so they could be trained on jobs until they moved the last jobs...I used Johnson Controls as an example because I know what happened there, but many other factories in Goshen and the area have closed their doors also. This is happening all over the country”³³

In the midst of these changes, the business community has been conspicuously silent regarding immigration. “Those who are benefiting from cheap labor are keeping their mouths shut, but are not repaying the costs to the community that their cheap labor brings,” said Everett Thomas.

³¹ Michael Books, interview by Phil Thomas and Paul Shetler, 21 December 2006.

³² *The Goshen News*, 24 December 2006.

³³ “Resident Feels Issue is about ‘Illegal’ Aliens,” *The Goshen News*, 16 December 2006.

“The rest of the community pays the price, but does not really benefit economically – yet if they raise any concerns they are seen as racist. So they stay quiet and let their frustrations boil.”

Challenges in How We Talk about These Issues: Differences in Logic, Language, Emphasis

In the process of these interviews, many indicated that the current patterns of conversations have not always been productive. “Unfortunately, most of the dialogue about these things has been polarizing and unhelpful” said Rolando Sosa. “We make broad statements and we are not careful. Instead of building bridges, we can alienate others.” Our experience from these interviews is that everyone shared thoughtful and genuine observations and concerns. Yet it also became clear that there are many different ways of understanding the same issue – each perspective relying on different truth claims, such as personal experience, statistical data, cultural assumptions, and our own deeply held emotions. When we fail to recognize the broad base of perspectives and approaches, conversations can result in misunderstanding and frustration. Rather than simply “more talk,” there is a need for “more understanding” in order to foster more productive ways to talk with each other.

- “We need a safe place where all people can be honest and open, and not have to always be worried about being called racist or prejudice. Some people have genuine concerns and unless we create this kind of a place we will never hear from them. We must be able to get everyone’s feelings on the table if we are to resolve differences.” (David Daugherty, Chamber of Commerce)
- “There needs to be communication and understanding on all sides rather than assigning fault to everyone else and pointing fingers.” (Rolando Sosa, Communities in Schools)
- “The overall climate of polarization, scape-goating and fear are undermining attempts to create a safe space for dialogue and relationships. I hope we can foster relationships and have commitments about how we treat each other. We don’t have very many public places in our culture and in our city where that kind of round table dialogue, respect and sensitivity can occur.” (James Gingerich, Maple City Health Care)

In an effort to address this, we have identified six different areas in which conversation tends to break down. These are not issues of clear right and wrong, but issues that contain competing logic and emphasis.

Legal Status/Documentation

Everyone we interviewed believed that law is critical to a stable and just democratic society. As one anonymous resident wrote in *Your Turn*, “I haven’t met a single [undocumented person] who wouldn’t prefer to be here legally.”³⁴ However, there was not consensus as to its implications or the role of law enforcement in the community. Framed roughly, we have identified two orienting principles of legal status/documentation. These are not mutually exclusive, but are two

³⁴ *The Goshen News*, 28 December, 2006.

perceptions that have been present in the current conversation.

“Illegal is illegal”

“Goshen does not have an immigrant problem. We have an illegal immigrant problem,” said resident Bob Schrameyer in a Letter to the Editor in the Goshen News. “What more needs to be said? If you are in this country illegally, you have no rights and privileges.”³⁵ According to this mindset, law must be upheld uniformly, equally applicable to all people in society. The primary role of citizens is to hold public officials accountable to the letter of the law. In its most extreme form, this view calls for the deportation of all undocumented people. “The illegals need to be deported immediately until they can legally live here,” said an anonymous writer in Your Turn.³⁶ For most, this is not necessarily an issue of prejudice.

- “The so-called ill-will directed at Hispanics is not based on shallow thinking and simple meanness as the Goshen News and City government would have us believe...Illegal is illegal. Zero tolerance. Zero patience.” (anonymous writer in “Your Turn”)
- “This is not about skin color or people being prejudiced. It’s about people coming here illegally...It’s about all kinds of laws being broken by illegals.” (Dixie Robinson, Letter to the Editor)³⁷
- “Those who ask Goshen to turn a blind eye to these situations must understand that if our police department did so, we would create a community without respect for any laws” (Everett Thomas, Letter to the Editor)³⁸

“We can’t choose not to enforce (the law) based on ethnicity,” wrote Mayor Allan Kauffman in *The Maple Leaf Rag*, a Goshen community newsletter. “Local police do not have the authority to enforce immigration law, but police can and will enforce local and state laws over which they have jurisdiction.”³⁹ These legal infractions, often the result of illegal status, include identity theft/fraud, driving without a license or insurance, leaving accident scenes, counterfeit/forgery, and tax evasion. We haven’t talked with anyone who has not expressed these issues as serious concerns.

“It’s more complicated”

A counter-position is the belief that, in addition to federal or statutory law, there are basic human rights that transcends classification by legal status. The expression “illegal migrant” contradicts the spirit and violates Article 6 in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which states that

³⁵ “Taking Issue with Stance of Goshen Pastors,” *The Goshen News* 14 December, 2006.

³⁶ *The Goshen News*, 10 December 2006.

³⁷ “Resident Feels Issue is about ‘Illegal’ Aliens,” *The Goshen News*, 16 December 2006.

³⁸ “Goshen Can be Different than Hazelton,” *The Goshen News* 3 January 2007.

³⁹ Allan Kauffman, “The Mayors Message: Current Debate Here and Everywhere,” *The Maple City Rag*, January 2007.

“Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.”⁴⁰ Such a position tends to emphasize that (1) legal issues are complicated by our global context and US economic policies, and (2) it is the responsibility of democratic citizens to hold law accountable to higher standards of justice. “The laws that currently exist are not fair because we have a right to life,” said Sosa. “I believe that laws are good and necessary, and it’s hard to answer those people who ask why certain laws shouldn’t be enforced. I’m a good citizen -- but they need to work.”

While legal issues are clearly at stake and a major concern, interviews indicated that problems cannot be reduced simply to the question of legality or documentation. “Unfortunately documentation issues can become something people use to hide behind, skirting some of the deeper issues and masking deeper motivations,” said David Daugherty of the Chamber of Commerce. In sum, we found that all people we interviewed would generally agree with the following statements:

- Law is important to everyone in this community, and citizens have a stake in strengthening and improving it.
- There are serious costs when the law is broken.
- Current challenges and concerns related to issue of immigration both include and transcend the question of legal status.
- While some question the relevance or appropriateness of current immigration law, no one is explicitly condoning the violation of other national and state laws.

Role of the Police

There is a rough spectrum between those who see the role of the Police Department as simply as law enforcement, and those who add to this role the responsibility to build community. Goshen police are not deputized to enforce immigration law. As resident and lawyer Lee Roy Berry said, “So far, the only people getting deported are the ones breaking laws *other* than immigration law.” Some believe the Police Department should take a more proactive posture in addressing immigration. “No law is enforced 100% of the time, everywhere,” said James Gingrich of Maple City Health Care. “So where are you focusing your energies? How do you do that in a way that services policing needs in the community? If we want to create a hospitable environment where we can at least talk about these things, is using a policing force that engenders fear and alienation going to be appropriate?”

Gingerich expressed a broader concern for the ways our federal and state governments have required valid immigration documents in order to do activities of daily living. “Now a driver's license no longer simply reflects whether you can safely operate a motorized vehicle, but also your immigration status. Thus we have criminalized all kinds of daily activities for these people. Our elected officials say, ‘We're not enforcing immigration laws, only other violations,’ But that

⁴⁰ “Universal Declaration of Human Rights,” United Nations Department of Public Information, 2005. Available from <http://www.unhchr.ch/udhr/lang/eng.htm>.

seems a bit disingenuous to me in a context where our governments have sought to systematically place undocumented residents in legal jeopardy.”

Costs vs. Benefits of Immigration

Other arguments we heard examined whether current immigration patterns bring a net benefit or cost to the community. This is not a simple matter of tallying up pros and cons. These two basic views use different logic and come from different assumptions. For example, economic factors are valued differently than cultural tensions and/or opportunities. However, we thought it would be helpful to sketch out a rough list of the key arguments on both sides in order to acknowledge the ways of assessing the current reality. We recognize that significantly more could be said about each of the issues noted below.

<i>Effects of current immigration on the community</i>	
<i>Costs</i>	<i>Benefits</i>
Don't pay enough taxes (dependent claims)	Pay “extra taxes” (Social Security)
Impact on social service agencies	Makes Goshen more cosmopolitan
Don't speak English/Ask “us” to learn Spanish	Hard working and entrepreneurial
Failure to acculturate divides community	New cultures enrich Goshen
Perception that the increase in Hispanics/Latinos has caused an increase in violence.	Bring strong “family values”
Take jobs from “Americans”	Provide the cheap labor our economic needs and accept jobs others won't take

The Dilemmas within Us

When entering conversation, it can be more helpful to view these issues as complex dilemmas rather than a “problem” with a clear solution. When approached as a problem, it is easy to see only the limitations of an opposing viewpoint and ignore the potential problems of your own. Framed as a dilemma however, issues move beyond clear-cut issues of right and wrong, forcing us to encounter more complex and nuanced solutions. The following three sections present dilemmas that we believe are present in our current conversations. In each section, we identify two polarities, listing the virtues and shortcomings of each side. Both positions speak a truth about our community, but when taken to the extreme, can become mutually exclusive or damaging. We are not attempting to prescribe solutions; our hope is merely to record the disparate voices in a way that does justice to the thoughtfulness, passion, conviction of the people within our community.

How do we talk about ourselves? (Unity / Diversity)

Relating to both individual and communal identity, we have two needs: (1) to feel different and recognized as “unique”, and (2) to “fit in” and be an accepted part of a larger whole. On the one hand, a healthy community must provide space to voice distinct needs, desires, strategies, and cultural backgrounds. We must acknowledge that our differences are real. By naming these differences, those that cause tension can be better addressed and negotiated, as well as become a source of energy, exchange, learning and growth.

Yet as Director of Communities in Schools Joe Guerrero stated, “What’s the root of diversity? To divide. You can identify differences like that, but my goal is to say what is it that we have in common? How can we come together as one community, recognized by our commonalities and similarities?”⁴¹ In a local meeting, one person said “I hate the word diversity. We promote differences when we should be building community.”⁴² Both of these positions imply very different approaches and ways of talking about who we are; yet both speak a truth about the characteristics of healthy community.

<i>What shall we emphasize?</i>	
<i>Focus on Unity</i>	<i>Focus on Diversity</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> + Need for unity as a community + We are one community, like it or not + Endless diversity/meaningless separations + United we stand, divided we fall + Our community is a “Melting Pot” 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> + Our differences are real and important + Distinct cultures are a source of vitality and energy + Accept and celebrate our differences + Our community is a “Mosaic”
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Focusing on unity suppresses minority voices - “Unified” community a simplistic/false reality, and can be resistant to change - Ignores differences/clashes/contrasts - minority feels invisible/disrespected - Becomes bland homogenous mush 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Focusing on diversity divides us - Builds antagonism/competition/fear - We have more similarities than differences - Focus on individual needs/rights rather than contribute to larger whole - Which differences are important?

⁴¹ Joe Guerrero, interview by Sarah Roth, 13 December 2006.

⁴² Cited in an email communication from George Smucker on December 12, 2006.

What approach is most needed to address current tensions? (Advocacy / Bridge-building)

The Advocate/Confrontation mentality is guided by a clear sense of justice and the need for urgent change. The Bridge-building/Relationship-building mentality tends to see situations as complex, with ambiguous levels of blame/responsibility shared by many/all parties, and push instead for greater understanding. Whether Advocacy or Bridge-building is required depends on how one views the context and power relationships. Some see the immigrant community as disempowered – the “stranger in the land” – in which case an advocate is needed to be an empowering and confrontational presence. Others see the immigrant community as a strong subculture with social, economic and political power. From this framework, advocacy/confrontation tactics are ill-suited to current realities.

In one example, a group of Goshen pastors published a letter in *The Goshen News* in an effort to bear witness to the “plight of recent immigrants” and the “sharp increase of fear, harassment, and perceived targeting by others in the community.”⁴³ Everett Thomas of the City Council responded to this in a Letter to the Editor saying, “The Mexican-American immigrant community is no longer a stranger. They have their own shops, two newspapers, new clubs and restaurants. In short they have a solidly planted Mexican culture and it is thriving.” Sosa added that “passionate, well-meaning, and dedicated people go on and on about ‘poor Hispanics, poor immigrants. We are not poor; we are part of this community.’” In another example, Jose Gutierrez, pastor of *Comunidad Cristiana Adulam* asked his parishioners not to participate in the marches last year and unnecessarily inflame tensions.

Each of these logics has different effects in the community, and it is important to anticipate which approach is appropriate in particular circumstances. Lee Roy Berry noted that after the march last year in downtown Goshen, it became much more difficult to represent Hispanics in court. On the other hand, the march succeeded in bringing immigration to the forefront of Goshen’s public discourse.

⁴³ “Pastors Ask Community to Treat Immigrants with Kindness,” *The Goshen News*, 3 December 2006.

<i>What approach is most needed?</i>	
<i>Advocacy/Confrontation</i>	<i>Bridge-Building / Relationship-Building</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> + Injustice may require confrontation/ conflict to balance power and give voice to the voiceless + Discrimination/prejudice is real – action must be taken + Justice is clear + Addresses systems of oppression + The leverage exists to make change now 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> + We are one community + Focuses on long-term peace and stability + Recognizes that Hispanic population is established and thriving + Justice consists of many/interrelated issues + Collective power makes the best community
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Polarizes community/Removes middle ground - Sacrifices prudence for short-term victories - Undermines open/honest conversation/trust - Disintegrates rather than integrates 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Maintains status quo and systems of power - Takes imperative off of action - Fails to acknowledge differences and minimize oppression and marginalization

How do we analyze the current issues? (Appreciative Inquiry / Problem-based)

This dilemma could be simplistically described as the difference between realists and idealists. Appreciative Inquiry identifies and focuses on what is currently working well in order to build on strengths already present within the community. When implemented prudently, Appreciative Inquiry can result in a motivated community working towards innovative solutions. For example, residents Wes and Mary Zook recently took the initiative to write an editorial about their blossoming relationship their Hispanic/Latino neighbors in the midst of the increased polemic commentary regarding immigration. They included acts of kindness they experienced, such as an invitation to a christening party, a birthday party, and a neighborly gift of firewood when the Zooks had run out.⁴⁴ However, taken to the extreme, Appreciative Inquiry can gloss over real problems or neglect to fully address sobering realities.

When Appreciative Inquiry acknowledges the positive, Problems-Based Analysis targets that which is failing or problematic within a system. Problems-Based Analysis has a role in identifying areas of weakness and constructing practical, focused solutions. Taken to its extreme, however, Problems-Based Analysis results in shortsighted band-aid work, falling

⁴⁴ Wes and Mary Zook, “Neighbors Provide Wonderful Evening,” *The Goshen News*, 8 December 2006.

morale, and a loss of vision. Both of these models have something useful to offer when considered appropriately.

<i>What shall we pay attention to more?</i>	
<i>Appreciative Inquiry</i>	<i>Problems Based Analysis</i>
+ Looks at what is right in the world + Builds on success + A motivating and hopeful strategy + Builds on our strengths + Virtue of doing no harm	+ Focus energy on needs/problems + Sense that all problems can be fixed + Right and wrong are easy to see + Virtue of eliminating problem
- Glosses over problems - Self-congratulatory but ineffective - Ignores justice/morality concerns - Oversimplifies - Talk without solutions	- Negative and uninspiring - Not everything can be completely “solved” - Ignores strengths/successes - Simplifies to “essential” solutions - Loses sight of the forest for the trees

Assets and Opportunities

Even as interviewees highlighted challenges and concerns, it was also clear that significant changes have been handled with remarkable alacrity and success. In the words of Don Jantzi, Goshen has been blessed with a “culture of tolerance” which has allowed responses to be direct and proactive rather than merely reactionary. “I’ve lived in lots of different places, and all around I’ve been pretty impressed by what I see in Goshen,” said Daugherty. “Most people want to be accepting and open and that’s what Goshen has been on the whole.” Frankly, we left many of these interviews utterly inspired, proud to be a part of a community with this caliber of leadership and excellence.

Here is what others had to say:

- “We have people of goodwill in Goshen. There is a foundation of goodwill that is ready to live and let live...Despite its short comings [Goshen] has a ‘character of liberality’ that will carry it through.” (Lee Roy Berry, Resident)
- “We’ve been pretty fortunate, considering the size and speed of change. We have been introduced to a whole new culture, a new language, and on top of that, more poverty. Fortunately our ‘culture of tolerance’ has held together.” (Don Jantzi, Principal at Chamberlain)
- “I think in general people are becoming more accepting. Some people are resigned, thinking “they’re here, and they’re going to stay. Others openly embrace it. They’re

excited about the diversity here that their students experience in school and they know this is how the world is. The majority are in between.” (Tom Good, Director of ENL)

- “We have our problems like everyplace else, but it’s a good community to live in.” (Dan Sink, Fire Chief)
- “As someone recently said to me, ‘I do not know whether we can overcome the obstacles against us but I am convinced that if any community and school system can do it, Goshen will be the one.’ I hope your study will make clear that we have many people dedicated to making this community unique, to show our country that a community can grapple with rapid immigration and in the process become an even stronger ‘community.’” (Bruce Stahly, Superintendent)

Without undermining real challenges, interviewees also identified Goshen’s assets, which have laid the groundwork for Goshen’s success and the health of the community. We have identified several sectors in which we observed individuals and/or organizations addressing issues proactively. Clearly, this list is far from exhaustive. However, by “shining a flashlight” into different areas, we hope to illuminate the depth and scope of work already being done. We recognize that *all* aspects of a community are vital to its health, and it will take *all* involved in order to fully address these issues. As Don Jantzi, principal of Chamberlain Elementary put it, “this community has enough going for it – there is no reason we can’t pull this off!”

Education

Goshen Community Schools is widely known for its academic excellence and cutting edge educational practices. The GCS administration is highly aware of the critical nature of diversity issues and has approached them with a clear sense of urgency for collaboration and proactive work. This is evident in their focus on long term programming that aims to include Hispanic/Latino students, and the dedicated, hard-working, enthusiastic staff.

- “We constantly get referrals from other districts who want to come and see how we do things...I think we’re doing a good job of teaching our students what they need to know to fit into their next situations.” (Tom Good, Director of ENL)
- “I believe there is a feeling of mission among our teachers and support staff that ‘This where I belong – whatever’s thrown at me, I know I can do it.’ There are no shaking heads when a Hispanic, knowing no English, shows up in a classroom. I feel this can-do attitude is unique to this school system.” (Bruce Stahly, Superintendent)
- “The orchestra used to have a very low representation of Latinos, but now there are more in the high school and even *more* in elementary school. In my 10 year tenure I’ve started to see (Latino) students become more and more involved, especially as adults that know them and know their abilities and encourage them.” (Tom Good, Director of ENL)

- “Director Sue Ellington organized (the instrument collection drive), but it was the parents that pooled resources and bought musical instruments for students who couldn’t afford them.” (Carol Rhudy, Director of Goshen Adult Education)
- “I really preach to our own administrators that we have to ‘win early, win small, and win often.’ Individual students have to believe that they can do something. We have to improve our test scores. We have to let our teachers and support staff know they *do* make a difference, that we *are* winning, and that will carry into the community. There is incredible urgency to get the job done. It will be done by us and the Goshen community.” (Bruce Stahly, Superintendent).
- “We’re not saviors, but we have our piece, and we must do it well.” (Don Jantzi, Principal at Chamberlain Elementary)

Civic Initiatives/Participation

One of Goshen’s strongest assets is its high level of community involvement. Regardless of political persuasion, the high participation in “Your Turn,” editorials, and Community Dialogues, Open Circle Dialogues, and interviews, exhibit a desire in the community to make their views known and work at these issues in collaboration with others. Even the points of tensions speak of an energy that can be tapped for productive results. “Allan has been doing a great job of keeping his finger on this and guiding the frame of the conversation, but Allan needs more than Allan,” said Jantzi. “Most of what happens is shaped by all of us in our day-to-day conversations.”

Notably, residents Anne Meyer Byler, Mauveen Coyne, and others formed the Goshen Study Circles in 2002, which aimed to discuss controversial issues in a safe and respectful way, focusing primarily on race relations and community change. One concrete result of the Study Circle process is the creation of the current Community Relations Commission and the Ordinance that gives it legitimacy. Resident and community organizer, Zulma Prieto, was instrumental in the formation of the Community Dialogues/Diálogos Comunitarios, where a diverse group of local residents now serve as the design and facilitation team. Community Dialogues/Diálogos Comunitarios, a forum for local residents to bring their concerns into public discourse, is now in its second year.

- “The KKK was only here once and Diversity Day is still here ten years later – all through the work and support of a lot of people.”⁴⁵ (Tom Good, Director of ENL)
- “Luckily there are some people in the community committed to a multiracial agenda. They are committed to being reasonable if others are too.” (Lee Roy Berry, Resident)

⁴⁵ The KKK actually came to Goshen a second time, three years after their first appearance. The second occasion led to the creation of a mask ordinance that was later thrown out by the courts.

Business/Chamber of Commerce

The Chamber of Commerce can provide the moral and financial leverage to making needed changes in the community.

- “To work with the Hispanic business community and make this *one* community, not two, has been our number one issue and has been explicitly stated in our top five goals for some years.” (David Daugherty, Executive Director of the Chamber of Commerce)
- Daugherty has attended the Community Dialogue process for the last two years. “The goal [of the Chamber] has been to get to know the community, and let folks know the Chamber is a respectful organization that wants to include and build relationships first.”
- The Chamber of Commerce is currently trying to get the State Chamber to push for ISTEP scores to be broken down more into more specifics.

City Government

Mayor Allan Kauffman has been saluted on a number of occasions for his role in shaping the conversation on these issues. He has made diversity a top priority and been an active participant in Community Dialogues. On numerous occasions he has been asked to give speeches in other towns explaining why, considering the demographic changes, things are going so well in Goshen.

Many of our interviewees underscored the influence of elected officials in shaping civic discourse. “Goshen has been blessed with thoughtful elected officials. But it would only take one mayoral candidate to make immigration the issue and this community would be divided,” said Larry Gautsche of La Casa. Everett Thomas of the City Council expressed a similar concern in his recent editorial: “I fear that this anger and frustration will manifest itself in the campaigning for elected officials in the city. I fully expect one or two candidates for mayor to put themselves forward as “Hazelton” candidates [and]...it could get ugly,” wrote Thomas. “[But] if we listen to those with whom we disagree and invite the leaders of the Hispanic community to address issues created by our current diversity, Goshen could model a healthy way to deal with the problems of illegal residents.”⁴⁶

Thomas also noted the uniquely bipartisan qualities of Goshen’s current city government. He quotes resident Glenn Null who said, “Now the council lets free the exchange of information from the citizens to the city. In the past, only people on the right party or group got to speak openly.”⁴⁷ Goshen’s political climate, capable of transcending political lines for the good of the community, is critical to engendering long term solutions.

⁴⁶ Everett Thomas, “Goshen can be Different than Hazelton,” *The Goshen News*, 7 January 2007.

⁴⁷ Everett Thomas, “Purple is the Color of Peace,” *The Goshen News*, 5 December, 2006.

Church

Many of our participants stated that historically, churches have been a strong influence in the values and ethics that have made Goshen known as a welcoming community. Interviewees often noted the large presence of Anabaptist churches, and the openness to ecumenical dialogue as important in setting the tone of the conversation and taking leadership. “We have strength in our churches, particularly Mennonite churches,” said Jantzi “A lot of these folks have a wider worldview. They have gone to another country and learned another language, and with that, they bring empathy and understanding to the situation.”

Churches have been active participants in more direct ways. The recent letter from pastors in the Goshen News indicates a commitment to take issues of diversity seriously, working in collaboration with Hispano/Latinos in the community. Goshen is home to an active Ministerial Association and Hispanic Ministerial Association, which are in active conversation with city leadership. “The Hispanic Ministerial Association gives support to small churches. The Goshen Ministerial Associations always invites the HMA to meetings and takes interest in our problems,” said Jose Gutierrez, pastor at *Comunidad Cristiana Adulam*.⁴⁸

Social Services

Growing out of the culture of tolerance and church involvement in Goshen is a network of social service agencies that are committed to addressing the changing needs in the community. “We have been privileged to have a voice in the community – a voice of moderation. This voice has come through clearly even when the community is not united in our wonderful organizations like La Casa and Oaklawn,” said Goshen resident and attorney, Lee Roy Berry. Additionally, The Window, Boys and Girls Club, Interfaith Hospitality Network, the Center for Healing and Hope, Maple City Health Center, Even Start, and Communities in School (to name a few) have been integral to Goshen’s success. These organizations have alleviated much of the stress of these changes and provided social spaces for meaningful interaction.

- Dr. James Gingrich of Maple City Health Care reorganized the board to better represent the people they serve: “Our members now include Hispanic and low income folks. We have all of our meetings with translator, keep minutes in English and Spanish.”
- Under the direction of Joe Guerrero, Communities in Schools works to coordinate services for prevention and intervention for at-risk children. “Our efforts are to coordinate and network and share intelligence in order to help kids succeed and to inspire and stabilize family situations,” said Guerrero.
- Dr. James Gingrich spoke of prenatal care groups as a space for positive interaction and learning. “There are so many cultural aspects that relate to pregnancy, parenting and the matriarchal structures in Mexican birthing practices. Our patients have a space to interact

⁴⁸ Jose Gutierrez, interview by Sarah Roth, 15 December 2006.

with a level of intensity, authenticity, openness. There aren't many structures for that kind of interaction in our society.”

- *Neighbors to Neighbors/ Vecinos a Vecinos*, is an organization for “Latino parents that want to speak to other Latino parents,” said Jose Guerrero of Communities in Schools.

A Few Recommendations

Considering the current situation – the challenges, assets and opportunities – what are the next steps? How do we maximize our assets and deal constructively with the burdens and tensions within the community? More foundationally, what kind of a community do we envision Goshen to be? From our interviews and research, these are a few suggestions of next steps that Goshen is capable of.

Strengthen Existing Practices

There are many things to continue and strengthen in this community, many of which have already been discussed in this report. Several others worth mentioning include:

- *Diversity Day* as a way of showcasing and celebrating the cultural richness of our community. (Some have suggested the possibility of changing name from “Diversity Day” to “Community Day”)
- *Community Dialogues* as a place for information exchange and possibly dialogue
- Initiatives within the churches, such as ecumenical and/or bi-lingual services
- “Back to School” was an example of an initiative bringing people together in collaborative relationships around specific actions and activities. Learning from challenges and difficulties experienced would contribute to even greater success in similar activities undertaken in the future.
- Welcoming and orientation process for new residents⁴⁹
- Spontaneous initiatives as needed, such as current dialogue efforts between local pastors and the Mayor, Police Chief, City Council, and others
- Recognition of the many places of successful integration in our community, such as soccer fields, restaurants, workplaces, stores, etc.

Promote Further Dialogue

In addition to inter-group dialogue between Hispanic/Latinos and Anglos, we believe there are naturally occurring contexts in which intra-group dialogue – that is, *within* the Anglo or Hispanic/Latino communities – would be beneficial. We see the benefits as two-fold. On the one hand, intra-group dialogue provides a safe, supportive space where individuals may have less fear of attack or labeling. But at the same time, intra-group dialogue requires Anglos and

⁴⁹ At the time of this report, we are not sure of the current status of this initiative, but nonetheless affirm the idea.

Latinos to begin unpacking the plurality of views and positions within themselves, helping to deconstruct the myth of homogeneity within each group, and push for deeper, more complex responses.

More specifically, two contexts in which intra-group dialogue could be most fruitful are within local congregations and within the business community. Churches have already been identified as a major point of leverage. Some businesses have found the existing forums for dialogue to be precarious, and would benefit from a safer space. We believe this process could build energy that may carry people into more productive inter-group conversation.

The group of pastors that signed the letter in the *Goshen News* also represents a strategic group that involves both Spanish-speaking and English speaking churches. Encouraging further dialogue within this group of pastors could be a first step to then extending the conversations within/among members of their respective congregations.

In February, the Walnut Hill Mennonite Church will be hosting their second Conversation Café on the topic of immigration.⁵⁰ This can serve as one model for how different groups can promote “conversations about things that matter” in our community.

Need for an Effective and Accessible Process of Handling Disputes

As stories of discrimination and exploitation are circulating in the community, there is a need to create a process that is perceived by all to be a fair and legitimate to process to handle disputes and allegations of discrimination. Due to lack of resources and leadership, the Community Relations Commission has been unable to implement this mandate. Currently there is no effective way of tracking current patterns of complaints in order to discern where and how to invest minimal resources available to most effectively address discriminatory practices.

Public Awareness-raising and Education

We believe there is a need for greater education in the logic and language of the current debates. There is a need for a resource tool that frames the problems and differing visions for dealing with diversity. This resource could then be used to promote and facilitate civic engagement, drawing Goshen residents into more informed conversations on this issue. One way of achieving this could involve developing a study guide based on the specific contents of this report, guided by a group of individuals representing the different perspectives identified in the community. The purpose of such a guide would be to enhance civic engagement among local residents in processes of dialogue and deliberation on this issue. For this, a number of different methodologies could be suggested.

Additional resources that can serve either as effective “conversation starters” or as guides for structuring conversations include:

- *Fuerza*, a film recently released by Goshen College students on immigration (Duration: 30 minutes)

⁵⁰ For more information about this activity, contact Philip Thomas at felipethomas@hotmail.com.

- *In the Shadow of the American Dream*, a documentary on immigration reported by Tom Brokaw (Duration: 41 minutes)⁵¹
- Citizen deliberation guides on immigration available online (see http://www.publicagenda.org/issues/frontdoor.cfm?issue_type=immigration).
- Among its wonderful collection of study guides, the Study Circles Resource Center has the following that are particularly relevant to issues contained in this report:⁵²
 - On immigration: *Changing Faces, Changing Communities: Immigration & race, jobs, schools, and language differences*
 - On diversity: *Toward a More Perfect Union in an Age of Diversity: A Guide for Building Stronger Communities Through Public Dialogue*
 - On neighborhoods and dealing with differences: *Building Strong Neighborhoods: A Study Guide for Public Dialogue and Community Problem Solving*
 - On police-community relationships: *Protecting Communities, Serving the Public: Police and residents building relationships to work together*
 - On race: *Facing Racism in a Diverse Nation*
 - For “intra-group” dialogue on race: *Dialogue for Affinity Groups*
- It is worth noting a new initiative involving local seminars and a learning journey to Mexico being promoted by Del Good at Goshen College called ***Our Mexican Neighbors: Historical, Cultural, Political & Economic Context***.⁵³

Building shared images to move us toward our desired future as a community

If the future of Goshen depends to a large extent on our collective capacity to achieve integration, it will be helpful to work more explicitly at identifying our different ways of understanding integration and what images best portray these understandings. While this is one area that could have been more thoroughly explored in the interviews had more time been available, we believe that at least three different visions exist which are captured here using food metaphors:

- ***Pureed Stew***: Many different ingredients are combined and pureed to offer a rich savory stew. Once the individual potatoes, carrots, onions, etc. that make up the stew, are pureed, they are longer visible but have been “melted together.” This represents the so-called “melting pot” in which cultures combine together to form an amalgam in such a way that the particularities of each culture are no longer obvious or visible. Some voices in the community talk about the need for assimilation, in which the goal is for

⁵¹ See <http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/16353653> for more information on the Brokaw report.

⁵² See www.studycircles.org for a listing of these and other resources.

⁵³ See <http://www.goshen.edu/daes/> for more information or contact Del Good at delgg@goshen.edu.

cultures to mix together to form one unified culture rather than multiple visible subcultures.

- ***Water and Oil:*** Just as water and oil resist being mixed together and prefer to remain separate, some in this community would see successful integration as a community where sub-cultures remain largely separated, but achieve peaceful co-existence. According to this view, efforts to bring together the Anglo and Latino cultures are as futile as trying to mix water and oil. Anglo and Latino are considered different cultures and these differences along with the autonomy of the cultures should be respected.
- ***Mixed Salad:*** Within a mixed salad, the different types of lettuces are distinguishable – carrots can be differentiated from tomatoes, and garlic from endive – but when mixed together, these individual ingredients combine to form a whole with a distinct and satisfying taste. For some, the vision of integration is a community that both respects and preserves the uniqueness of different cultures while at the same time forging relationships that allow different cultures to mutually benefit from each other, and pool together a collective cultural richness to become a unified stronger whole.

Regardless of the images or metaphors one chooses to use, there are important differences in how people think about integration and Goshen's future. The time is right to engage Goshen residents in conversations that help them ponder the implications of these different visions and work at collectively building a shared image of our future together.

Conclusion

In Tom Brokaw's documentary, *In the Shadow of the American Dream*, he investigates the story of many small towns across America which, much like Goshen, face the quandaries and opportunities of the influx of immigrants. Indeed, Brokaw's closing reflections may as well be about Goshen:

That immigrant experience is central to American history and American character.

But as we see, in the 21st century, the immigrant story has taken a sharp turn into the shadows of broken laws, political controversy, cultural conflicts, and economic survival.

It is a dilemma so emotional and so volatile no one has been able to find a consensus solution - and so the illegals keep on coming, spreading out across the country, doing the jobs so many Americans would rather not take. In this nation of laws, the illegal immigrant has become a fixed and growing part of the landscape, at once a part of America but also separate- living, working and raising families in the shadow of the American dream.

And yet, Goshen has already demonstrated approaches to the “political controversy” and “cultural conflicts” that alleviate tensions rather than exacerbate them. While identifying

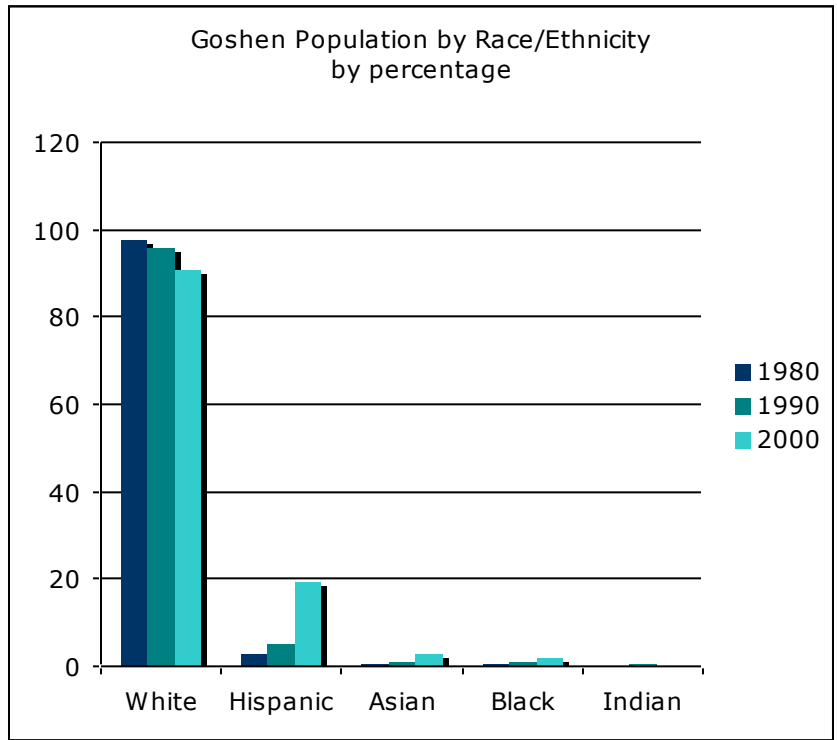
concrete “solutions” will be difficult, Goshen has already begun the process, and can continue to move forward by examining the way we talk to each other. We have the energy, good will and capacity to continue conversations and make a better Goshen.

Appendix A: List of Persons Interviewed ⁵⁴

1. Fritz Huser <i>County Seat Café</i>	Business	17. Jennifer Eberly <i>ENL, GHS</i>	Education
2. David Daugherty <i>Chamber of Commerce</i>	Business	18. Adele Kretchmer <i>St Johns Catholic Parish</i>	Education
3. Karl Shelly <i>Assembly Mennonite Church</i>	Church	19. James Gingrich <i>Maple City Health Clinic</i>	Health Care
4. Jose Luis Gutierrez <i>Comunidad Cristiana Adulam</i>	Church	20. Dale Wentorf <i>Center for Healing & Hope</i>	Health Care
5. Allan Kauffman <i>Mayor of Goshen</i>	City	21. Gerry Hertzler <i>Goshen News</i>	Media
6. Dan Sink <i>Fire Chief</i>	City	22. John Ulmer <i>State Representative</i>	Politics
7. Chuck Cheek <i>Township Trustee</i>	City	23. Chuck Wicks <i>Elkhart Co. Republican Party</i>	Politics
8. Michael Books <i>Sheriff</i>	Elkhart County Law Enforcement	24. Anne Meyer Byler <i>Community Dialogue</i>	Resident
9. Gary Penland <i>Chief of Police</i>	City / Law Enforcement	25. Mauveen Coyne	Resident
10. Everett Thomas	City Council	26. Rich Meyer	Resident
11. Bill Bloss	City Council	27. Lee Roy Berry	Resident
12. Mary Liechty <i>Goshen Adult Education</i>	Education	28. Mike Puro <i>Former Mayor of Goshen</i>	Resident
13. Carol Rhudy <i>Adult Education Director - GHS</i>	Education	29. Larry Gautsche <i>La Casa</i>	Social Services
14. Bruce Stahly <i>Goshen Community Schools</i>	Education	30. Rolando Sosa <i>Community in Schools</i>	Social Services
15. Don Jantzi <i>Chamberlain</i>	Education	31. Joe Guerrero <i>Community in Schools</i>	Social Services
16. Tom Good <i>English as a New Language, GCS</i>	Education	32. Tim Thorne <i>Interfaith Hospitality Network</i>	Social Services

⁵⁴ Specific individuals we intended but were unable to meet with in this first round of interviews include **Jim Dague** of Goshen Health Systems, **Zulma Prieto** of El Puente, **Jimmy Cruz** of CeQuant Towing, **Arcelia Manriquez**, **Jim Kirkton**, and **Phil Lederach** of Goshen High School, **Padre Constantino Rocha** of St. John the Evangelist Parish, **José Ortiz** of Iglesia Menonite del Buen Pastor, County Commissioner **Mike Yoder**, Judge Hon. **Olga Stickel** (Ukrainian).

Appendix B: US Census Data: Goshen Population by Race/Ethnicity 1980-2000

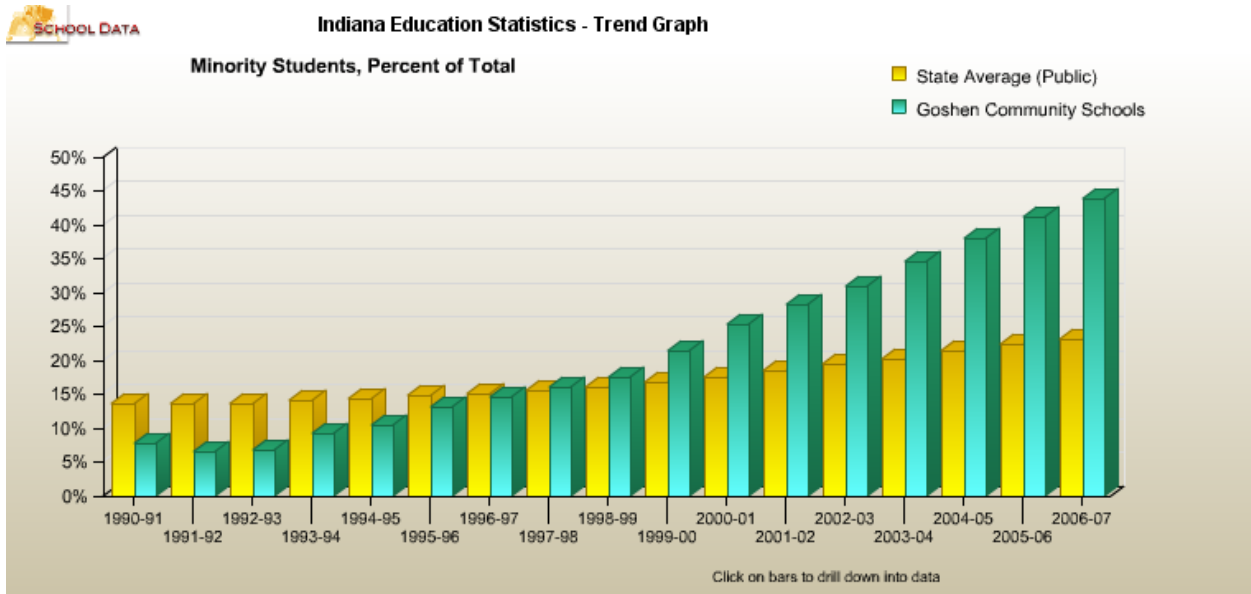


% White	% Hispanic	% Asian	% Black	% Indian	Year
97.4	2.9	0.55	0.54	0.1	1980
95.63	4.86	0.77	1.06	0.29	1990
90.63	19.33	2.54	1.68	0.12	2000

Collected from the US Census Bureau; www.census.gov.

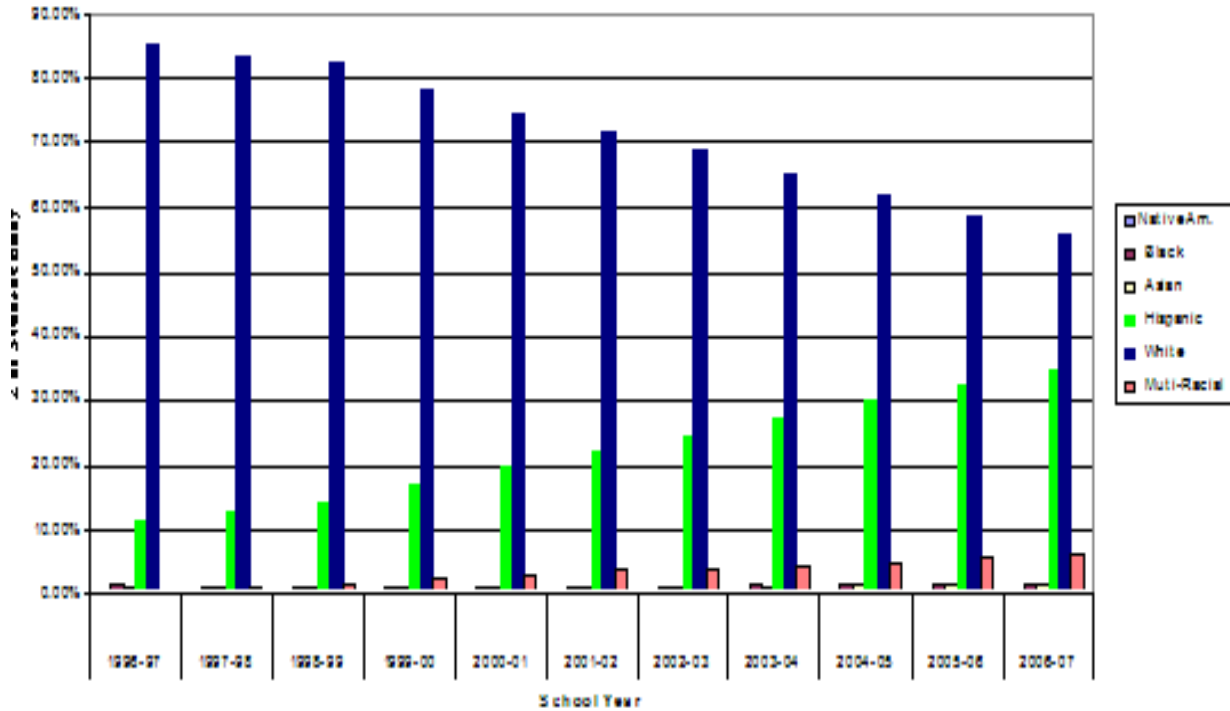
Appendix C: Goshen Community Schools Stats

Minority Students 1991-2007 – Percentage of Total

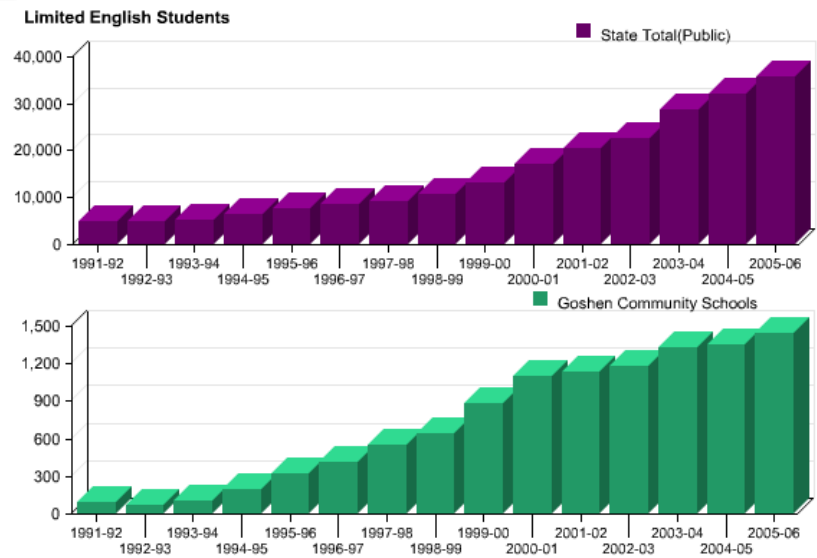


Line Graph Bar Graph

Goshen Community Schools Percentage by Ethnicity 1996-2007



Limited English Students at Goshen Community Schools and the Indiana State Average 1991-2006



Appendix D: US Foreign-Born Population

Table 3.1 Foreign-Born Population by Sex, Age, and World Region of Birth: 2004
(Numbers in thousands ^{1/})

SEX AND AGE	FOREIGN BORN		WORLD REGION OF BIRTH							
			EUROPE		ASIA		LATIN AMERICA		OTHER AREAS	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total Male & Female	34,244	100.0	4,661	100.0	8,685	100.0	18,314	100.0	2,584	100.0
Under 18 years	3,098	9.0	327	7.0	649	7.5	1,836	10.0	285	11.0
18 years and over	31,146	91.0	4,334	93.0	8,036	92.5	16,477	90.0	2,299	89.0
Total Male	17,221	100.0	2,109	100.0	4,108	100.0	9,650	100.0	1,354	100.0
Total Female	17,023	100.0	2,552	100.0	4,577	100.0	8,663	100.0	1,230	100.0

^{1/} The majority of those born in 'Latin America' are from Mexico. Those born in 'Other Areas' are from Africa, Oceania, and Northern America.

SOURCE: U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Survey, Annual Social and Economic Supplement, 2004

Immigration Statistics Staff, Population Division. Available from <http://www.census.gov/population/www/socdemo/foreign/ppl-176.html#reg>

