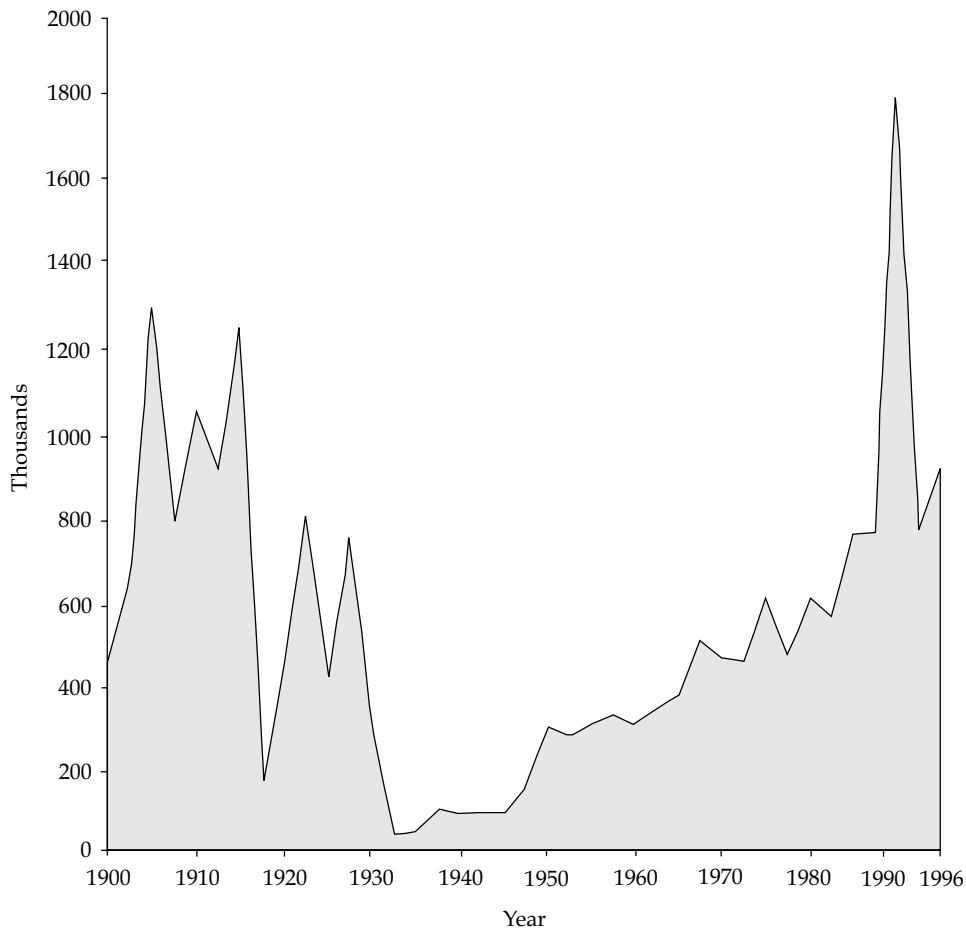
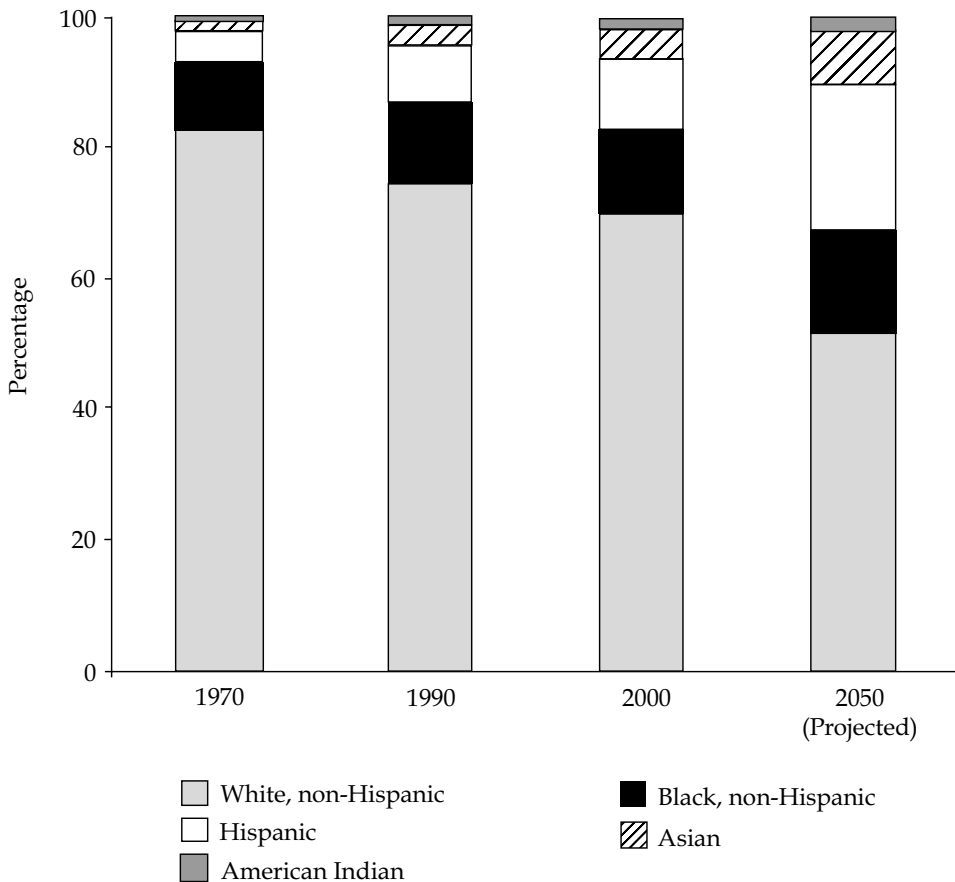


FIGURE 1.1 / Immigrants Admitted to the United States, Fiscal Years 1900 to 1996



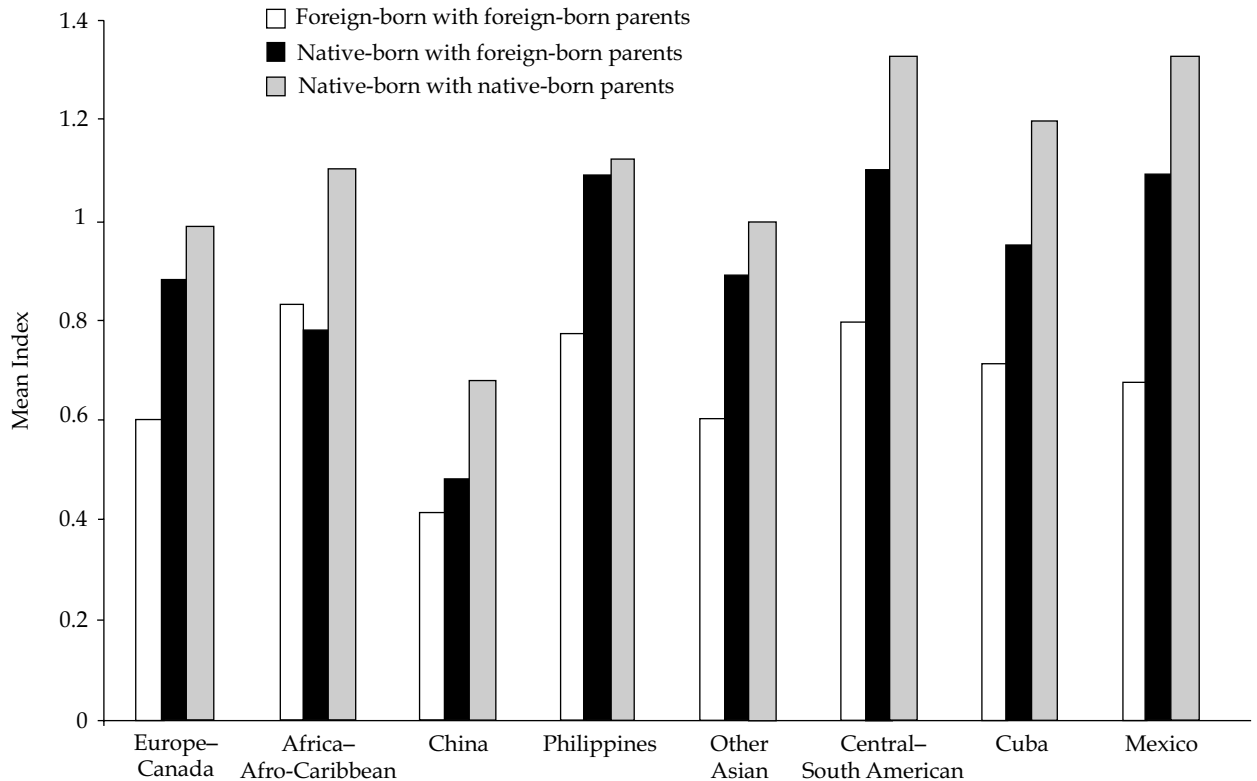
Source: Adapted from Immigration and Naturalization Service. 1998. *Statistical Yearbook 1998*. (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office.)

FIGURE 1.3 / Racial-Ethnic Composition of the United States



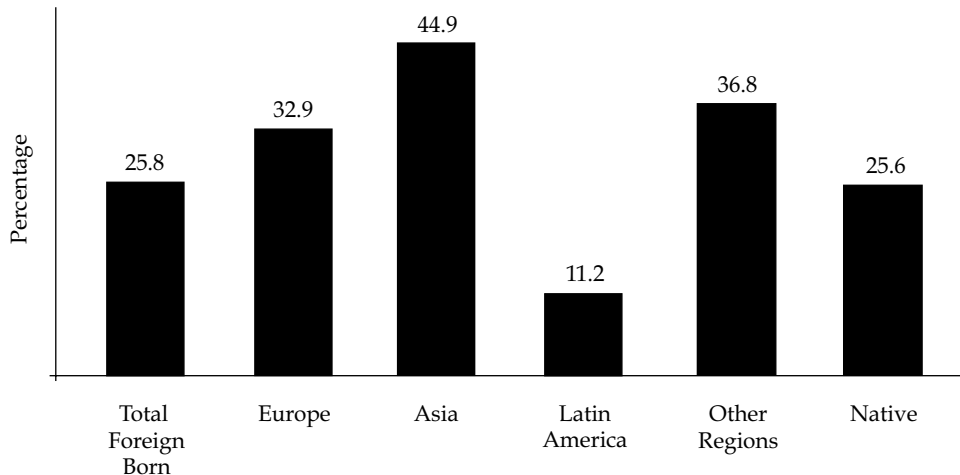
Source: Council of Economic Advisors for the President's Initiative on Race. 1998. *Changing America: Indicators of Social and Economic Well-Being by Race and Hispanic Origin*. (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office.)

FIGURE 1.4 / Mean Risk Behavior by Ethnic Group and Immigrant Status



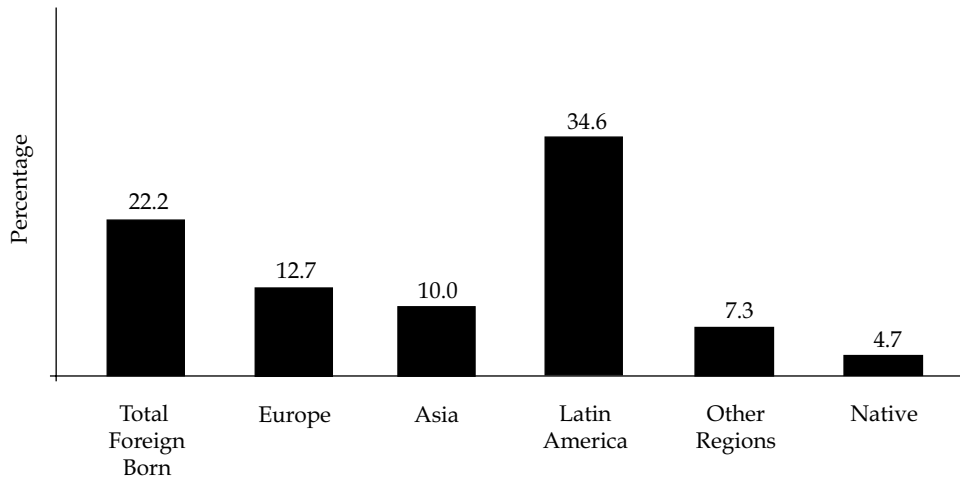
Source: Adapted from National Research Council (1998, 84).

FIGURE 1.5 / Percentage of Population with a Bachelor's Degree or Higher, by Origin in 2000



Source: *Profile of the Foreign Born Population in the United States: 2000*. Current Population Reports. (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office for U.S. Bureau of the Census.)

FIGURE 1.6 / Percentage of Population with Less Than Ninth Grade Completed, by Origin in 2000 (Population Twenty-Five Years and Over)



SOURCE: *Profile of the Foreign Born Population in the United States: 2000*. Current Population Reports. (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office for U.S. Bureau of the Census.)

TABLE 1.1 / Foreign Born as Percentage of Total U.S. Population

	1880	1900	1920	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
Foreign born	13.3	13.6	13.3	6.9	5.4	4.7	6.2	8.6	10.4*

*2000 foreign born population = 28.4 million.

Source: Author's compilation based on Harvard Immigration Projects, 2000.

TABLE 1.2 / Percentage of Foreign Born by Region of Origin

	1880	1920	1950	1980	2000
Europeans	97	93.6	89.3	49.6	15
Asians	1.6	1.7	2.65	18	25
Latin Americans	1.3	4.2	6.3	31	51

Source: Author's compilation based on Harvard Immigration Projects, 2000.

TABLE 1.3 / Region of Birth of Foreign-Born Population

Year	Total	Region of Birth Reported				
		Europe	Asia	Africa	Oceania	Latin America
1900	10,341,276	8,881,548	120,248	2,538	8,820	137,458
1960	9,738,091	7,256,311	490,996	35,355	34,730	908,309
1970	9,619,302	5,740,891	824,887	80,143	41,258	1,803,970
1980	14,079,906	5,149,572	2,539,777	199,723	77,577	4,372,487
1990	19,767,316	4,350,403	4,979,037	363,819	104,145	8,407,837

Source: Author's compilation based on Harvard Immigration Projects, 2000.

TABLE 12.1 / Arguments About Gender, Human Rights, and Culture

Liberal	Culture Defender
Cultural defenses hurt women.	Liberals neglect gender domination in their own societies.
Cultural defenses only help those already in power.	Cultural defenses preserve settings for human flourishing.
Cultural defenses reflect condescension or guilt about the Third World.	Liberal rights risk abandoning girls, while liberal theorists offer nothing to sustain the girls' identity and dignity in return.
Traditional women, when given a choice, like what liberalism offers: women can find community even as they explore and seize liberal rights; [socialization of individual choice itself is different from socialization without it]; recognizing the social dimension of desire should not lead to abandoning the priority of individual choice, but rather should enable reforms of moral education and laws and institutions constraining women.	Horror stories violate indigenous norms too; but choice is problematic because it is too individualistic and neglects the group in which meanings are made; why should the individual and individual choice be paramount when it undermines or undervalues the group?; everyone is socialized more than individually capable of choice.
Internal group hierarchies prevent women from shaping social practices, so why should women be stuck with those practices?	Internal group hierarchies pale before hierarchies between Western and Third World nations, and between majorities within Western countries and their minority groups; minority group members understandably and rightly choose group solidarity against larger domination.
Group practices and beliefs change, so law should not be used to freeze minority practices or exempt them from universal human rights.	Group practices and beliefs change, so outsiders should refrain from using individual rights to alter traditional groups.
[Contests can always occur within a culture about what its practices are, so to use law (through cultural defenses or exemptions from human rights) to prefer one version over others in any way that interferes with individual rights is wrong.]	[Contests can always occur within a culture about what its practices are, so to use law to arm some—through individual rights—against others is wrong.]

(Table continues on p. 260.)

TABLE 12.1 / *Continued*

Liberal

[Western rights evolved over time, so to point out how needed they are elsewhere is no insult.]

Women neither choose their culture nor necessarily endorse its norms unless they have genuine choices—meaning attractive alternatives and the capacity to choose among them.

Culture Defender

Western rights evolved over time in specific circumstances, so there is no reason to believe that their current particular form is well-suited to respond to oppressions in alien societies and cultures.

The mutability of culture should remind Western and other dominant groups to reform their own—and leave reform of others to their respective members.

[This yet again elevates the individual and individual choice over all other goods, including the texture of a culture and interdependence of a group.]

[In addition, genuine concerns about enhancing women's capacities for choice would support internal reform movements and also address the material and social contexts in which they live rather than use the superimposing individual rights and constraining cultural practices.]

TABLE 15.1 / Timeline of Media and Legal Developments in the United States

1992 to 1993	Debates in U.S. news (Rosenthal, Walker, Mekuria, Dawit, et al.)
1993	<i>Warrior Marks</i> book & film (after <i>Possessing the Secret of Joy</i> in 1992)
1993	Congresswoman Schroeder and Senator Reid propose federal legislation prohibiting and criminalizing FGM
March 1994	Oluloro case
December 1994	Kassindja arrives in United States and is detained
1995 to 1996	Kassindja campaign
June 1996	Kassindja granted asylum
September 1996	Congress passes law (takes effect six months later)
Fall 1996	Harborview controversy
March 1997	Abankwah arrives in United States and is detained
Spring 1998 to 1999	Abankwah campaign
August 1999	Abankwah granted asylum

Source: Author's compilation.

TABLE 15.2 / Timeline of *Fauziya Kassindja* Case

January 1993	Kassindja's father dies
October 1994	Kassindja flees home during wedding period; leaves Togo for Germany
December 17, 1994	Arrives in the U.S.; on illegal entry, sent to NJ detention center
August 1995	First hearing in Philadelphia, represented by Miller Bashir; asylum denied
Fall 1995	Miller Bashir seeks help from Sandosham of Equality Now and Musalo of American University's International Human Rights Clinic. Musalo takes on appeal; Equality Now agrees to help
October 1995	Request for release on parole
November 1995	Request for release on parole denied
Fall 1995 to Spring 1996	Equality Now mounts letter writing campaign to U.S. Justice Department and contacts members of Congress and media (including Mann of <i>Washington Post</i> and Dugger of <i>New York Times</i>)
December 1995	Appeal brief and affidavits filed; first brief mention of case in <i>New York Times</i> : Equality Now has Kassindja write notes to reporters
March 1996	Writ of habeas corpus filed; <i>Washington Post</i> article, then other coverage
April 1996	In the United States:
April 5	Justice Department brief filed defending continued detention (risk for flight)
Mid-April	<i>New York Times</i> stories by Rosenthal and Dugger add to attention and pressure to release
April 24	Kassindja released from detention pending resolution of appeal; soon after, Kassindja appears on Nightline, CNN, CBS; Gloria Steinem and others meet and champion Kassindja
April 1996	Meanwhile in Togo: US Embassy in Lomé a) sends staff to interview Kassindja family; b) sends Justice Department a study on inci-

(Table continues on p. 318.)

TABLE 15.2 / *Continued*

dence in Togo; c) contacts Suzanne Aho, director of Togo's Office for Protection and Promotion of the Family, who talks to Kassindja's father's brother

May 2

Appeal heard

June 13

Political asylum granted

Source: Author's compilation.

TABLE 15.3 / Timeline of *Adelaide Abankwah Case*

July 1996	Abankwah's mother dies
Later in 1996	Abankwah moves to Accra
Starting five weeks later	Dispute over money with employers, who contact people in Abankwah's village; fearing people from village will come, she leaves
March 29, 1997	Arrives in the U.S.; on illegal entry, sent to NY detention center
June 1997	Narymsky, attorney for Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society, takes case
September to October 1997	Immigration hearings, Otumfuor testimony and affidavits submitted, pleas for asylum and withholding of deportation denied
Spring 1998	Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children, celebrities, and media draw attention to the case and begin campaign (<i>Marie Claire</i> article in May)
July 1998	Board of Immigration Appeals (BIA) denies appeal
August 1998	Appeal filed with Second Circuit Court of Appeals
Spring 1999	Campaign by Equality Now; Jonathan Rauchway, new lawyer for appeal, recruited by Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children; internet and letter campaigns; protests by immigrant rights groups and NY legislators; media coverage; joint visit to detention center by Kassindja and Steinem; press conferences held by NOW-NYC; NY legislators write to Attorney General and hold press conference
May 3, 1999	Second Circuit Court case argued
July 9, 1999	Second Circuit Court decision reverses appeal (sending it back to BIA)
August 1999	Asylum granted by BIA
December 2000	Further INS investigation finds "Abankwah" to be false identity and her claims to be fraudulent

Source: Author's compilation.

Home Countries (In Togo)

Locations:

Kpalimé (and Koussountou in later developments)—towns in northern Togo
Lomé, capital of Togo

Family and communities:

Tchamba-Koussountou people
Kassindja family (father, mother, father's brother, father's sister, sister all
named or interviewed)
Husband-to-be (named)

National government, NGOs, and organizations:

No law in Togo against female genital operations
Officials report no request for aid in such a case yet, though constitutional
provision ensuring physical integrity could be applied (Dugger 1996b)

Media:

Little coverage in Togo (Dugger 1996b)

Euro-American Countries (In Germany)

Kassindja spent several months in Germany, befriended by German woman,
and bought passport there

Euro-American Countries (In the United States)

National government, NGOs and Organizations:

Immigration and Naturalization Service (including Board of Immigration
Appeals)
Initial law firm where Miller Bashir got involved in the case
Equality Now (letter campaign, contacts with politicians and media)
International Human Rights Clinic (of American University)
Congressional representatives (Pat Schroeder and others)
Attorney general (letters addressed to)

Media:

Newspapers: *Washington Post*, *New York Times*, *Los Angeles Times* and others

Television:

Nightline, CNN International

Public figures and celebrities:

Gloria Steinem (see also congressional representatives)

Crossing Togo–United States

Family:

Cousin in United States hires first lawyer

TABLE 15.4 / *Continued*

National governments and NGOs:

U.S. Embassy in Togo—interviews family & groom; sends recent study showing highest incidence of genital cutting in Kassindja's ethnic group

Office for Protection and Promotion of the Family (in Ministry for the Promotion of Women and for Social Services)—talked with Kassindja's father's brother at embassy's request

Media:

New York Times reporter Dugger travels to Togo for follow-up story

International campaigns

Exhibits include material produced by international campaigns (for example, Toubia, published by Rainbo, distributed by Women Ink)

Source: Author's compilation.

Home countries (in Ghana)

Locations:

Village in central Ghana (usually unspecified; named as Briwa in INS transcript)

Accra, capital of Ghana

Family and communities:

Nkumssa people

Abankwah's family (mother, grandmother [Mother's Mother? Father's Mother?], elders—no specific names or backgrounds)

Family of a friend in Accra (unspecified name and circumstances)

Employer in Accra (unspecified name)

National government, NGOs, and organizations:

Law passed in Ghana in 1994 against female genital cutting

Media:

Newspapers: The *Ghanaian Chronicle* (other articles reported)

Euro-American countries (in the United States)

National government, NGOs, and organizations:

Immigration and Naturalization Service (including Board of Immigration Appeals)

Second Circuit Court of Appeals

Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society (lawyer for first hearings)

Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children (recruited lawyer for federal appeal and sought initial media attention)

Orrick, Herrington, and Sutcliffe—"prestigious law firm" in New York (lawyer for federal appeal)

Equality Now

NOW-NYC

Congressional representatives (Charles Schumer, Carolyn Maloney, and others)

Attorney general (letters addressed to)

Media:

Newspapers and magazines: *Marie Claire*, *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Newsday*, *Village Voice*, *Ms.*

Television: *WWORTV*

Public figures and celebrities:

Gloria Steinem, Vanessa Redgrave, Julia Roberts, Rosalyn Carter (see also congressional representatives)

TABLE 15.5 / *Continued*

Crossing Ghana and United States

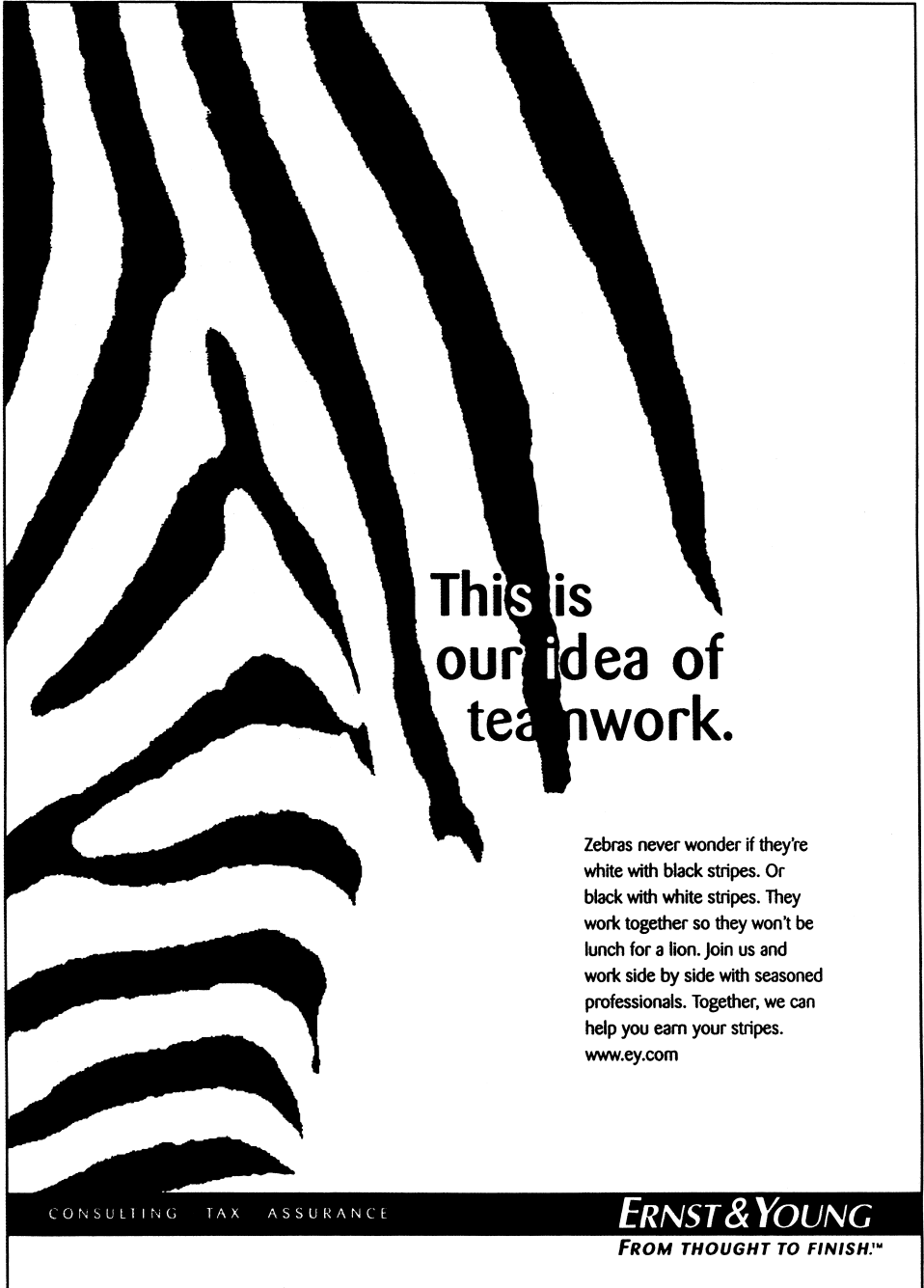
Ghanaians living in United States:

Victoria Otumfuor and Kwabena Danso Otumfuor (befriend and testify for Abankwah as expert witnesses)

International campaigns

Exhibits include material from Ranbo (Research, Action, and Information Network for the Bodily Integrity of Women) and country-specific reports from State Department

Source: Author's compilation.



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