



How do the 2020 Top Democratic Presidential Candidates **Promote Racial Equity to End Hunger?** 

## **IMMIGRATION**

As you consider the Democratic Presidential Primary candidates in the 2020 election, we urge you to consider the importance of promoting racial equity to end hunger in the United States. There are many issues that contribute to hunger, including immigration. Immigrants are twice as likely to experience hunger as the general population. Bread for the World understands forced migration as a hunger issue and recognizes that immigrants residing in the United States often do not have the support they need to avoid hunger and food insecurity.<sup>2</sup>

Following is an explanation of how the policies outlined by the top Democratic presidential primary candidates promote racial equity, as well as recommendations for strengthening their proposals.

Note: Review the "key terms" box to the right for these terms: racial equity lens, co-develop, equitable engagement, historical trauma, how/process, experts of color, and racial equity core principles.

#### **KEY TERMS**

Racial Equity Lens: A concept and practice that focuses on achieving equality for people of color. This lens helps people respond to structural racism and its consequences.

Co-develop: A practice that ensures that experts of color are invited at the beginning of a program planning process to help design, implement, and evaluate a project or policy. Co-developing means that experts of color are equitably engaged (see below).

Equitable Engagement: Equitable engagement is different from participation. It means involving experts of color from the beginning and empowering them to drive the conversation at each stage of the project or policy. They must have real decision-making power in shaping the narrative and determining who should be at the table—and they are given the appropriate credit and compensation for their ideas and time.

Historical Trauma: Multigenerational trauma experienced by a specific cultural, racial, or ethnic group, such as the colonization and attempted genocide of Indigenous people, enslavement of people of African descent (and racially targeted discrimination thereafter) and forced migration. Historical trauma impacts economic empowerment, mental health, and other factors that impact hunger.

How/Process: Racial equity is also a practice. So determining how a decision is made or a policy is designed matters. People of color should have equal power and representation in each process.

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### Overall Recommendations for How Each Candidate Can Strengthen Racial Equity in Their Policy Proposals

Each of the proposed policy recommendations could be strengthened by:

- Applying a racial equity lens to every facet of their immigration plans, including the design, implementation, and evaluation stages of each proposal. This is perhaps the most important recommendation. Generally, candidates have not applied this lens in a concerted way throughout their policy recommendations. Doing so will ensure that every facet promotes racial equity. During this process, Bread encourages candidates to also outline how the processes within each policy will promote racial equity. This could include the process for how decisions are made or for how a policy is enforced, for example. In addition, the design and implementation, the checks and balances process, and the evaluation of each proposal must be racially equitable.
- Applying a racial equity lens to proposals related to creating or reinstating an Office of New Americans. Currently, former Mayor Buttigieg and Senator Warren are proposing the creation of an Office of New Americans, and former Vice President Biden is proposing the reinstatement of the Task Force Office on New Americans. Bread recommends that these three proposals include further details as to how the office and/or task force will be co-developed with immigrant experts of color. The design and implementation of the office and/or task force should embrace racial and ethnic diversity, promote the racial equity core principles, and not reinforce white supremacy.<sup>3</sup> In addition, federal agencies should apply a racial equity lens to the opportunities they offer. To promote racial equity, for example, Biden's proposal to create a program allowing immigrants to get relicensed in the field that they worked in while living in their home

#### KEY TERMS, continued

Experts of Color: Experts of color are defined by experience, whether it is lived experience with a topic (being a low-wage worker or entrepreneur), experience practicing in the field (as an advocate or service provider), or experience conducting research and analysis in the field. Co-developing a proposal with experts of color means inviting people from all three categories of expertise.

**Racial Equity Core Principles: These** principles are: (1) the policy is codeveloped with experts of color who have decision making power in the design, implementation, and evaluation stages; (2) the implementation of the policy is racially equitable in "who" is enforcing "what" and "how" it is being enforced or implemented; (3) the processes are racially equitable in each stage for "how" decisions are made; (4) policy plans are deeply rooted in and adequately respond to the historical trauma and racism that each community of color experiences; (5) the policy has adequate funding, checks and balances, and other resources to eliminate racial inequities.

To read more about these terms, review the glossary of the <u>Racial Equity and Nutrition Report.</u>

country should ensure that immigrants of color are relicensed at the same rate as white immigrants, or are relicensed in proportion with the higher rate of need present among immigrant communities of color.

- Including a proposal that applies a racial equity lens to programs provided at the U.S.-Mexico border. Senator Bernie Sanders is the only candidate who acknowledges anti-black racism in a proposal for border policy. Bread recommends that each candidate, including Sanders, include a policy proposal to investigate how the available programs and resources at the border reflect anti-black racism experienced by immigrants of African descent.
- Including a proposal to invite experts from Central American nations to convene and address the root causes of forced migration. Former Vice President Joe Biden is the only candidate to propose organizing a meeting with Central American leaders and experts to address forced migration. Bread recommends that each candidate, including Biden, co-develop their plans for a Central American consultation with people from these countries. Co-development is important because it gives power to people of color who have historically not been included in decision-making, a practice known as equitable engagement. Bread recommends that each candidate, in addition to acknowledging conflict and poverty as root causes of forced migration, consider the historical root causes of racially inequitable U.S. trade agreements. All proposals should include specific policies to mitigate and reverse the impacts of this historical trauma in a racially equitable way.

### **Candidate-Specific Immigration Plans**

Note: Most of the proposed plans are broad-based and could strengthen racial equity by (1) applying this lens to each aspect of each policy proposal and (2) basing recommendations on analysis of how to address the deep origins of racial discrimination.

#### Former Vice President Joe Biden

#### **Overall Rating: 2.5**

This plan is mainly broad-based, but it promotes racial equity in these ways:

- Investing in Historically Black Colleges and Universities and Latino Serving Institutions to enable more undocumented students to receive higher education.
- Convening a regional meeting of leaders, including representatives from El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Mexico, to address the factors driving forced migration and to propose a regional resettlement solution.

In addition to the overall recommendations above, this plan could strengthen racial equity in these ways:

 Biden's proposal to convene leaders from Central America and Mexico to address the factors that drive forced migration is a good step in promoting racial equity. Bread commends Biden for being the only candidate to proactively include a proposal to convene leaders from Central America and Mexico. For specific recommendations on how this proposal should promote racial equity, see the "Overall Recommendations" section.

To see the full plan, click here.

#### Senator Bernie Sanders

#### **Overall Rating: 3**

This plan is mainly broad-based, but it promotes racial equity in these ways:

- Increasing federal funding for community-driven strategies to desegregate schools, since immigrant children of color attend some of the nation's most racially segregated schools.
- Addressing school disciplinary practices that disproportionately affect immigrant children of color.
- Acknowledging the impacts of police racial bias, which include immigrants of African descent being targeted at higher
  rates, putting them at greater risk of removal on criminal grounds. This plan proposes separating local law enforcement
  from immigration enforcement.

In addition to the overall recommendations above, this plan could strengthen racial equity in these ways:

• Sanders' proposal of separating local law enforcement and immigration enforcement to reduce racial targeting has the potential to promote racial equity. Bread commends Sanders for acknowledging the racism experienced by immigrants (including anti-black racism), which is compounded when law enforcement and immigration enforcement work closely together. Bread recommends applying the racial equity core principles (see key terms) to this new model, including codeveloping the plan with experts of color and ensuring that its design and implementation processes are racially equitable.

To see the full plan, <u>click here</u>.

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#### Senator Elizabeth Warren

#### **Overall Rating: 2**

This plan is mainly broad-based. In addition to the overall recommendations above, this plan could strengthen racial equity in these ways:

- Warren's proposal to invest in community-based alternatives to detention has the potential to promote racial equity. Bread recommends that experts of color from these communities be invited to co-develop alternatives or scale up existing alternatives. They should be empowered to lead these efforts with the necessary resources. Warren's current proposal to create alternatives to detention<sup>4</sup> does not promote racial equity since it would increase the number of people of color under surveillance by law enforcement. Avoiding disproportionate levels of surveillance is a step in the right direction of promoting racial equity.
- Warren's proposal of defining what is meant by "flight risk" to reduce the number of people detained has the potential to promote racial equity. Bread recommends that the definition be co-developed with immigrant experts of color, that it not include racially coded language, 5 and that it not disproportionately identify immigrants of color as flight risks. This will help to ensure that immigrants of color are not detained at higher rates than white immigrants.

To see the full plan, click here.

#### **Pete Buttigieg**

#### **Overall Rating: 2**

This plan is mainly broad-based. In addition to the overall recommendations above, this plan could strengthen racial equity in these ways:

 Buttigieg's proposal to create an independent immigration court system has the potential to promote racial equity. Bread recommends applying the racial equity core principles to this plan, including co-developing this independent court system with immigrant experts of color. This plan should ensure representative racial diversity of judges, a shared understanding of what due process looks like for immigrants of color, and a process that ensures that people of color (including immigrants of color) in this new system are equitably engaged at all levels. In addition, the plan should ensure that this effort is adequately funded in accordance with the need. This would include a plan to provide more financial support for lawyers of color to continue representing immigrants of color.

To see the full plan, click here.



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Briefing Paper: Undocumented Immigrants Face Hunger on Both Sides of the Border. Bread for the World Institute. June 2017. https://www.bread.org/library/hunger-hunger-undocumented-immigrants-face-hunger-both-sides-border

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> See endnote iv.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Alternatives to incarceration include probation, house arrest, and restitution, to name a few.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Racially coded language is language that promotes racial stereotypes or has racial undertones.

Not racially equitable.

Has the potential for widening racial disparities in hunger.

## Broad-based policy.

This means a policy is not targeted to reach the most impacted communities.

May not increase racial disparities but has the potential to do so.

Usually maintains current racial disparities in hunger.

## Broad-based policy.

Policy might mention the need for targeted support without concrete actions to do so and/or does not provide the necessary resources to address racial disparities.

Maintains current racial disparities in hunger.

# Broad-based plan with elements of racial equity.

It t promote racial equity in some aspects

#### Recommendations

are not based
on the historical
trauma
experienced by
communities
of color.

Policy does not explain how it will be **implemented** in a racially equitable way.

Maintains current racial disparities.

At least half of the policy targets communities of color in a racially equitable way.

## The policy recommendations are based on

are based on historical trauma experienced by communities of color.

Has the potential to reduce racial disparities in hunger.

Entire policy prioritizes racial equity and puts the needs of communities of color at the center.

Policy accounts for historical trauma.

Policy explains how the implementation phase will be racial equitable.

Proposes
effective ways
to reduce or
eliminate racial
disparities
in hunger.

For more analysis on how the presidential candidates promote racial equity, go to votingrecord.us.

<sup>\*</sup>This analysis was based on Bread's work to promote racial equity in anti-hunger policies. To learn how to apply a racial equity lens, please see Bread's Racial Equity Methodology Tool, which outlines a step-by-step process to assess whether a policy or program promotes racial equity. To see how Bread applied this methodology to the national nutrition programs, including the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP) and Child Nutrition Programs, read our Racial Equity and Nutrition Report.

