

Latinx Studies Journal



A Journal of Chican@ & Latin@

Experience and Thought

Fall 2019

Latinx Studies Journal:

A Journal of Chican@ & Latin@ Experience and Thought

Volume 11, Number 1, Spring and Fall 2019

Latinx Studies Journal previously known as *Concientización* is a student academic journal dedicated to promoting the study of Chican@ and Latin@ experience and thought. We are committed to creating alliances across boundaries of nation, race, ethnicity, gender, class, and sexuality. Submissions include essays, poems, and artwork related to Chican@/Latin@s in the United States. *Latinx Studies Journal* also gives students the opportunity to participate in the publication process as authors and editors.

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Cover Photograph: Chican@ and Latin@ Studies certificate students and friends march up Bascom Hill during Latinx Heritage Month, September 20, 2019

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EDITOR'S NOTE TO READER

The Latinx experience is about unity emerging from difference. Within our communities, we all share traditions and celebrations, as well as struggles and needs, that only we can truly understand. Likewise, within those same communities, there are many other traditions, celebrations, struggles and needs that are particular for only one group of people, one family, or even one person. The writings gathered here weave distinct identities and histories together while reflecting on what we all share.

In **SECTION ONE: REFLECTIONS**, we will begin our exploration into this mixture of peoples through memoir and poetry. Authors will present their observations of the world around them and share the ways in which they interact with other people, texts, and visual arts. In **SECTION TWO: RESEARCH**, we will see how these reflections develop into formalized research. Although formal research isn't the only way to learn about our communities, it gives us an avenue through which we can publicize and share our stories. Authors will discuss topics such as Latinx health, migration and gentrification.

These two sections together show how our own personal observations can help us learn about and from each other. Our lives and stories are sources of academic knowledge. What we perceive to be unfair or challenging may be rooted in forms of oppression that have yet to be captured in writing. Let this text serve as your motivation to write about your experience and share with others so that our stories may be understood and validated with the honesty and purpose they deserve.

SECTION ONE: REFLECTIONS

"You are not lucky to be here. The world needs your perspective. They are lucky to have you."

- Antonio Tijerino, President & CEO of the Hispanic Heritage Foundation

Dear White Folks

Nashalee Rodriguez

Dear White Folks,

My name is Nashalee Rodriguez.

Yes, you heard correctly, my name is indeed a lineage of Spanish ancestry,
my name is a sacred sound that your tongue stumbles pronouncing.

Yo soy Boricua, pa' que tú lo sepas!

I'm sorry, is my thick accent a threat to you? Will you build a wall in between my vocal cords
and tongue? Or will you continue to assimilate me?

Choke me with your stereotypes?

Whitewash all elements of my ethnicity?

Force me to straighten my hair?

Neglect my children from having names that identify them as Latino?

You are the reason my grandmother feared her children would speak with accents So
afraid, she buried her first language in a space between blood and bone, held
her breath whenever she was asked to speak because she didn't want her
native tongue to be heard,
practiced her English so that we could stop our accents from interfering with
the whiteness of your syllables.

You have orchestrated a racist system so that we can have this gap between your people and
mine.

You don't know what I'm talking about though, right? Because you're colorblind? Not
racist because your friend's husband has a cousin that's half-black?

Let me break down to you two simple words:
white privilege.

It's the only five decades of legal acknowledgment of black people expected to correct
four hundred years of white transgression

It's your mouth full of ignorance behind white

supremacy It's Latinos receiving 16% longer sentences

It's you having a problem with immigration on a land that wasn't even yours to begin with

It's the justification of police brutality because I'm sure it doesn't hurt as much when the
victim doesn't look like you.

A broken democracy.

You have repeatedly tried to get rid of my existence,

To dehumanize my culture

To belittle my people's virtues,

But while your ancestors spent centuries creating genocide by stripping away babies from their mother's breasts
Raping wives and daughters and using brown bodies for your profit,

My ancestors,
 although chained
 although beaten
 danced through the night chanting *brujerías* on our *Borinquen* soil,
Asking for the gods to bless us with souls as heavy as bricks, anchoring us down to our indigeneity.

And that is why you cannot strip me away from being a proud Latina.

My lineage
My ancestors
My people were
 hanged, whipped, and humiliated
 But with bleeding hands they echoed their resilience.

You cannot strip me away from speaking a language that is too beautiful for your type of English. *Te digo, una lengua preciosa.*
No matter how far the waves flow back, I'll always come back to my island *Mi isla del Encanto.*

And while you call my curly hair too wild, I call it my reclamation. These curls aren't designed to fit into your frame of beauty.
My name is a mixed pot of *sofrito* and *sazón* and can't be seasoned with just a pinch of salt and pepper.

Your language is cultivated from racism, something that I am illiterate to,

So I say, in my forgotten Taino language, *ocama*, listen: you cannot tame a me
My people and I have your felt your hate and with that
 We will rise.
 We will fight.
 We will dismantle your system and we will **not** be quiet.

Sincerely,
Nashalee Rodriguez

Reflections on Latina Leadership in the Madison Community

Alysia Vang

From the Supreme Court to the community health clinic to the smallest office in a community organization, you can find the most inspiring, yet humble, people with invaluable life experiences and stories. I attempted to collect just a few of these inspiring stories from a family medicine physician who immigrated to the United States from Mexico and started over, a refugee from Iran who works every single day to bridge communication gaps between individuals, and an immigrant from Bolivia who came to the United States to take care of her mother and became a social worker to help those from vulnerable populations. I began by reading Sonia Sotomayor's memoir titled *My Beloved World*, in which Sotomayor describes her life leading up to her appointment on the United States Supreme Court. Throughout the memoir, I noted the qualities Sotomayor exhibited and the experiences that made her a successful leader and compared her experiences to those of the women I interviewed. I mainly focused on their leadership experiences, discovered their motivations to be involved in community work, and advice they would pass on to other leaders.

Growing up, Sotomayor had to learn to become self-reliant. Diagnosed with juvenile diabetes at the age of seven, she had to learn to give herself insulin shots because her father was an alcoholic and her mother too anxious and constantly working. She also learned early on to ask for help when she saw room for improvement in herself. In this, she learned better study skills and excelled academically, opening a multitude of doors of opportunities. Sotomayor went on to attend college at Princeton, where she was met with bias and prejudice. This was the first time she had come face-to-face with wealth and privileged upbringing. She found her voice at the University and spoke out against those who were verbalized their opposition to Affirmative Action and joined campus advocacy groups such as Acción Puertorriqueña and Third World Center. She used her education to better the lives of others, believing that she was given "luck with a purpose," and because she was entrusted with a college degree, she was to find a worthy use for it. Sotomayor went on to Yale Law School and continued to use her voice to advocate for others in need, in organizations such as Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund (PRLDEF). This deeper sense of purpose for helping others, in addition to the guidance of her mentors and professional network, guided her through her professional career in the New York District Attorney's office,

Pavia & Hartcourt, a Manhattan federal district court judge, and ultimately the United States Supreme Court where she currently holds a position as one of three female Supreme Court Justices.

Throughout the memoir, one could find dozens of qualities that Sotomayor possesses that make her a successful leader. Her grandmother taught her the joys of caring and generosity toward others. In this, she was able to empathize with others and went out of her way to understand her opposition, leading her to “build bridges instead of walls” and allowing her to build trust and confidence in others. Sotomayor was also disciplined and self-reliant, which contributed to her success in both her educational and professional careers. She was also always open to learning from others, understanding that she still had much to learn from others and was determined to do just that in every position she held, no matter how high up that position was. Sotomayor also had genuine passion for helping others and used that passion in her efforts to help her community. These qualities are recurring in the leaders who I interviewed for this project.

The first woman I interviewed, Dr. Tellez, I initially met as a college freshman and a member of the student organization called the Professional Association of Latinos for Medical School Access, at which point I became her mentee and began volunteering with her at community health events. She is a practicing family medicine physician, Associate Professor at the School of Medicine and Public Health, and a community health educator and leader. I met with her in her office at the Wingra Family Medical Center where her premedical students, including myself, typically meet with her for mentorship. Dr. Tellez grew up in poverty in Mexico City, where she and her family sometimes did not have shoes and had to commute three hours every day to attend school. She went on to attend Mexico’s public university, which is reserved only for those who can pass the very challenging entrance exams. During her internship in medical school, she was “placed in a small secluded town where the source of healthcare was her and a single nurse who worked part-time.” In this experience, she learned to educate others in health and gained the skills necessary to create successful health initiatives. She would find them to be very useful later in her career.

After medical school, she made the decision to follow her mother and siblings to the United States when she had to start over. She learned English and worked cleaning buildings before she could begin again in medicine. After some time, she entered a residency program here in Madison in Family Medicine, where she found that she already had much more experience than her peers. Upon completion of her residency program, she was convinced to stay and became an associate

professor at the medical school, understanding that titles can make people listen. She became involved in community work through her sister, who had already been working at Centro Hispano. Dr. Tellez joined others already working on health issues in the Latino community here in Madison, and formalized the group into what is known today as the Latino Health Council. The Latino Health Council holds health events that educate the community on various health issues and provides health screenings for those who do not have access to healthcare. Once the organization began growing, the original leaders retired and elected Dr. Tellez one of the co-chairs, a position she had held for almost twenty years. As co-chair of the Latino Health Council and practicing physician, she educates the community on health and prevention and advocates for the Latino community. In addition, as an assistant professor at the School of Medicine and Public Health, she teaches and mentors medical students, as well as advocates for underrepresented students applying to the medical school.

As an immigrant, a woman, and even as a physician, Dr. Tellez has faced discrimination and hostility. Through her experiences, she had learned to rise above and to elevate her voice in order to be heard, even if others may mistake assertive behavior for aggressive behavior. She is a very humble and committed individual who exudes inclusivity and passion in everything she does. She has been a torch in the darkness in delivering services to indigent patients at the Wingra Family Medical Center and an indispensable mentor to premedical students. She recognizes that being in a position of leadership, one must be willing, not only to listen to and learn from others, but to fill in when needed. She also stressed the importance of mentorship and the need for great mentors, especially for minority premedical students. She saw that students were lacking in good mentors and so she took up mentoring as a side activity. In her own experience, although she has had great mentors, she would have appreciated having mentors who shared her background so that her needs would have been better understood. She uses her own experiences as a mentee to personalize the mentoring experiences of her mentees and gives them opportunities to develop their leadership skills and to connect with the surrounding Madison community.

During my lunch break at the UW Hospital, I found my way to the office of Shiva Bidar-Sielaff, the UW Health Chief Diversity Officer and co-chair of the Latino Health Council. As a refugee from Iran to Spain, she recognized the importance of language in communication. In her own words, “My parents did not speak English so I wanted to become an interpreter to help others experiencing language barriers.” She went on to earn her bachelor’s degree in Translation and

Interpreting in Belgium and received a scholarship to obtain her master's degree in International Policy Studies at the Middlebury Institute of International Studies, and then a certificate in Diversity Management in Healthcare, Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion at Georgetown University. Bidar was largely impacted by her grandmother who, despite not being able to read or write, taught her to be thoughtful and inclusive of others' opinions and thoughts. She admired her grandmother for having the ability to lead others without appearing to lead, as well as having the ability to accept others for who they were although she came from a very traditional background. Her grandmother also taught her to "never make assumptions about others because everyone has potential to be a leader." Bidar also found mentorship from her former boss, an amazing leader who taught her about building relationships and communicating with people. This mentor taught her that patient care always came first and gave employees the independence they needed while always providing the support when it was necessary.

When Bidar began as an interpreter at the UW Hospital, she was the only Spanish interpreter. She recognized the need for additional interpreters, and so she built the entire department from the ground up. As the department grew and became nationally recognized and self-sustaining, she became the Director of Community Partnerships, which added a community relations aspect to her job. In this role, she was out in the communities of color listening to their concerns and connecting them to resources in the community as well as building relationships with community leaders. She is now the Chief Diversity Officer of UW Health, where she coordinates and leads the design and implementation of initiatives related to diversity, equity, and inclusion. As one of the founding members of the Latino Health Council, she leads the creation of programming in the Latino community here in Madison. In addition, she is the only bilingual Alder in the City of Madison, a position where she advocates for her community.

As a leader, Bidar has learned prioritization and how to create sustainable changes, ensuring that the adjustments are not just superficial, but transform the system as a whole. She recognizes that leaders must be listeners and doers—people who will build coalitions and do the work necessary to create real change. Many people even perceive her to be Latina because of her long-term commitment and involvement in the Latino community here in Madison and her ability to speak fluent Spanish. Bidar always makes sure to bring others along because she believes that everyone has potential to be leaders and the potential to help. This is evident in her work as a mentor, where she teaches her mentees the value of proving themselves by doing the work and the

importance of community engagement. She also stresses the importance of having a support system. Having a group of three to five women of color supporting her personally and professionally has helped her to stay true to herself in the face of challenges. Because these women are also involved in the community, they understand the everyday challenges involved their work, such as the feeling of needing to assimilate in environments where one is “different.” “If one does not intentionally surround themselves with strong, supportive individuals, they run the risk of losing themselves and their paths, despite good initial intentions.” I saw this firsthand when I volunteered for Latino Health Council events throughout my undergraduate career. As I observed Bidar, Dr. Tellez, and other women in this circle, I could not help but aspire to be just like them because they were so obviously committed and strong forces for sustainable change.

For my third interview, I took the bus from the UW Madison campus to Centro Hispano on the southside of Madison. I waited in a beautifully decorated lobby with colorful murals covering the walls and papel picado hanging from the ceiling. Although small, Fabiola Hamdan’s office was warm and welcoming, just as she is. Hamdan is currently a Senior Social Worker with the Dane County Department of Human Services and the very first Immigration Affairs Specialist. Hamdan spent her early years in Bolivia and immigrated to the United States as a teenager because her mother needed medical treatment. As a caregiver and advocate for her mother, she came to realize that she had a passion for helping others. Hamdan learned English and attended Madison Area Technical College, where she discovered a love for sociology. She then studied social work at the University of Wisconsin – Madison. Although she struggled initially in her college career due to language barriers, she worked hard and went on to earn a master’s degree in Social Work.

As a community social worker, Hamdan was placed into disadvantaged neighborhoods where clients came to her voluntarily for help. She identified the gap in services for the Latino community and went on to create the Latino Children and Families Council. The purpose of this organization was to direct various community agencies in ways they could better serve or begin to serve the Latino community. Hamdan also led the Darbo-Worthington Joining Forces for Families team in providing comprehensive social services to families and implementing community projects. In addition, she has joined various organizational boards over the years to further broaden her impact and to give a voice to the people she serves, including the City of Madison Police and Fire Commission and the Dane County Equal Opportunities Commission. She has also developed

a number of programs aimed at providing assistance to families and children, such as the We Care housing program and Voces Latinas for victims of domestic violence.

In her roles as a leader, Hamdan has learned to be patient and genuine, and to respectfully accept disagreements in striving to achieve larger goals. In her experiences she has also learned not to take things personally and to never make assumptions about others. She stresses the importance of being humble and doing the work for the common good, not for self-interest, in order to build successful community coalitions. These are the lessons she passes on to her mentees—lessons that no doubt will make them great leaders in the future. I witnessed Hamdan in action when she invited me to volunteer with her for an event called El Día de los Niños months after our interview. This event celebrates the Latino culture, focuses on children's appreciation and contributions to their communities, and connects parents to community social services. Watching her interactions with parents and their children made it very evident that she truly cares about her community.

A leader is someone who not only leads others in achieving a goal, but also creates room for others to gain leadership experience and confidence in those skills. Leaders place themselves wherever it is they are needed and in whatever role necessary to successfully carry out their goals. We all have the ability to become great leaders, but it takes a special person to step up to take on the work and exhibit the ambition it takes to be a successful leader. Although the women I interviewed would not outright call themselves leaders nor expect praise for the work they do in the community, it is evident that they are passionate about their work, and that passion is what drives their success, not titles, awards, or money. They recognize the support that they have received from their friends and family and extend that support to those who come after them. Even in a city where Latinos make up an estimated seven percent of the population, these women have successfully created coalitions and support networks to work toward a common goal despite their different backgrounds, recognizing that we are stronger together. Much like Sotomayor, these women have distinguished themselves in their community through their genuine passion for helping others and their drive to create positive, sustainable change.

Identity

Jesús Adrian Garza-Noriega

If I were six years old and you were to ask me, who are you? I'd answer you with, I am #Rey Mysterio, number one Mexican pro wrestler! If you were to ask me at age twelve, I'd answer #solo. As we age, we are exposed to a plethora of experiences that shape and mold the world around us. As a result, we formulate views of self and associate with forms of representation that we announce to the world. I change – older, and wiser. I find that there are many things that make up the me in yo. With that being said, how I identify today cannot be promised to those of the future. But rest assured, if I change it's only for the better. Within this text, I have selected a handful of hashtags I believe represent my identity. This piece is important to me because I believe it shares a few of the struggles that many Latinx individuals face when attempting to define themselves in America.

#Homeiswheremyfamilyis. I was raised in a Home taking off my shoes and telling my friends to do the same, it's no locked doors and invasion of space. The place of home cooked meals with smells that hug your nose and let you know that ma's throwing down again. A place where sana-sana-colita-de-rana is all you need to get over a bruise and scrape or a chest full of Vicks so you can breathe straight. The space where you can throw any party, screw the capacity we ain't go no limit, accompanied with warnings like mas te vale saludar tus tías. It'd be like hi tía, hi tía, hi tía. Hola mijo cómo estás? Ay que guapo, y tu Mamá?! Right this way tía. Home is where callused hands, working a combined total of 120 hours, still have time to hold you. A place of rest and ease away from the worlds outside. A check point to let me know my mamá and papá are safe. A place my anxiety goes to die because the love is so real... and loud as fuck. This is my home, I have many, and in my own, it is much the same. Especially now.

#Apá. For 18 hours I couldn't see you because your heart was too weak I prayed in one night what people would have prayed in weeks, speak to me please, begging God for a chance to let my son pull through. It broke my heart to see him hooked up to machines, not even an hour into the world and I couldn't protect him from his first fight. But you made it. Larger than life, your steps demand all of my heart and attention. As I nestle you into my arms and you castaway into your dreams I pray that the world doesn't demand of you what it has of me. Diosito please, let me teach him everything he needs, give all that I can for who he wants to be. Please, never take away the smile he gives to me. Let him walk tall with his head held high with orgullo and

pride. Let him be gentle and kind, quick to listen and slow to speak. Let him love who he is, because I know, one day he may ask me, Apá am I white or brown? Apá am I Mexican or American? Apá, what should I tell them? I'll say m'ijo, it doesn't matter who they think you are, what matters is who you want to be.

#Me. I am many things, friend, son, brother, father, husband, Marine, student, activist, the list goes on. I am no deadbeat, loser, lazy, worthless, dumb, or waste of space, in other words I am never someone to give place for another person's definition of me. You see it took me a long time to get here. For every time, they called me spic and wetback, telling me to go home, I rose. Like a beautiful flower, I found sun in darkness and blossomed the best that I could. When teachers passed and counselors said I was no good, I was resilient. Even when my own people shut their doors and said I was too white and losing my way. I found me. You see I am finally where I want to be. I am two languages, two worlds, two cuisines, I am the child who carries the dreams, I hail from La Raza, descendent of Los Aztecas I am two cultures all wrapped in one. I am me and yo. I am Hey-sus and Jesús. I am Chavez the activist and Chavez the boxer representing Chicano and Mexicano. Unbreakable, unapologetic, the number 1 Catrin, I have been returned to yo and me.

White and Not Enslaved

Katya Garza

Justifying inhumane exploitation while maintaining utmost control takes ultimate deception of how one views their placement in the social class hierarchy. This deceitfulness is the perfected recipe in creating a herd of starving, blind sheep who are satisfied with hopelessness. One who views themselves as better off than others, even if economically they are not, because of their whiteness gives a false sense of security, self-worth, and separation from others “below” them. The “white race” social construct quickly developed in English colonies by the upper class in order to maintain power and prohibit any possible unifications between the working class and the enslaved. The white race construct allowed for the “sheep” to view themselves as white and not enslaved, instead of the as working class. In the late 1670’s, this social construct was translated into governing laws following working class rebellions, separating white Christian servants and enslaved blacks.

As the English colonies developed, the separation of white servants and black slaves laid between a blurry line of distinction as they were both serving the upper class, had little-to-no property, and had no economic mobility. In the words of Zinn, “whites and blacks found themselves with common problems, common work, common enemy in their master, they behaved toward one another as equals...black and white worked together, fraternized together” (Zinn 31). Such unity, and the formation of an identity, ignited so much fear in the upper white class that laws were passed prohibiting such relations. As seen in history of Virginia Slave Laws, “The legislators continued to try to discourage white indentured servants from running away with enslaved blacks by increasing the punishment that a white man or woman would receive after their capture” (Hening, vol. 2, pp. 116-117). The goal of this law--passed in 1661--was to not only break the bond that had been created due to similar life experiences, but to also magnify the division between white servants and black slaves.

Unsurprisingly, creating laws that prohibited interracial relations with increased punishment, was not enough to keep full ruling class domination. After Bacon’s Rebellion in 1676, it was made evident that, to keep such class structures in place, more distinguishing factors were necessary. Slaves needed to be taught that their skin color meant inferiority and subordination, and white servants needed to be taught a sense of superiority over slaves. New laws were passed, in which, “imposition of a more rigid system of racial slavery was

accompanied by improved status for white servants. Unlike slaves, white servants and free workers could not be stripped naked and whipped” (Hening, Statutes at Large, Vol. II, pp. 170). After such proclaims by Virginia’s ruling class that all white men were superior to blacks, and that once freed they were to receive land and money, the dynamic shifted. White servants began to feel a sense of respect, upwards mobility, and protection by the ruling class.

To conclude, the psychological wage of whiteness was a richer compensation for the white working class, than economic equality. Using the exploitation of class relationships and the ideology of white supremacist racism, the ruling class was able to maintain class domination, and inhibit any forward progression of the classes below them. The value of whiteness depends on the devaluation of Black existence just like capitalism depends on the valuation of whiteness. In today's age, the metaphorical payment of whiteness and antiblack racism continue to play a prominent role in the framework of capitalism and exploitation.

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La luz y la noche: La yuxtaposición revolucionaria de Martí en *Dos Patrias*

Manuel Cerda

En su carrera, Martí se solidificó como uno de los más importantes nombres en la historia de América Latina por su activismo político, y escritura de ensayos y poesía. Se puede decir que Martí fue una de las voces más poderosas de finales del siglo XIX, y que, gracias a él, el concepto de la literatura hispanoamericana se hizo ampliamente conocido.¹ Su uso del lenguaje popular y cotidiano hizo posible que una amplia masa de lectores tuviera acceso a sus obras, y con eso a su mensaje revolucionario. En su gran ensayo *Nuestro América*, José Martí llama a los Latinoamericanos a luchar por la libertad, a la acción, diciendo:

“Lo que quede de aldea en América ha de despertar. Estos tiempos no son para acostarse con el pañuelo a la cabeza, sino con las armas de almohada, como los varones de Juan de Castellanos: las armas del juicio, que vencen a las otras. Trincheras de ideas valen más que trincheras de piedra.

(...)

Ni el libro europeo, ni el libro yanqui, daban la clave del enigma hispanoamericano.”

(Martí, 137)

Esta gran idea de la libertad de la palabra y las ideas se manifiesta mejor en su poema *Dos Patrias*. Si pensamos en la educación como la luz, en este poema veremos una gran yuxtaposición entre esta luz europea-española, y la noche de América latina. Esta yuxtaposición simboliza la gran diferencia que existe entre la gente de América latina, y sus opresores europeos. Es decir, en este poema José Martí nos está llamando a la revolución, a la libertad que es una parte física, pero también a la libertad de las ideas.

Empezamos con las primeras cinco líneas del poema:

“Dos patrias tengo yo: Cuba y la noche.

¿O son una las dos? No bien retira

su majestad el sol, con largos velos

¹ “(...) many said that he deserves to be honored (...) by the entire Western hemisphere, for no other man did more, through his life and even through his death, for the independence of Cuba; no one was more interested or had a clearer insight into America (...) Spanish literature was *his* literature,” (Landa, 261).

y un clavel en la mano, silenciosa
Cuba cual viuda triste me aparece.”

(Martí, 184)

Hablaremos sobre la yuxtaposición entre el sol y la noche aquí. Esta yuxtaposición se presenta cuando el hablante nos propone una pregunta que a primera vista es muy simple: ¿Será la noche un lugar como Cuba? Al hacer esto, el hablante nos pone en una posición donde nosotros, como lectores, tenemos que definir lo que es la noche en el contexto de su relación con Cuba.²

Entonces, yo digo que la noche en este contexto son dos cosas: La noche es el tiempo de la muerte y el tiempo de descubrimiento. No tenemos que hacer mucho trabajo con la primera interpretación. Cuando el hombre se duerme, por un tiempo se muere; todo en la noche es silencioso. Es el tiempo natural para dejar de pensar. La única cosa que disturba esta paz es la vida de la ciudad que no es natural. Entonces, decimos que la noche representa un movimiento natural a la muerte, y este movimiento es importante aquí, porque el hablante nos está comunicando que Cuba, bajo la corona de España, tiene que llegar a su noche. Es decir, la muerte es buena porque no será la muerte de Cuba, sino la muerte de la “majestad [del] sol” que es España. “La noche es buena/ para decir adiós,” nos dice el hablante más enseguida.

Regresamos a la idea que la noche simboliza un tiempo de descubrimiento. Esta interpretación viene de una tradición poética modernista en América Latina que intenta revocar símbolos, cambiar sus sentimientos y darles nuevas interpretaciones. Vemos esta tradición en poetas como Darío, que en su poema *Ama tu ritmo* nos dice “Escucha la retórica divina/ del pájaro del aire y la nocturna/ irradiación geométrica adivina;” (Darío). En la noche, el universo habla desde el poeta, como dice Martí “El universo habla mejor que el hombre”. Por eso vemos la tradición de nocturnos que después explora Martí: hay una realización que al ver la luna, la noche, y las estrellas, encontraremos palabras divinas. Este poema, decimos, viene de la naturaleza. Entonces, hay que decir, que, para el poeta, la noche no es algo misterioso ni algo oscuro; aún más, la noche es el tiempo del descubrimiento para el poeta. En la noche, el poeta se puede relajar, puede liberarse de la vida moderna, y llegar a escuchar al universo. Cuando el

² “Aquí, la noche, tan propicia para el delirio fantaseador, le invita a desplegar sus imágenes visionarias, al tiempo que su razón trata de mantener el poema atado a la raíz de la circunstancia histórica (su destierro de una Cuba esclavizada) y de una profunda meditación cosmológica sobre la analogía del universo,” (Morales, 255).

hablante nos pregunte “¿O son una los dos?”, en realidad, ya sabe la respuesta porque lo encontró en la noche; lo que quiere el hablante es que el lector llegue a la idea revolucionaria de que necesitamos más a la noche que el sol, que necesitamos una Cuba libre de la corona de España.

El sol, representando la luz de Europa, es decir, la opresión de España que ha matado y exiliado a los hombres de Cuba al involucrarse en la política revolucionaria y las guerras por independencia. Por eso, el hablante nos da la imagen de Cuba como una viuda triste, sin voz, y clavel en mano. Estos símbolos resurgen en las próximas líneas:

“¡Yo sé cuál es ese clavel sangriento
que en la mano le tiembla! Está vacío
mi pecho, destrozado está y vacío
en donde estaba el corazón. Ya es hora
de empezar a morir. La noche es buena
para decir adiós. La luz estorba
y la palabra humana. El universo
habla mejor que el hombre.”

(Martí, 184)

El hablante aquí nos está diciendo que el clavel no es simplemente una flor, sino su corazón. La voz que habla nos revela que él es uno de esos hombres muertos, y su corazón todavía esta con la madre sagrada, Cuba. Nos está diciendo: ¡Mira mi pecho, ¡qué vacío y destrozado! ¡Esto es lo que nos han hecho nuestros opresores, lo que nos han hecho la luz del sol, lo que nos ha hecho España! También, se nos regala una imagen espectacular con sus palabras: la viuda que es Cuba, con el corazón del hablante se transforma al símbolo católico de Inmaculado Corazón de María³. Al hacer esto, el hablante acometiese dos cosas: roba de la España Católica su religión, y crea su mensaje en este poema sagrado. Este poema no solo son palabras, sino una revolución.

En este poema vemos que los muertos todavía hablan porque es la voluntad del universo la que habla; podríamos decir que, en un sentido, el poeta se transforma en el profeta del

³ “Among the multitude of texts that appeared in 1953 (...) there were many portrayals of Martí as a saintly, Christ-like figure,” (Kirk, 129).

universo, si no hasta ser poseído por el universo mismo⁴. Con la noche, viene la nostalgia de una Cuba libre y un movimiento espiritual en ese sueño. Con la noche, llega el silencio. Y esto porque la noche, como hemos discutido, representa el tiempo de muerte y el tiempo de descubrimiento. Llega la noche con “la hora de empezar a morir”, pero esta muerte no es solo para los muertos, sino para España también. Sabemos esto, porque el hablante nos dice enseguida: “la noche es buena para decir adiós”. Es claro que no nos está diciendo adiós a nosotros; pues apenas hemos llegado a mitad del poema. No, los muertos están diciendo adiós a Cuba, y a la Cuba de España. Con la noche, viene un tipo de nacionalismo y por eso los muertos duermen y sueñan una Cuba libre; la luz de España no los estorba en el mundo de sueños⁵. Es decir, al dormir, los muertos llegan a una paz donde el universo se puede comunicar con ellos.⁶

Aunque el universo “habla mejor que el hombre”, el hablante continúa, porque, como hemos dicho antes, es la voluntad del universo que continúe hablando. Las próximas seis líneas siguen aquí:

“Cual bandera
que invita a batallar, la llama roja
de la vela flamea. Las ventanas
abro, ya estrecho en mí. Muda, rompiendo
las hojas del clavel, como una nube
que enturbia el cielo, Cuba, viuda, pasa...”

(Martí, 184)

⁴ “Literary allusions and quotations are embedded inside each other in Valdes’ (...) use of José Martí (...) Cuba and the night are brought together to form the object of these exile writers’ longings (...) merging Cuba and the metaphor of the “night” are clearly contextualized in an unabashed romantic nationalism that moves towards carnal remembering, towards tangible desire,” (Otero, 54).

⁵ This witnessing [of Havana] happens on an imaginative plane-through dreaming and memory-precisely because there is a chasm that does not allow contact between people separated from that past (...) writing of the Havana imaginary serves as a guide of remembrance for those unable or unwilling to return to the Cuba,” (Otero, 56).

⁶ En el año 1916, el poeta Vicente Huidobro va a venir a repetir ideas de Martí sobre la noche y la lengua del universo en su poema *Nocturno*.

Aquí, Martí hace algo muy impresionante al usar la palabra “llama”. “Llama” en este contexto carga tres definiciones: una es simplemente la definición de “llamar”, como dar nombre; dos es “llama” con la definición de “pasión”, y tres es “llama” con la definición de “flama”. Juntas, estas tres definiciones dan un énfasis a que es lo que llamaba a los jóvenes de Cuba a guerra contra España, a una revolución por su libertad. Ellos sabían, como el hablante, que todas las banderas de guerras son banderas rojas de sangre, banderas que como llamas van a quemarlos, usarlos y dejarlos muertos, pero siguen buscando su libertad. También, usando “llama” y “vela flamea” da más énfasis a la luz de España que está matando a los cubanos, que está interrumpiendo las palabras del hablante. Por esta pasión, para extinguir este fuego, y por su amor por Cuba, el hablante desea regresar a pelear, desea regresar a su Cuba⁷. Se cansa de su exilio y de esta Cuba de España. Decide abrir esas ventanas de opresión que ha limitado la vista de su gente. Este cadáver nunca va a poder estar tranquilo hasta que caiga la noche a Cuba, hasta que él traiga la muerte a la luz de España⁸. Por eso rompe las hojas del clavel que es su corazón, el clavel que Cuba ha guardado, pero también está rompiendo las hojas que contiene sus palabras. El hablante se da cuenta que para su revolución las palabras no son suficientes: Hay que tomar acción, El cubre el día con nubes, dando a Cuba la oportunidad para ver lo que ofrece la noche y así la viuda que es Cuba sigue adelante. Por eso el poema no se acaba con simplemente un punto, sino con tres; esos tres puntos significan que hay un futuro para Cuba después de la página.

Con esta lectura del poema, podemos ver porque se dice que Martí fue el poeta de América Latina. No hay la misma verbosidad de Darío en sus poemas; es más, se puede decir que Martí usaba el lenguaje popular porque ese fue el lenguaje necesario para transmitir su mensaje de revolución. Martí hablaba de la América Latina porque él creía en un continente libre de Europa y de la influencia yanqui. Como lectores, podemos dar gracias a José Martí por crear los cimientos de la literatura latinoamericana, cimientos que cargan nuestras ideas hasta hoy. En

⁷ “Havana is special for Cuban exile writers (...) because it has been textualized as a nostalgic mythic homeland. This homeland becomes more and more like a long-lost love, which has antecedents in the romanticism of Cuba’s national hero, poet José Martí,” (Otero, 55).

⁸ “(...) the Latin American poets projected that impulse towards an utter transfiguration of the real world (...) There is a kind of infernal demon in the depth of the Latin American soul, a restlessness (...) [That] reveals itself with utmost clarity in our poetry,” (Oyarzun, 436)

su poema *Dos Patrias*, Martí nos invita a la noche, nos llama a los sueños porque desea enseñarnos lo que es la revolución latinoamericana y qué es lo que puede hacer esa revolución de libertad literaria para nosotros. En nuestra América, no hay espacio para la luz de Europa; ya es tiempo para la luna, la noche y los sueños.

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Book Review of How Friendship Affects Leadership: *Just Like Us: The True Story of Four Mexican American Girls Coming of Age in America*⁹ By Helen Thorpe

Tiffany Andrade

In *Just Like Us*, journalist Helen Thorpe examines the lives of four young women she met who attended high school in Denver, Colorado. Marisela, Yadira, Clara, and Elissa had been friends since middle school. All four of them came from families who had emigrated from Mexico, and each of them had at least one parent who had crossed the border illegally. They had different experiences, opportunities, and resources to brave adulthood. Throughout their childhood, they had been oblivious to the differences in their legal status because it did not affect them in any tangible way. However, as they were growing up, they realized that their legal status affected the different opportunities they were having, and for instance, the way they saw one another. Elissa and Clara had legal status in United States, and therefore, they had the economic resources linked to citizenship. However, Marisela and Yadira did not have legal status, and therefore, they did not have the resources or the opportunities to pursue their higher education. As Helen Thorpe lets it unfold, the story of their interconnected relationships illuminates the broken system around current immigration laws, and the obstacles for people who have been living here their entire lives but are still unable to get, driving licenses, ID's to travel, or attend institutions for higher education. *Just Like Us* illuminates the struggles of Mexican American students living on borderlines of culture, developing their inner strength to create their own route between two competing cultures, and how young women in these situations help one another.

Marisela and Yadira considered it unfair that Clara and Elissa had many financial opportunities to attend college while they did not. In high school, the young women were all the same. All of them were honor students, all of them had Mexican parents, and they had been through similar situations. However, because of the decisions of their parents and the opportunities their parents had, their legal circumstances were different, and therefore, the opportunities and economic resources to go to college. Clara Luz was a legal resident of United States but was originally from Zacatecas. When she was seven, Clara had crawled under the wire

⁹ Thorpe, Helen. *Just like Us: the True Story of Four Mexican Girls Coming of Age in America*. Reprint ed., Scribner, 2011.

fence that separates the town of Nogales, Sonora, from the town of Nogales, Arizona, with her mother and her four siblings. She had no concept of what it meant to be an illegal immigrant at the time. However, after six years, and after an unscrupulous attorney had stolen thousands of dollars from her family, Clara and her siblings obtained legal residence. Her father, Carlos Luz, had obtained his green card after applying for amnesty when the U.S passed the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986. Their other friend, Elissa Ramírez, was U.S citizen. She was the captain's team, and she was very close to Clara. However, since she was a U.S citizen and an honor student, she was offered a partial scholarship at Regis University, a highly regarded Catholic institution in Denver. She had a hard time adapting to her new school because she did not have her friends there to support her. Even though the matter of privilege proved to be divisive among these four friends, they supported each other in any possible way.

Mexican American and children of immigrants from Latin America living in United States often find themselves living on the borderlines of two cultures. Students do not feel a sense of belonging to either culture because of their skin color, traditions, values, beliefs, education, surroundings, and most of the times, the only sense of belonging these students have is among their friends who are under similar situations. The book illustrates this by talking about Marisela Benavidez, she was originally from Durango and lacked a legal status. Her Mexican father, Fabian, held several jobs that did not pay enough to maintain a house of five. Her Mexican mother, Josefa, also had to work tremendous amounts of hours to support her family. Marisela was a straight-A student, she was rebellious, and liked to be around her friends. She was living on the borderline of two cultures and it was hard for her to know where she belonged. Her parents were worried because, for them, Marisela was growing up very fast, they feared that she was losing her Mexican identity and becoming more Americanized. However, she did not identify as white nor she could fit in with her white classmates, and yet she did not identify as being Mexican since she had lived most of her life in United States. These four friends had grown up on the West side of Denver, a part of town that had traditionally been home to many Latinos. They graduated from Roosevelt High School, and after unimaginable struggles and obstacles, they were able to attend university. Marisela, Yadira, and Clara stayed together in the same university, but Elissa was attending the private university. In their high school, there were many students of color. However, when they started college, they were surrounded by many white privileged students. Marisela, Yadira, and Clara, had each other, but Elissa was alone in a

school where she did not know anyone. After her freshmen year, Elissa started making more friends and because everyone was busy with their own classes, extracurricular activities, and personal problems, they started becoming more distant to Elissa. Marisela, Yadira, and Clara felt different to every other student. After being used to be surrounded by students of color, and being the one of the most intelligent students of their class, they felt inferior to their classmates at the University of Denver. They started realizing the many privileges that other students had, and that the lives of these other students were very different from the lives of these three young students. Mexican American students find themselves in the middle of the two cultures. Professors and classmates expect them to act a certain way and to accomplish the same goals as their white classmates without considering the many obstacles these students have to overcome. In addition, the parents of these Mexican American students expect them to keep acting 'Mexican,' to not lose their values, and to put their family as a priority, acting according their gender roles. These students live on borderlines of where they should belong, and this has a huge impact on their identity.

Just Like Us illuminates the struggles of Mexican American students developing their inner strength to create their own route between the two competing cultures. Culture expresses goals through values and beliefs, and with their parents busy, these friends had to find their own route to their own success. Their parents were trapped in the illusion of the American dream. Working too hard to earn too little. They left their lives in Mexico in order to give their children a better life. They were not able to take their kids to the hospital when they were sick unless it was a life-threatening emergency. They had to go through fraud from attorneys and always feared deportation. However, these friends were always there to support each other when they felt they could not do it by themselves. They had the support from each other and from other people who were willing to help them. For example, Yadira Vargas was originally from Durango and also lacked documents. Her mother, Alma, was a hard-working person. Her father abandoned her and her family. When she was a kid, they had to live in a homeless shelter, and after that, being able to have a stable future was one of her main priorities in life. However, having a stable life proved to be very difficult for her. Her mother, Alma, and her strict stepfather, Jesus, had to move around often because of economic constraints, and because of their illegal status, it was almost impossible to get a job that would cover housing expenses. At the end of high school, her family had to move to California for a time because they needed

money, and the jobs they had in Colorado did not pay enough to maintain the whole family. Luckily, Yadira had the support of her mentors, Irene and Justino Chávez, whom she lived with during this time. However, her life was often changing, testing her resilience. In the middle of her sophomore year in college, Alma was deported back to Mexico because of identity theft. However, this did not stop Yadira, and with the support of her friends, Irene, and Justino Chavez, she continued to work hard for her education and for her sisters. The areas of conflict and competition for resources and opportunities proved to be divisive among these friends. However, they remained together, helping each other because of their connection to one another.

Just Like Us illuminates how young women help one another when struggling with the difficulties of being Mexican American. Marisela, Yadira, Elissa, and Clara were intelligent, and they had similar backgrounds, they had many things in common, but two of them had an uncertain future because of the difference in their legal status. At some point in high school, Clara and Elissa started keeping things from Marisela and Yadira because they did not want to make them feel bad. For example, they stopped sharing news about being accepted to different universities, the process of applications for several scholarships, and of opportunities they were given. I believe that Clara and Elissa felt guilty that they had all of these opportunities while Marisela and Yadira did not, and for them it was easier to avoid the topic. Marisela and Yadira tried to be happy for their friends, but they could not help but feel jealous of the opportunities that their friends had over them. However, this changed when Yadira was offered one scholarship and received funding that were more than enough to pay for her education. Because of their sense of sisterhood and since Yadira had gotten both, the scholarship and funding, she gave the funding she was going to receive to Marisela. Irene and Justino Chavez, had helped her get the money from fundraisers, and when Yadira knew she would have more money than she was going to need, she decided to help Marisela achieve her dreams of attending university. Because of this, Marisela was able to pay for her tuition at Denver University. With the support of each other, Clara, Yadira, and Marisela, were able to complete their bachelor's degree at Denver University. During the four years that they were in university, they had to overcome many obstacles, they had to work, and they had to support their families. However, they were motivated to finish their higher education because they did not want to have the jobs their parents had. They knew how much their parents had to sacrifice to give them a better life. They did not want to disappoint their parents, and they wanted a successful future. The relationships between

Marisela, Yadira, and Clara were changing over time because of different situations, friends, boyfriends, and lifestyles. However, when one of them had to overcome hard problems, or whenever they needed help from one another, they would come back to support each other under these difficult situations. Marisela was a leader of the Latinx community. She was the one with closest connections with the Latinx community. Yadira, Clara, and Elissa had whiter skin, and had mostly adapted to the white culture more than Marisela. Yadira, Clara, and Elissa, had Latinx friends, but they also had a friend who was privileged and white. His name was Luke, and he was against illegal immigrants. His whole life, he had been privileged with opportunities that these four friends could not even imagine having. However, Yadira and Clara started getting closer to him without opening up about their legal situations. However, Marisela had her roots with the Mexican culture. She started working for an organization that helped the Latinx community. Yadira was having a hard time finding a job due to her illegal status. However, once Marisela had some time working for the organization, she recommended Yadira for a job position there too. In addition to their jobs, Marisela, Yadira, and Clara were in leadership positions at the sorority they were part of and remained being friends for the rest of their time in Denver. Once they graduated, the economy went down, and unemployment soared. However, Yadira and Marisela were still employed by the same nonprofit organization where they had been working during college. Clara became a U.S citizen and had secured a part-time job with a local foundation that provided college scholarships. Unfortunately, Elissa could not find a job after graduation, and had to share a one-bedroom apartment with her mother. After six months of being unemployed, she got an extension for her Gates scholarship to complete a graduate program that would allow her to become an English as a Second Language teacher. Marisela got pregnant, but she still wanted to pursue law school. Yadira and her sister Laura found an apartment that Yadira could afford. She was discovering her independence, and she finally had created the stable household that she had wanted during many years. These four students were able to graduate with their bachelor's degree because of their dependence on each other. Their story is a great example of how it is very important to help one another in order to survive and have a successful future, especially in minority communities.

This book should be eye opening for readers who do not understand the struggles and sacrifices of many immigrants, and specially children of immigrants. Many people have no idea of what it is to be an illegal alien, to translate for a parent, to have the need of purchasing fake

documents, or to hide the truth about their identities. In addition, losing a sense of belonging, not feeling Euroamerican, even though this is the only country they have memories of, plays a huge role on their identity and their education. This non-fiction book portrayed the many struggles that children of immigrant have to face in order to finish their career. These four students overcame many obstacles that proved their resilience, their strength of character, their humanity, their sisterhood, and their capability of being successful in the real world. The immigration system is broken, and the lives of many people are destroyed. The politicians offered students who were brought to this country at a very young age, an opportunity to finish their education up until high school. However, these students have an uncertain future because there is a lack of resources for these students to attend higher education. Even though it is not always the case for Mexican American students to being undocumented, they still have to work harder than most students who come from privileged families. Most of the parents of Mexican American students did not complete their bachelor's degree in United States, and therefore, these students do not have the guide from their parents and have to rely on the help and support of counselors and of their friends that are in the same situation. Many Mexican American students can relate to how these girls have to try very hard to prove that they are worth an opportunity for their success in the future. They have to prove they are extraordinary, and they have to fight against stereotypes and assumptions made about immigrants and the Latinx culture. However, these students remained motivated to pursue their higher education and to succeed in life.

CELEBRATE PEOPLE'S HISTORY



DOLORS HUERTA nació en 10 de abril de 1930. Líder del movimiento laboral chicano, cofundadora y vicepresidenta del Sindicato de Trabajadores del Campo (UFW), ha dedicado su vida a la lucha por la justicia y dignidad de los trabajadores inmigrantes del campo. Su trabajo durante el Boicot Nacional Contra la Venta de Uva del UFW condujo a la aprobación del Acta de Relaciones Laborales en la Agricultura de 1975 en que se establecieron los derechos básicos de los trabajadores. Dolores sigue luchando por que haya mejores salarios, agua limpia y excusados en los campos agrícolas; vivienda digna, prestaciones de salud y un ambiente de trabajo libre de acoso y agresiones sexuales. En 2006, sigue encabezando la lucha a favor de los derechos civiles y promoviendo el activismo no violento.

DOLORS HUERTA, born April 10, 1930, Chicana labor leader, co-founder and vice-president of the United Farm Worker's Union (UFW), has dedicated her life to the struggle for justice and dignity for migrant farm workers. Her direction of the UFW's National Grape Boycott led to the passage of the ground breaking Agricultural Labor Relations Act of 1975, establishing the farm worker's bill of rights. Dolores continues the struggle for a living wage, clean water and toilets in the fields, decent housing, health benefits and the freedom to work without sexual harassment and assault. In 2006, she can still be found on the front lines fighting for civil rights and promoting non-violent activism.

Art by Dr. Cortez & Piles, AP. More posters at www.justiceart.org • printed October 2006.

“Celebrate A People’s History” Poster Analysis

Clarissa Gomez

The poster, “¡Si se puede!” depicts Dolores Huerta. At first, one likely notices the grapes, the strawberries, the picture of Dolores, and an account of her work in both English and Spanish. But upon further inspection, it is clear that the colors and imagery have larger symbolic meaning. Dolores Huerta is a Chicana, or Mexican-American woman, who fought tirelessly for the rights of migrant farm workers. To meet the growing agricultural demands to support war efforts during World War II, the United States entered an agreement with Mexico that encouraged the Diaspora of Mexican citizens into the U.S. This agreement is known as the Bracero Program which allowed many migrants to come to California to work in the fields. These migrant workers were paid low wages and worked in terrible conditions. Dolores Huerta saw this as an opportunity for change so she, along with Cesar Chavez, formed the United Farm Workers Union, which aimed to improve the working conditions for migrant laborers.

This poster powerfully showcases many of the values Dolores Huerta stood for. The two black eagles at the top represent the logos for the United Farm Workers Union and the black color symbolizes the dark situations that the farm workers had to overcome. In addition, the scrolls recognize Dolores Huerta as a key strategist for the Union. The grapes and strawberries represent the importance of agriculture, their red colors symbolizing the hard work and sacrifice of the union members. Additionally, the paragraphs at the bottom of the poster, in both English and Spanish, represent Huerta’s identity as a Chicana. Altogether, the placement of Dolores Huerta in the middle as the central figure along with the poster’s title of “¡Si se puede!” signifies the advancement of new models for Chicana women.

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SECTION TWO: RESEARCH

"All of the women in my life were telling me the same thing. My story, my truth, my life, my voice, all of that had to be protected and put out into the world by me. No one else."

- Gabby Rivera, Author of *Juliet Takes a Breath*

**Pesticide Poisoning in Latinx Children with Proximity to Agribusiness:
an environmental justice issue**

Emiliana Almanza Lopez

The widespread concern surrounding pesticide use that followed the publication of Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* led to major advances in environmental sustainability but not in environmental justice. This is because the movement fought for the environment, but not for the people who lived within it. During a critical time when pesticides attracted mainstream attention, conversations failed to address the human health issues plaguing those most exposed to them—Latinx fieldworkers and their families. This paper will examine the disproportionate effects of pesticide poisoning from the agricultural business on Latinx farmworkers' children. The issue will then culminate in a case study on the 'culture of asthma' in the San Joaquin Valley ecoregion of California. History has repeatedly proven how the United States values economic gains from agribusiness over the health of the workers who make the business flourish. The resulting pesticide poisoning of Latinx children is thus an environmental injustice.

The concept of environmental justice has recently become buzzword, yet few understand its full meaning. The Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), defines environmental justice as “the fair treatment and meaningful involvement of all people regardless of race, color, national origin, or income, with respect to the development, implementation, and enforcement of environmental laws, regulations, and policies.”¹⁰ Boiled down, environmental justice is rooted in two things. The first is addressing inequitable distributions of ailing chemicals including pesticides, toxic waste, pollutants, etc., that are concentrated in poor neighborhoods and neighborhoods of color. The second is giving said communities the agency and resources to address the issues, which includes fair and equitable access to resources and the ability to be at

¹⁰ Environmental Protection Agency, 2019

the decision-making table for one's community. Unfortunately, embodying environmental justice has proven difficult, as the United States has continued to fail its most marginalized and vulnerable populations.

The legacy of colonial exploitation and racism infiltrates every aspect of the United States; and environmental-related human health is no exception. For centuries communities of color and poor communities in general have suffered physical domain restrictions by the ruling class. This dynamic has manifested itself differently under slavery, sharecropping, and segregation. More recently, redlining, disinvestment, and gentrification of neighborhoods has continued the process. The mechanisms change, but what remains constant is that marginalized communities are forced to inhabit the worst living areas. Areas that are near toxic sites, agricultural fields that heavily use pesticides, and areas with poisoned drinking water and polluted air are chief among these. The results are poor health, acute illness, and chronic health problems within these communities. However, one must keep in mind that exposure to these harms is only half of the issue, as the other factor is access to proper healthcare and the ability to treat the adverse effects of poor living environments. Many of the people who are most affected by environmental injustices like pesticide poisoning do not have the means to address it. These individuals face multiple roadblocks to care, including the fear of taking time off, the inability to even do so, and the lack of money to pay for health care. In the case of pesticide poisoning, Latinx fieldworkers and their families are the most at risk.

On a national level, many Latinx people live in poverty and have limited, if any, access to health care. The 2017 Census Population Report shows that in the U.S. 18.3 percent of 'Hispanics' live under the poverty line compared to only 8.7 percent of the White non-Hispanics

population¹¹. It should be noted that 47 percent of ‘Hispanics’ in the U.S. are citizens. This means that the recorded 53 percent of ‘Hispanics’ who are non-citizens cannot receive Medicaid, a federal program designed to help the poor have access to health care. This is in part the reason why ‘Hispanics’ have a disproportionately high rate of uninsured persons¹². Poverty, documentation and citizenship along with cultural barriers affect the ability of Latinx populations in the United States to receive adequate care for environment-related ailments. The focus of this paper will be pesticide poisoning from agribusiness, thus, in addition to the previous information provided the history of Latinx workers in agribusiness is critical for understanding the overall phenomenon.

In the early 1940’s Mexican workers were imported for farm labor as part of contractual agreements between Mexico and the United States. This was done ostensibly to remedy the lack of workers in the agricultural business during the Second World War. After the war ended, the program continued until 1964, creating a long-term pipeline of Mexican workers into the U.S.¹³. Successor programs continue this pipeline. This agreement was more than just a business deal, as it affected how people both in and outside of agribusiness viewed the role of Latinx workers in America. It did this by effectively narrowing the scope of what a Latinx person ‘could’ do for work while simultaneously racializing the career of fieldwork in general. With the growing number of Latinx in the United States, racial hostility grew within the country along with a normalization of maltreatment in Latinx workplaces. Currently in the United States fieldworker are primarily Latinx. In California, for example, 90 percent of the fieldworkers are

¹¹ Fontenot et al., *Census Population Report*, 2017

¹² Artiga et al., *Changes in Health Coverage by Race and Ethnicity since Implementation of the ACA, 2013-2017*, (Henry J Kaiser Family Foundation, 2019).

¹³ Marion Moses, *Farmworkers and Pesticides*, (Massachusetts, South End Press, 1993), 164.

Latinx folk of Mexican origin¹⁴, most of whom live in poverty due to poor wages. Harm associated with the occupation primarily surrounds accidents and pesticide exposure. Due to lack of resources and the type of poisoning occurring, workers often cannot treat themselves. Thus, loose pesticide regulation and inadequate health care in agribusiness worker communities effect Latinx folk the most, creating an inequitable distribution of harm.

Agribusiness for simplicity's sake is synonymous with big agriculture and agricultural business within this context. In the U.S., agricultural business accounts for 80 percent of the national pesticide use¹⁵, applying 1.1 billion pounds of pesticides annually¹⁶. The most common of these pesticides include insecticides used to kill insects, herbicides used to kill unwanted plants, fungicides used to kill fungi and spores, and nematicides used to kill nematode worms¹⁷. Commercial agriculture is massive in the U.S., and therefore has major influence over policies and regulations concerning the use of pesticides on a national scale. This influence translates to power over the safety of field workers. This is particularly horrifying when the EPA's labeling laws are considered, as they allow for big agriculture to use very dangerous toxins without substantial restrictions.

The EPA labeling laws regarding pesticides both for commercial and agricultural use are severely lacking in the information they provide, specifically inadequate toxicity warnings. The law as is only requires that pesticide manufacturers name the active ingredient(s) of their product, leaving up to 99 percent of the product's contents undisclosed¹⁸. While many of the undisclosed contents can be toxic, their safety information is not required to be shared. The EPA

¹⁴ Moses, *Farmworkers and*, 162.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 161.

¹⁶ Norah Anita Schwartz, "Where they (live, work and) spray": *Pesticide exposure, childhood asthma and environmental justice among Mexican-American farmworkers*, (Elsevier, 2015), 85.

¹⁷ Moses, *Farmworkers and*, 161.

¹⁸ James Roberts et al., *Pesticide Exposure in Children*, (American Academy of Pediatrics, 2012), e1780.

thus allows for the misuse of pesticides and aides the continuous acute and chronic exposure related illnesses of fieldworkers. To go a step further, it can be said that the EPA as it stands is a collaborator in the poisoning of workers and their families because they fail to hold agribusiness accountable for their misconduct and abuse of power.

It is not a stretch to say that agribusiness has interests at odds with the well-being of its workers. From an economic standpoint this makes sense. Agribusiness increases productivity in harvest yields using dangerous pesticides and does so without repercussions from the government. This is the reason agribusiness companies continually resisted efforts to pass more restrictive pesticide laws and regulations¹⁹. From this evidence, it is clear that the current state of pesticide use in relation to the exposure and safety of fieldworkers is a crisis gone unaddressed. Furthermore, because this crisis is rooted in inequitable concentrations of exposure, the resulting acute and chronic effects of pesticide use should be viewed as an environmental injustice.

Exposure to pesticides has many consequences, most of which are shoved under the rug because of the influence of the U.S. agribusiness. For example, in 1988, the California Department of Food and Agriculture (CDFA) discounted 58 percent of medical reports of illness related to pesticide poisoning in fieldworkers²⁰. While considering that the 1988 data is 31 years old, the facts remain relevant and allude to the pattern of intentional minimization of this phenomenon. The shrinking of the issue of pesticide poisoning in fieldworkers and their families is strategic. The logic is that if cases go unheard by the general public they can be left unaddressed by national agencies whose job is to be the check and balance to agribusiness. This simple strategy benefits only those who profit from corporate agribusiness. The lack of

¹⁹ Moses, *Farmworkers and*, 170.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 174.

accountability for agribusiness results in tangible ailments within the bodies of those most at risk, children.

Children have even more explicit risk of illness associated with pesticide exposure. They can be poisoned through first hand exposure by aerial' spraying close to their residence and playing or working in agricultural fields, as children can work in the fields at younger ages than most other hazardous industries. Children can also be exposed second hand through contact with residue on clothing and furniture that their family members wear while working in the fields. In 2008, children comprised 45 percent of reported pesticide poisonings, and almost 55.8 percent of all single-substance pesticide exposures²¹. While these numbers may seem high, there is a great possibility for inaccurate accounts that minimize the magnitude of pesticide poisoning. Due to lack of medical professionals in agricultural communities it is hard to get an accurate account of pesticide-related poisonings. Moreover, the pediatricians in agribusiness communities have stated in self-reporting surveys that they do not feel confident in their ability to identify pesticide exposure are related illnesses²². This is in part why pediatric poisoning reviews so often note that children are transferred to referral centers with the wrong preliminary diagnosis²³ after pesticide poisonings. To recap, agricultural communities have few medical professionals, and those they have are not competent in addressing agricultural related ailments. When considering that children who are heavily exposed to pesticides are likely to be from poor working class families of color the inadequate treatment of ailments, the picture becomes especially disheartening.

To illustrate the importance of pesticide toxicity in fieldworkers' families, the growing 'culture of asthma' in San Joaquin, California provides a useful, yet disturbing, case study. For a

²¹Roberts et al., *Pesticide Exposure in Children*, e1768.

²² Ibid., e1780.

²³ Ibid., e1769.

well-rounded understanding of the growing ‘culture of asthma’ as an environmental justice issue one must learn both how pesticides act biologically and how children typically encounter them. To do this, this paper will focus on commonly used pesticides that are also associated with asthma (Organophosphates and methyl bromide) as well as the socioeconomic factors that place Latinx children at high risk for asthma.

Organophosphates are heavily used in the U.S. agribusiness. In 2010, the 32 organophosphates registered with the EPA accounted for 36 percent of all insecticides used in the U.S.²⁴. These chemicals are known their neurotoxic properties, which are exacerbated in children due to their developing brain and dose-to-body weight ratio. Furthermore, children also have lower levels of enzymes that are critical to the detoxification process once a person is exposed to an organophosphate²⁵. Both acute and chronic exposure to organophosphates is dangerous, especially for those continuously at risk of exposure through their occupation. Signs of poisoning include such vague ailments as headaches, nausea, vomiting, abdominal pain and dizziness²⁶. Additionally, symptoms can also be in the form of hypersecretion, which is expulsion of matter from the body in the form of diarrhea, sweating, salivation, etc. More progressive signs of poisoning include muscle weakness, wheezing, and respiratory problems. Severe poisoning can lead to lethargy, comas, and even seizures²⁷. In reviews of cases, The American Academy of Pediatrics found that progressive organophosphate poisoning in children resulted in 20-30 percent of children experiencing seizures, while 50-100 percent of children experienced lethargy, stupor, or a coma²⁸. Furthermore, a 2011 study by Bourchard et al. found

²⁴ Maryse F. Bouchard et al., *Prenatal Exposure to Organophosphate Pesticides and IQ in 7-Year-Old Children*, (Children’s Health, 2011), 1189.

²⁵ Bouchard et al., *Prenatal Exposure to Organophosphate*, 1189.

²⁶ Roberts et al., *Pesticide Exposure in Children*, e1770.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, e1770.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, e1669.

that organophosphates exposed to children in utero were likely to result in an average IQ 7.0 points lower than their unexposed counterparts²⁹. Thus, while the danger of poisonings is universal across ages, the risks are particularly great for children.

Methyl bromide is another common pesticide in agricultural fields. Widely used as a fumigant and often used as a pesticide in large-scale agriculture throughout the farming season³⁰, the chemical was banned in the late 80s and early 90s for its ozone-depleting characteristic³¹. Although set to be ‘phased out’ by 2005, methyl bromide was still used in 15 industrialized nations in 2012 as part of an exemption program (CUE)³². CUE allows the use of methyl bromide when there is no adequate substitution³³. In fact, as of 2001 methyl bromide is required for the fumigation of grapes within the U.S.³⁴. With this information, it is no surprise that methyl continues to be used for its effectiveness while simultaneously continuing to poison poor agricultural communities. The health effects of methyl bromide range in severity with correlation to exposure levels. This chemical can be absorbed through the skin (dermal exposure) and lungs (exposure through inhalation), and may be expelled through the lungs, urine and feces³⁵. Acute effects of poisoning when exposure happens through inhalation are most severe to the lungs resulting in poor respiratory functioning, though it also can cause kidney damage. Acute exposure to methyl bromide through inhalation can also cause liver irritation and neurological effects including but not limited to “headaches, dizziness, fainting, apathy, weakness, confusion,

²⁹ Bouchard et al., *Prenatal Exposure to Organophosphate*, 1194.

³⁰ *Methyl Bromide: EXTONENT: Extension Toxicology Network*, (Cornell University, 1993).

³¹ Lygia T Budnik et al., *Prostate cancer and toxicity from critical use exceptions of methyl bromide: Environmental protection helps protect against human health risks*, (Environmental Health, 2012), 2.

³² Budnik et al., *Prostate cancer and toxicity*, 2.

³³ *Ibid.*, 2.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 2.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 8.

speech impairment, visual effects, numbness, twitching, tremors and in severe cases paralysis and convulsions”³⁶. When dermally exposed, acute effects are itching, redness, and blistering³⁷.

Chronic effects resemble acute effects but are, however, they are more severe in nature and can affect reproductive health in women and men through fetal exposure and testicular cancer. Studies have found that chronic occupational exposure to methyl bromide increased mortality rates from testicular cancer, and an increase the risk prostate cancer³⁸. Methyl bromide is also known to be genotoxic in utero, which means that as a child grows within the womb, exposure through maternal contact with the chemical can prove detrimental to the child’s health. As a genotoxin, methyl bromide can damage genetic data creating DNA mutations. Additionally, its cytotoxic effects promote cell growth, and can lead to cancerous tumors³⁹. Thus, while there is little quantitative information on in utero exposure to methyl bromide, there is a strong basis for concern regarding fetal death. This should be taken extremely seriously as many women could be having miscarriages without knowing it due to high exposure, and lack of medical accessibility. For these reasons, it is likely that there is an under-reporting of miscarriages that occur within these communities, effecting the ability of medical professionals to document and address the issue. At all turns the children of fieldworkers are at high risk being harmed or even killed before they enter the world due to the use of methyl bromide in agribusiness. Furthermore, once out of the womb, the infants and children in these communities not safe as they are continuously of increasing exposure to pesticide hazards.

Pesticides like methyl bromide and organophosphates cause tangible harm to those who come into contact with them, especially in occupational realms where exposure is not optional.

³⁶ *Methyl Bromide: E X T O X N E T: Extension Toxicology Network*, (Cornell University, 1993).

³⁷ *Methyl Bromide: E X T O X N E T: Extension Toxicology Network*, (Cornell University, 1993).

³⁸ Budnik et al., *Prostate cancer and toxicity*, 7.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 3.

To humanize the experience of those most affected by pesticide exposure the focus now shifts to the Schwartz et al. case study in San Joaquin, California. In 2014, the study “*Where they (live, work and) Spray*”: *Pesticide exposure, childhood asthma and environmental justice among Mexican-American farmworkers* by Norah Schwartz et al. proved that children of Mexican descent in farmworker communities have significantly higher rates of asthma than children in other communities. This report leans on the finding of Carter-Pokras et al., which found that Mexican Americans had disproportionately higher exposure to pesticides, and humanizes the experience and statistic, creating a story compelling to those both within and outside of academia. The study notes the growing presence of asthma culture as the physical and social components of a community that produces proximity to toxins, resulting in elevated risk of asthma in the lives of farmworkers in the San Joaquin Valley.

The San Joaquin Valley is a wealthy agricultural area that exploits the labor of Latinx fieldworkers whom have limited occupational fluidity in the United States. The ecoregion makes billions of dollars annually from labor done by people who live in areas with poverty levels rivaling those in Appalachia⁴⁰. It houses the top agricultural producing counties, and not coincidentally the 10 most ozone-polluted counties within the United States⁴¹. The area encompasses counties that are among the most populated in the nation, with areas home to the highest Latinx populations also containing the areas with the highest levels of respiratory health risk⁴². While low socioeconomic status and race have been correlated with asthma disparities and pesticide exposure before, Schwartz offers new evidence that pesticide exposure is directly linked the prevalence of asthma within a community⁴³. These pesticides include

⁴⁰ Schwartz, “*Where they (live, work and) spray*”, 85.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 85.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 84.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 84.

organophosphates and herbicides that place Latinx children at risk of morbidity and death from pesticide related ailments such as asthma⁴⁴. The study found that Mexican American children ages 1-17 had a 5 percent higher rate of asthma than the national average⁴⁵. Asthma in Latinx agricultural communities is much more than an illness, its systematic oppression manifesting in the physical bodies of innocent children. This inevitable concentration of harm on Latinx children is a clear example of environmental and occupational racism and racialization.

Combining ethnographic interviews and photo evidence, the study “triangulated methods traditionally employed in medical anthropology”⁴⁶. Photos were taken by participants who were between the ages of 8-17, they were asked to create lists of places or things to take photos of that were related to breathing problems and inhibited good respiratory health⁴⁷. This allowed for the community to show their lived experiences of pesticide pollution both visually and through words. The importance of having locally-sourced knowledge on pesticide exposure is critical in assessing the actual threat pesticides create as much of the lived threat and harm done by agribusiness never is given credit. The accounts are not published, and if they are, the publications are not done through elite channels that those in power view as legitimate.

The results of this study focus on a rural community in Tulare county. The community was selected due to its extremely high percentage of schools with proximity to pesticide use. The California Environmental Health Tracking Program (2014) found that 63.4 percent of schools in this community were within a ¼ mile radius of pesticide application⁴⁸. Through the interviews and photo ethnography four main socio-environmental factors emerged as the most predominant

⁴⁴ Carter-Pokras et al., *The environmental health of Latino children*, (*Journal of Pediatric Health Care*, 2015), 309.

⁴⁵ Schwartz, “*Where they (live , work and) spray*”, 84

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 86.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 85.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 87.

in contributing to children's exposure to pesticides and respiratory health. These factors were “(i) residential proximity to agricultural contaminants, (ii) school boundaries, (iii) lack of environmentally friendly play spaces, and (iv) improper containment of pesticides”⁴⁹. These core issues affect families and show generational degradation of health. One woman in the study commented about the shift from no asthma in her generation to the current epidemic, ailing not one but three of her own grandchildren⁵⁰. In another interview, a woman stated that once while meeting with her grandchild's school the agricultural field next door was being sprayed with pesticides as children were outside playing, she said “some of the children got dizzy and one of them began to vomit”⁵¹. Evidence including photos and individual stories illustrate the fear of pesticide poisoning that saturates these communities every day. These stories are not unique to these communities, but the fact is that such situations are rarely documented academically. The lack of such accounts speaks to the power and control of the agribusiness owners over pesticide use, and silencing the voices of those effected.

The purpose of this study was to give voices to those overshadowed by agribusiness. Throughout the environmental movement race and class issues that intersected with environmental issues were ignored, as saving wildlife and national parks became the battle cry of mainstream environmentalism. San Joaquin was a battle ground in challenging this, starting in the 60s and 70s with the rise of farmworker rights movements. The fight for environmental justice continued throughout the years and has manifested in this academic study. This paper documented the voices of community members to humanize the environmental injustice done onto a community throughout generational lifespans. Through this process, it is giving agency to

⁴⁹ Ibid., 87.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 87.

⁵¹ Ibid., 88.

communities most affected by pesticide use by sharing their stories and dreams of improving the health of their children. This case study is an exemplary portrait of what is happening to Latinx children of field workers.

The San Joaquin Valley study incorporates all the major concepts of environmental justice by portraying pesticide poisoning as a lived experience. This is important for many reasons, the main being that it starts dialogue about pesticide poisoning in Latinx children who live near agricultural fields and live with family members who work in them. It brings in the sociological aspects of environmental justice that typically go unstudied such as race and class, while tying in physical and biological sciences. The effects of pesticides are vast yet asthma itself is a common effect of pesticide poisoning across many categories of chemicals. Moreover, asthma is commonly known as one of the clearest health indicators of class and race within the country. Thus, identifying the key factors of hard science and social science causes of such a phenomenon is crucial in remedying the chronic abuse of power within businesses like big agriculture.

The San Joaquin Valley case study also offers a model that academics everywhere can use to document environmental injustices using scientific methods legitimate for research and leading to publication. This last piece is critical for establishing a basis of knowledge about environmental justice issues that is viewed as credible by those in power. Science and social science journals serve as a source of validation for research, as they require submissions to follow proper research protocol and present high quality writing. Thus, the production of knowledge from them serves to inform the masses and increase literacy on environmental justice issues. These are issues that affect many, yet would otherwise remain unnamed, unaddressed, and unheard if not studied and documented by academics.

The overall purpose of this paper was to illuminate the disproportionate pesticide poisonings in Latinx communities, specifically within the child subpopulation. While there is a need for expanding the knowledge base of environmental justice, case studies of environmental injustices, and theory to build off. By combining the documented pesticide use, area demographics, and health records Schwartz combines the fundamentals of environmental justice to create a holistic story of the San Joaquin Valley. Schwartz then takes it a step farther through bringing personal stories from those who experience environmental injustices daily. This in turn humanizes the concept of environmental injustice- a critical action within the realm of academia. This paper provides an insight into one aspect of environmental justice, pesticide poisoning in Latinx fieldworkers' families. Through researching only one concept, it is clear that the complexity of an environmental injustice requires more from the academic realm, social media, and government. Through highlighting environmental justice through a specific and holistic lens, change can happen, and articles like that of Schwartz is the first step.

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The Implications of Anti-Immigrant Sentiment and Restrictive Health Care Access on Undocumented Immigrant Health

Ana Maria Viteri

The health outcomes of the undocumented population, their children, and overall immigrant community are at risk. Today this nation is the home to an estimated 46 million international migrants (Messias, 2015). Within this population of immigrants in the United States, it was estimated in 2010 that approximately 11.2 million members of this group are undocumented immigrants (Messias, 2015). Undocumented immigrants include “those who enter the country legally with valid student, tourist, or temporary work visas but subsequently overstay the period of visa or fall out of status” (Messias, 2015). From a demographic standpoint, about 64% of the undocumented population are of Hispanic origin between the ages of 18 and 40 years (Beck, 2018). This age range encompasses the reproductive years of most individuals. Consequently, more than 4 million people in the United States are the US-born children of undocumented immigrants (Beck, 2018). These staggering numbers continue to grow every single day, and serve as evidence to the relevant topic of “undocumentedness” in the United States. Access to health care services are extremely limited within this population, and this results to severe health care disparities within this uniquely vulnerable, immigrant community. Therefore, the purpose of this analysis is to discuss two points: the health care problems disproportionately afflicting undocumented immigrants and the influence of anti-immigrant sentiments on the United States’ policies on immigration. These discussions points clarify the connections between anti-immigrant sentiments and health disparities.

The immigrant journey is made up of many challenges that inherently impact the health of their constituents. In addition to learning a new language, immigrants must also learn to navigate through the social, economic, and structural barriers that are unique to each country. Distance from one’s family and everything one has ever known can, naturally, translate into severe psychological distress. For undocumented immigrants, these struggles are coupled with the constant worry of “the potential or actual arrest and deportation of self or family members” (Messias, 2015). There are notable negative physiological costs to immigrants living under prolonged stress in conditions of poverty, discrimination, and victimization (Desantis, 1997). An analysis completed by Beck and colleagues revealed that common morbidities experienced amongst the undocumented immigrant population include cerebrovascular and heart disease.

Prolonged exposure to discrimination and victimization are “strongly associated with the onset of cardiovascular disease among initially healthy adults” (Larkin and Chantler, 2019). Therefore, these stress conditions could likely increase levels of high blood sugar, high blood pressure, “and other health risks among Latinos and Latino immigrants” (Philbin and Flake, 2017). Despite knowing the health risks faced by this vulnerable group, a study conducted in 2010 revealed that “29% of immigrants and their U.S.-born children (under 18) lacked health insurance compared with 13.8% of natives and their children” (Messias, 2015). Access to health insurance is a prime marker for health outcomes. However, not only is access to health care limited amongst the undocumented population, but other social services are also severely restricted. Social services including food stamps, non-emergency health care, Supplemental Security Income, and cash assistance to dependent families are not legally accessible to undocumented immigrants (DeSantis, 1997). The gaps created by unequal access to health care and social services become even more challenging to close when factors such as lack of “economic resources, English language proficiency, experiences of marginalization” and skepticism of the health care system are considered (Messias, 2015). In fact undocumented immigrants may avoid seeking medical services in general due to the fear of having to disclose their immigration status or being unable to pay costly medical bills. Ultimately, this fear translates to increased risks of morbidity or mortality amongst the parents of U.S.-born children – children whose futures and dreams may be stunted as a result of the immigration policies that prevent their undocumented parents from accessing healthcare at an affordable cost.

The public discourse that looks down upon immigrants on top of the systematic regulations that limit their access to health and social services, continues to affect the health outcomes of this population. Not only is the access to health care highly limited, but as previously stated, this population is also less likely to seek medical attendance to begin with. Factors that contribute to their apprehension to seek medical attendance can include lack of economic resources, language barriers, and most importantly, fear of deportation. Undocumented immigrants “may avoid [medical] seeking services because of fear that health care providers will require proof of residency or report them to federal immigration authorities” (Messias, 2015). However, this apprehension is not based on mere skepticism. Ballot initiatives such as California’s Proposition 187, although later deemed unconstitutional, “required health care professionals to verify immigration status and report [undocumented immigrants] to authorities”

(Beck 2018). Following this legal proposition, research showed that diagnosis of autism and tuberculosis rose again among Latinos, “underlining the serious health consequences when such legislation restricts healthcare access” (Philbin and Flake, 2017). State-level immigration policies of this kind create confusion over eligibility for services amongst the undocumented population. Many become unsure whether medical services will be provided once immigration status is disclosed. Furthermore, the proposal of anti-immigrant policies, such as Arizona’s 2010 State Bill 1070, “required state and local law enforcement to check the immigration status of individuals suspected of being undocumented, and made it a state crime for noncitizens to fail to carry proper immigration documentation” (Almeida and Biello, 2016). This policy essentially attempted to legalize the racial profiling of individuals “presumed to be foreign simply based on their physical appearance or speech” (Almeida and Biello, 2016). According to Toomey and colleagues “a study of healthcare and public assistance utilization conducted before and after the passage of Arizona's State Bill 1070 revealed decreased health service use among Mexican-American mothers, the majority of whom were US citizens, and their US-born infants.” Moreover, it “negatively impacted Latino youth’s sense of being American, which caused a lower level of psychological well-being and lowered self-esteem” (Philbin and Flake, 2017). Ultimately, policies such as California’s Proposition 187 and Arizona’s State Bill 1070, are harmful initiatives that create a climate of social hostility towards immigrants, documented or undocumented, and have detrimental effects on the health of migrants, their children, and overall Latino community.

The quality of life of the overall Latino community, immigrants, and their children is also dramatically impacted by structural racism. Structural racism refers to the “social forces, institutions, ideologies, and processes that interact with one another to generate and reinforce inequities among racial and ethnic groups; research depicts exclusionary immigration policies, as a form of structural racism” (Philbin and Flake, 2017). Anti-Immigrant policies, such as California’s Proposition 187 and Arizona’s State Bill 1070, are harmful policies that operate under the circulation of untrue myths, appeals to emotion, and personal belief. This structural racism and the inherent stress that comes from such legislation “discourages Latino immigrants, both documented and undocumented, from engaging in many aspects of daily life” (Philbin and Flake, 2017). Evidence suggests that stress and stigma “generated by the passage of immigration-related legislation increased food insecurity for mixed-status families and lowered

enrollment in the Supplemental Nutritional Assistance Program (SNAP)” (Philbin and Flake, 2017). Even though immigration-related legislation often tends to drive immigrants away from utilizing federally-funded resources, there is a persisting public narrative that blames the undocumented population for exploiting social and economic resources such as public schools, law enforcement, and as has been discussed, health services. Undocumented immigrants are frequently accused of “tak[ing] jobs away from other disadvantaged groups who were *born here* and are *real Americans* and fail to pay *their own way*, sticking to American taxpayers with the bill for their upkeep” (DeSantis, 1997). This hostile attitude prompts the making of policies that directly restrict undocumented immigrants to many health and social benefits. However, in countering this narrative “it is important to note that the lack of access to affordable, culturally and linguistically appropriate primary care compounds the cost of care for undocumented and documented immigrants” (Messias, 2015). Moreover, arguments that undocumented immigrants place an economic pressure on society, often overlook the economic contributions of undocumented immigrants or the taxes that they pay for local, state, and national entities (Messias, 2015). As noted by Miller and Light, researchers have suggested that immigration “is a net economic positive as it increases tax revenue, infuses new business and social capital, and fills employment niches that complement native-born labor sectors (Light and Miller, 2018). Lastly, even though undocumented immigration is also blamed for overburdening and overpopulating local schools “there are no comprehensive studies of the actual costs of immigration, whether documented or undocumented, to public schools and local communities” (Ayon, 2009).

Immigration has become a divisive feature of contemporary politics. According to Light and Miller, the United States is experiencing its highest wave of immigrant influx in all of its history, leading to negative attitudes towards the foreign born. The backbone of this anti-immigrant narrative is the presumptive link that unauthorized immigration tends to increase crime. Over the years, these concerns have translated from a general public concern to a federal government priority. In fact “between 1986 and 2008, the number of U.S. Border Patrol officers increased 5-fold while the budget for border enforcement increased 20-fold” (Light and Miller 2018). Needless to say, the United States has invested a significant amount of its economic resources and political power towards reducing “purported crimes associated with undocumented immigration” (Light and Miller, 2018). The notion that immigrants increase crime may be

partially explained by the social disorganization theory. This theory explains that given the living conditions undocumented immigrants are under, they are systematically “hindered from effectively forming economic and social ties as a result of their lack of legal standing in the community” (Light and Miller 2018). Their lack of legal standing in the country may lead to the breakdown of important institutions such as family, employment, and neighborhood cohesion. Their lack of citizenship in the United States may lead to the breakdown of these social safety nets. Presumptively, this would allow immigrants to fall through the holes of the system, thus increasing the chances that they may engage in deviant behavior.

Even though the disorganization theory proposes a reasonable explanation towards the immigration and crime narrative, research demonstrates that it does not capture the full story. There is an extra layer of complexity to the narrative of immigrants, documented or undocumented, and this is represented by the revitalization perspective. This perspective proposes several arguments that suggest that immigration might actually help *reduce* crime. It discusses the selection factors embedded within immigration, the economic revitalization immigrants offer the communities they enter, and their natural, non-deviant disposition. To start, the immigration process is a daunting and time-consuming process. It is selective for motivated individuals who are willing to go through “considerable planning, [and have] the resources, and human capital” to successfully emigrate from their country of origin (Light, 2017). In addition to immigration being a difficult process to go through, the individuals or families that successfully move to the United States often relocate to disadvantaged communities. In fact, despite their lack of legal standing in the country “a full 93 percent of working-age unauthorized men were in the labor force in 2009” (Light and Miller, 2018). As a result, they invigorated and bolstered the local economy of these disadvantaged areas “by infusing business and social capital into stagnating urban economies” (Light, 2017). Lastly, as newcomers, immigrants are not familiar with the local culture of the spaces they enter. Therefore, they are less inclined to participate in crime-like behavior that would be expected if they knew about “the code of the streets”. The term “the code of the streets” encompasses the notion that individuals living in disadvantaged communities utilize a set of values and behaviors centered on violent actions to gain respect and power within a community (Light, 2017). Moreover, rather than simply avoiding crime-like behavior or being unaware of them, there are structural aspects to immigrant households that discourage deviant activities. Immigrant households are characterized by intact two-parent

families and strong ties with their relatives and neighbors. These characteristics “increase community social organization and provide considerable monitoring to regulate deviant behavior” (Light, 2017). Together these factors serve to re-shape our understanding about the immigrant population, documented or undocumented, and their roles in the crime narrative of the United States.

Even though academic literature provides overwhelming evidence that immigrants tend to reduce crime in this country, negative outlooks on this population persist. A second focus of this paper is to specifically investigate the implications of anti-immigrant sentiments on policy-making that determine health care access in the undocumented population. We can finalize this discussion by understanding how these negative sentiments towards immigrants manifest themselves through present healthcare policies. The implementation of the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act (PPACA) provided a sense of hope to individuals of lower socioeconomic status, many of whom, are not able to afford health care coverage plans. The PPACA plan was one of the “most important federal health care polic[ies]” that resulted “in several new health care coverage options, including Pre-Existing Condition Insurance Plans, state- or federally-run insurance exchanges, and premium tax credit to help make health insurance more affordable” (Patient Protection). However, undocumented immigrants are not eligible to apply for this health care coverage plan given their lack of immigration status in the country. Even children under Deferred Action for Children Arrival (DACA), a policy emplaced to allow individuals brought to the United States unlawfully as children to have a social security number, among other benefits, are not always eligible (U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services). Today, the main form of health care access available to undocumented immigrants was granted by the Emergency Medical Treatment and Active Labor Act. This act was emplaced to ensure that under circumstances of a medical emergency, no patient is denied medical care regardless of citizenship, legal status, or ability to pay (DeSantis, 1997). However, the prospect of delaying medical assistance up to the point of a medical emergency is not a healthy or sustainable form of health care. Preventative measures should be made available earlier. Once again, such limited access translates into tremendous health disparities for future generations, since it denies “the right to health care to [the parents of] a significant number of the nation’s youth” (Messias, 2015). More than 4 million people in the United States are the US-born children of undocumented immigrants (Beck, 2018). If their parents, friends, or community members are not

able to access health care, this creates a sense exclusion from the rest of society. This perpetuates diseases and illnesses among the undocumented population- an important population in the United States. Unequal access to health care among the undocumented population is “an indication that both health care reform and comprehensive immigration reform are still works in progress” (Messias, 2015).

In conclusion, the effects of immigration in the United States has been a controversial topic of debate and scholarly research. This paper focused on two topics relevant to the discussion of the immigration narrative in this country. The first being the discussion regarding the health care problems disproportionately afflicting the undocumented immigrant population. The second being the discussion on current literature regarding anti-immigrant sentiments in the United States and their role in shaping policies on immigration. These two discussion points created a critical connection between anti-immigrant sentiments and unequal health care access. Understanding the interaction and relationship between these two institutions provides insight into the needs of this rapidly increasing population. It encourages us to learn the health care and political dynamic that leads to the perpetuation of unequal treatment and disparate health outcomes in the documented and undocumented immigrant population. In summary, “the wealth of evidence suggests that [anti-immigrant sentiments and] exclusionary policies, [such as California’s Proposition 187 and Arizona’s State Bill 1070], negatively affect the health of Latinos in the U.S.—regardless of immigration- or documentation-status” (Philbin and Flake, 2017). Moreover, contrary to the “expectations rooted in classic articulations of social disorganization theory, recent increases in Latino immigrants are generally associated” with reductions in crime (Light, 2017). The revitalization perspective supports this argument and the notion that immigration should be associated with decreases in crime. Moreover, immigration is a selective process that involves considerable planning; therefore, it selects for high-achieving and motivated individuals. Immigrants also have a lower predisposition for criminal behavior and revitalize the economy in the disadvantaged communities they enter. This perspective is highly supported by scholarly research, and is useful in not only re-shaping the public discourse on the immigration and crime narrative, but is also critical towards the “development of more inclusive and health-promoting policies” in the United States (Philbin and Flake, 2017). Current public discourse on immigration has negatively influenced policies related to health care access for the undocumented population. From ineligibility to health care coverage plans like the Patient

Protection and Affordable Care Act (PPACA) to lower utilization rates and high distrust in the health care system, the health of the undocumented population is at high risks. These high health risk factors are a reflection of a source of reasons “ranging from a lack of health insurance and not having a regular health care provider to limited English proficiency, poverty, stigmatization and marginalization, and living in fear of arrest and deportation” (Messias, 2015). These conditions are indicators of the racial and ethnic disparities in the United States. Moving on forward, it is important to create policies that are more inclusive and mindful of the needs of the immigrant population- documented or undocumented. The needs of this population are increasing in magnitude and in complexity; therefore, provision of “safe, linguistically and culturally appropriate health care to all [people] regardless of current immigration status” must be a priority for policy-makers. These efforts are critical in order to achieve societal unity and are ultimately grounded on the principles of compassion, respect, and justice for all.

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Community Vulnerability in Logan Square: How does Logan Square’s vulnerability to gentrification affect schools demographics in the Chicago area?

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Abstract

Our research project argues that there is a correlation between a community’s vulnerability to gentrification and changing in demographics in its public school. The situation of Logan Square, a historically Hispanic neighborhood in the Northwest side of Chicago in Illinois, supports this argument. Scholar Lisa Bates compared Logan Square’s demographics in comparison to Chicago’s demographics and identified factors that made the neighborhood vulnerable to gentrification. Building on Bates’ work, we used secondary data analysis for the elementary and high school demographics, and applied Bates’ (2013) neighborhood typology to Logan Square’s American Community Survey. Through our research, we saw slight changes in public school demographics, primarily in high schools. These changes included a decrease in Hispanic students and an increase in white students’ percentages. Yet, through Bates’ (2013) methodologies, we found that Logan Square is not vulnerable to gentrification, because as we concluded that it is already gentrified. This project is important because it examines the effects of gentrification on local, public schools. Previous research primarily looks at gentrifiers and the power of choice they have when determining where their students attend schools. Looking at the local community schools itself illustrates the correlation between gentrification and impact on public schools.

Introduction

The Logan Square area in Chicago has been known as a diverse community that has a “heterogeneous mix of Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, other Latin Americans, recent Polish immigrants, established white residents, and African Americans” (Blanc, Goldwasser, & Brown, 2003). However, since the early 1990s, residents have been threatened with increasingly fewer options for living in the Logan Square area (Blanc et al., 2003). Having lived in the community for the entirety of their life, one of the authors who grew up in Logan Square can provide testimony to these changes within my community. The ever-changing landscape with new

condos, new businesses, new resources, and attractions have taken over family houses that family and friends once lived in.

It has been something of importance to us since entering college to learn and educate ourselves about gentrification and how this affects those who have lived there for a long period of time. Upon research, our literature review has led us to new information about how gentrification takes place and the effects it has on a community vulnerable to gentrification in the school/education setting. Our research examines Logan Square's vulnerability to gentrification and how this affects local, public school demographics. Our findings suggest a very slight change in demographics.

Gentrification is affecting Humboldt Park/Logan Square area in Chicago. Not only does gentrification increase property value and displace families from the community, but it also affects the community's schools. Our research examines the correlation between Logan Square's vulnerability to gentrification and demographic changes in its local, public schools. Specifically, we ask *how is gentrification affecting the educational opportunities of Latinx and Hispanic student population in the Logan Square area of Chicago*. In the literature review, we crafted three themes found in prior literature that helps support our claim of the correlation between vulnerability to gentrification and students' demographics in Chicago. After the literature review, we discuss the mixed methodologies we used, our results, and then discuss what should happen in response to the findings.

Literature Review

Prior research has attempted to understand why certain poor neighborhoods are more susceptible to gentrification than others (Lees, Slater, & Wyly, 2008; Hwang & Sampson, 2014; Timberlake & Johns-Wolfe, 2017; Curran 2018). Smith defines gentrification as, "The process...by which poor and working-class neighborhoods in the inner cities refurbished via an influx of private capital and middle-class homebuyers and renters" (Smith, 1996; Timberlake & Johns-Wolfe, 2017). In 2008, Lees, Slater, and Wyly rewrote the gentrification definition stating, "The transformation of working-class and vacant areas of the central city into middle-class residential and/or commercial use" (Timberlake & Johns-Wolfe, 2017). Both definitions state that at its core, gentrification is the process in which poor communities are changed, not by the community already residing there, but by a foreign group for the lifestyle of the foreign group.

Vulnerability and Displacement

Further research explains the impact of gentrification on the community being affected, and why these communities are vulnerable to gentrification. Hwang and Sampson (2014) contend that lower-income neighborhoods are more likely to gentrify based on their proximity to a higher income community. Furthermore, the vulnerability of gentrification is due to the proximity of different resources (Hwang & Sampson, 2014). Resources and attractions such as transportation, parks, waterfronts, large institutions, hospitals, and downtown businesses all influence people when deciding where to move into a community (Hwang & Sampson, 2014).

Similar to Hwang and Simpson's theory about the resources that influence the vulnerability to gentrification, Curran (2018) states that the impacts of gentrification regarding the original community consist of an increase in rent, property values, and the displacement of originally community members (Curran, 2018). Although there is other displacement literature stating that there is less displacement in gentrifying areas compared to poor neighborhoods in general (Newman & Wyly, 2006). Yet, Curran also theorizes that the effects of gentrification include not only housing affordability but the nature of belonging and identity towards the original community impacted by gentrification. The communities being affected and displaced by gentrification lose the feeling of community and security in the physical landscape of where they reside and socialize (Curran, 2018).

Gentrification in Chicago

The gentrification of Chicago is also a highly studied topic. A major theme detailed in the literature is the city's initiative to become a "Global City" (Lipman, 2002). During the 1990's Chicago gained residents after a half-century of population loss (Helms, 2003). The "back-to-the-city" phenomenon presented by Helms (2003) indicates the beginning stages of gentrification in Chicago. With affluent white resident moving back to Chicago, the push to become a "Global City" increased (Lipman, 2002). A "Global City" is defined as a concentration of sophisticated services, such as housing and the city's physical landscape, that are attractive to international business and corporate headquarters (Lipman, 2002). Nyden, Edlynn, and Davis (2006) looked at gentrification primarily in Chicago and the Humboldt Park area which is near Logan Square. In this and other neighborhoods, developers tear down old homes to build condominiums and other structures that attract gentrifiers (Nyden, Edlynn, & Davis, 2006). The expansion of a "Global City" also implies making Chicago communities through factors such as decreasing gang

violence, improving “ghetto” communities as an investment for the wealthy (Wilson & Grammenos, 2005). Due to the presence and the city’s initiative to become a “Global City,” there is a push to solve local problems through gentrification. Gentrification in communities in Chicago thus allows affluent people to profit from markets developed in communities facing despair and racism (Mumm, 2017). Furthermore, the “fix” in spatial environments that are racial, thus promotes profiting off the devalorization of properties in the poorer neighborhoods that are then subjected to gentrification (Harvey, 1981; Mumm, 2017). Although there may be initial pushback from the community that is affected by gentrification, it is not taken into consideration by the “renewal” trend and rebuilding of Chicago. Rather, the norm is to become a “Global City” by any means necessary.

Gentrification in Logan Square

Logan Square covers an area of 3.6 square miles and is located on the North West side of Chicago (Blanc et al., 2003). Between the years of 1970 and 1990, the demographics of Logan Square shifted from majority Eastern European ancestry to a majority population of first- and second-generation immigrants from Latin America (Blanc et al., 2003). Today, Logan Square’s population of 83,000 remains a heterogeneous mix of Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, other Latin Americans, and recent Polish immigrants, established white residents, and African Americans (Blanc et al., 2003). Within Blanc’s study, the Logan Square Neighborhood Association (LSNA) is researched and analyzed for three years. The findings suggest that LSNA has predominantly worked towards a unification of the community by recruiting local leaders and parents from local schools to be a part of change and movements (Blanc et al., 2003). LSNA focused on housing organizations, displacements, and school education/funding (Blanc et al., 2003). LSNA has used gentrification to its advantage to create a movement towards an anti-gentrification organization to give the community back to the people (Blanc et al., 2003). As the literature explains, there is the knowledge of gentrification within Logan Square, the pushback and creation of the LSNA exhibit original residents of Logan Square using their power to deter gentrification.

Gentrification and School Choice

There is extensive research on education and its correlation with gentrification as well (DeSena Judith, 2002; Keels, Burdick-Will, & Keene, 2013; Pearman & Sawain, 2017; Waitoller

& Super, 2017). However, the studies and research primarily look at the choices gentrifiers make. Gentrifiers are individuals and families that are participating in the process of gentrification, such as moving into a gentrified area, are normally in their later twenties and do not have children (DeSena Judith, 2002). However, gentrifiers that do have children normally do not use the local, community schools in the gentrified area, but chose to send their children to private or choice schools that are not in the gentrified community (DeSena Judith, 2002). Furthermore, families of lower-income have few options in choosing the type of education their student receives, whereas gentrifying families have the option of giving their children a “quality education” (DeSena Judith, 2002; Keels, Burdick-Will, & Keene, 2013). Having this ability and choice, gentrifying families can send their children to attend private schools outside of the community, furthering the segregation and stratification within the local, public schools.

Along with the increase in gentrification comes an increase in school choice. Communities are more vulnerable to gentrification when school choices surrounding the community increase (Pearman & Swain, 2017). In addition, charter and magnet schools are also being placed near areas that are being gentrified or already gentrified (Pearman & Swain, 2017). This is related to the fact that Chicago is effectively being torn down and built up again for more affluent households, displacing poorer families of color (Waitoller & Super, 2017). Since Chicago is being rebuilt for educated households, the increased installation of charter schools follows from the idea that the Chicago Public Schools fail to serve students with regular curriculum or special education (Waitoller & Super, 2017).

Gentrification’s effect on communities and local, public schools, is grim. Not only are communities displaced, but the gentrifier does not utilize the local, public schools, opting instead for charter, magnet, or private schools that are not in the gentrified location. This is also seen in Logan Square since its gentrification started in the 1970s and 1990s, displacement has become a fixture and fear of the gentrified community, which historically is Hispanic. The displacement and school choice have further implications on the demographics of local, public schools in Logan Square. In the next section, we will go over the mixed methodologies used to find a correlation between Logan Square’s vulnerability to gentrification and a change in local, public school demographics.

Methods

In an attempt to understand the vulnerability of a community as well as the demographic change within Logan Square during this project we used mixed methodologies to research how gentrification impacts schools in Logan Square. The methodologies, including neighborhood typology and secondary data analysis. For neighborhood typology, we paralleled our approach with Bates' (2013) method. Bates' (2013) methodology exclusively looks at a community's vulnerability to gentrification. Although we used Bates original methodology as guidance, we customized her guidelines to better fit our project in Logan Square. From Bates' (2013) methodology, we used her guidelines for vulnerability and demographic change. Bates writes that in order for a community to be vulnerable to gentrification, the community must adhere to three of the four standards: greater than 55.9 percent of households are renters, greater than 67.7 percent of the population are communities of color, greater than 63.5 percent of the population over 25 years of age do not have a bachelor's degree, and greater than 65.4 percent of the households have incomes at or below the 80 percent of the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) adjusted median family income (MFI). Percentages were determined based on the percentage from the population of the Chicago area. Bates uses a common method to distinguish different neighborhood types based on the rate of change relative to the city among key indicator variables. As for calculating the threshold for each section of the data retrieved was based on the citywide percentage adjusted by the margin of error (MOE) given from the ACS data website. For example, the percentage of the household renters was calculated 55.9 percent with a MOE of +/-0.3 resulting in a threshold of 55.87 percent.

Like Bates, we used a tract from the ACS five-year estimate from 2011 to 2016. We used American Community Surveys (ACS) to gather our information. The tract we used specifically traced the zip code: 60647 in advanced search when collecting data from Logan Square. From there we also used information from the ACS regarding the general population of Chicago. For neighborhood typology, we then computed ACS data from 2013 to 2017 for Chicago and Logan Square. Furthermore, to do mixed methodologies, we took the data from both data sets and compared during the years that the corresponded: 2014, 2015, 2016, and 2017. It is important to include yearly percentages between 2012 and 2013 because gentrification processes can play out over a decade or more. As for demographic change, three out of the four standards regarding demographic change must be met to be correlated to vulnerability to gentrification. The four

standards are: the share of ownership has increased or decreased by 5.0 percent; the white population share has increased or decreased by 6.1 percent. The share of the population 25 years or older with a college degree has increased more than 19.4 percent, and the median household income has increased or decreased by 6.5 percent. Or, two of the four which were: white population share either increased or it decreased less than 6.1 percent and the share of the population 25 years and older with a bachelor's degree increased more than 19.4 percent needed to be met.

The second methodology used is secondary data analysis. The data used for secondary data analysis was collected from the Illinois State Board of Education's website "Illinois Report Card" (2018). Through which we collected data from five schools that are within a three-mile radius or and around Logan Square. Three elementary and middle schools were chosen and two high schools were chosen. The specific data collected from each school's "report cards" included the percentages of students' race and ethnicity within the five-year range of 2014 to 2018. After collecting the data, we then created averages of each, per race or demographic for elementary and high schools.

Results

The results focus on the vulnerability of the neighborhood to determine how likely Logan Square is to being gentrified. Although findings, according to the methodologies of Bates, suggest that the vulnerability is low, it is important to consider the years of data in question. The American Community Survey data it is restricted to information for a limit of five years only. It is noted in our literature review that gentrification happens in a longer span of years. It was important for us to attempt to quantify the vulnerability because the firsthand experience isn't sufficient and although the data did not strongly support our viewpoints, it did give insight into the relative changing factors of the Logan Square community. Using Bates' (2013) methodologies, vulnerable tracts are defined as those with a vulnerability score of at least 3 out of 4.

Table 1: Vulnerability to Gentrification

Tracts scores 3-4 (1 point each for the following)

2016 Vulnerability	(Logan Square: 60647)	Chicago (City)
Risk Factor		
Communities of color	67.7%	58.9%
Renters	73.6%	55.9%
Population 25+ without bachelor's degree	53.6%	63.5%
At or below 80% MFI	58.8%	65.4%
Total vulnerability score	2	-

Source: ACS, 2016; HUD, 2016

Table 2: Demographic Change

Tract scores 3 of the following or 2 out of 4, which were:

The white population share either increased or it decreased less than 6.1%

The share of the population 25 years and older with a bachelor's degree increased more than 19.4%

2016 Demographic Change	(Logan Square: 60647)	Chicago (City)
Change Factor		
Percent white	5.0%	-6.1%
Percent homeowners	0.75%	-5.0%
Percent pop. 25+ with bachelor's degree	16.5%	19.4%
Median household income	21.3%	6.5%
Demographic change score	2	-

Source: ACS, 2016

During our secondary data analysis, we noticed that there is not a significant change in demographics for elementary schools in the Logan Square area. Although there is a decrease in Hispanic students from 2014 to 2018, the decrease is 2.8 percent over five years. Yet, there is an increase in white students as well, but the demographics increased by only 0.9 percent. Appendix A illustrates the changes in the demographics of three elementary schools surrounding Logan Square. As shown in Appendix B, the high schools' demographics illustrated more variability and higher demographic changes. In 2014, Hispanic students in both high schools averaged out to 59.3 percent but within a five-year range, high school Hispanic demographics decreased to 54 percent, decreasing by 5.3 percent. In correlation, the percentage of white students increased from 2014 to 2017 by 2.2 percent, but the decrease in 2018.

Discussion

One of the main reasons for choosing a topic concerning gentrification was the first encounter experiences seen in Chicago. Logan Square is one of the many surrounding communities targeted for gentrification. Initially, we were expecting the data and calculations to align with our literature review findings of the vulnerability to gentrification. Yet, using the methodologies from Lisa Bates showed otherwise. It was especially surprising to have a low vulnerability score when, as mentioned before, gentrification is present in the community. As we analyzed the data further we came to a possible conclusion as to why Logan Square scored low. Gentrification happens during more than five years. From our literature review, gentrification has been present in the Logan Square community from the early 1990s (Blanc et al., 2003). We've concluded that Logan Square is no longer in the process of gentrifying because it has already gentrified. Additional information about the white population surpassing the Hispanic/Latinx population of the area reinforces our view.

In regards to the secondary data analysis, our findings correlate to DeSena's (2002) work. Since gentrifiers are more likely to not have children, this should not necessarily affect local, public schools demographics. Furthermore, another point that would not necessarily change the demographics is due to gentrifier parents using school choice and sending their children to a magnet, charter, or private schools that are not within the gentrified community. Further studies of the correlation between gentrified areas and its impact on local, public schools should look at the students that have left the school through due to gentrification such as displacement.

Conclusion

Our research focused on the Chicago community of Logan Square and the effects of gentrification on school demographics. Upon analyzing and calculating our research, our findings suggest a very slight change in demographics and a low score on vulnerability to gentrification. These findings, we conclude is since Logan Square is already gentrified, and that gentrifying parents do not utilize local, public schools. Further research should be done with data from the early 1990s up until the present to be able to present a clearer trend. Suggestions for anti-gentrification from further community engagement by the LSNA organization that empower and provide resources for parents and local communities to vocalize the issues that are brought about from gentrification. Expanding research to beyond Logan Square would also be beneficial to recognize earlier signs of gentrification to nearby communities.

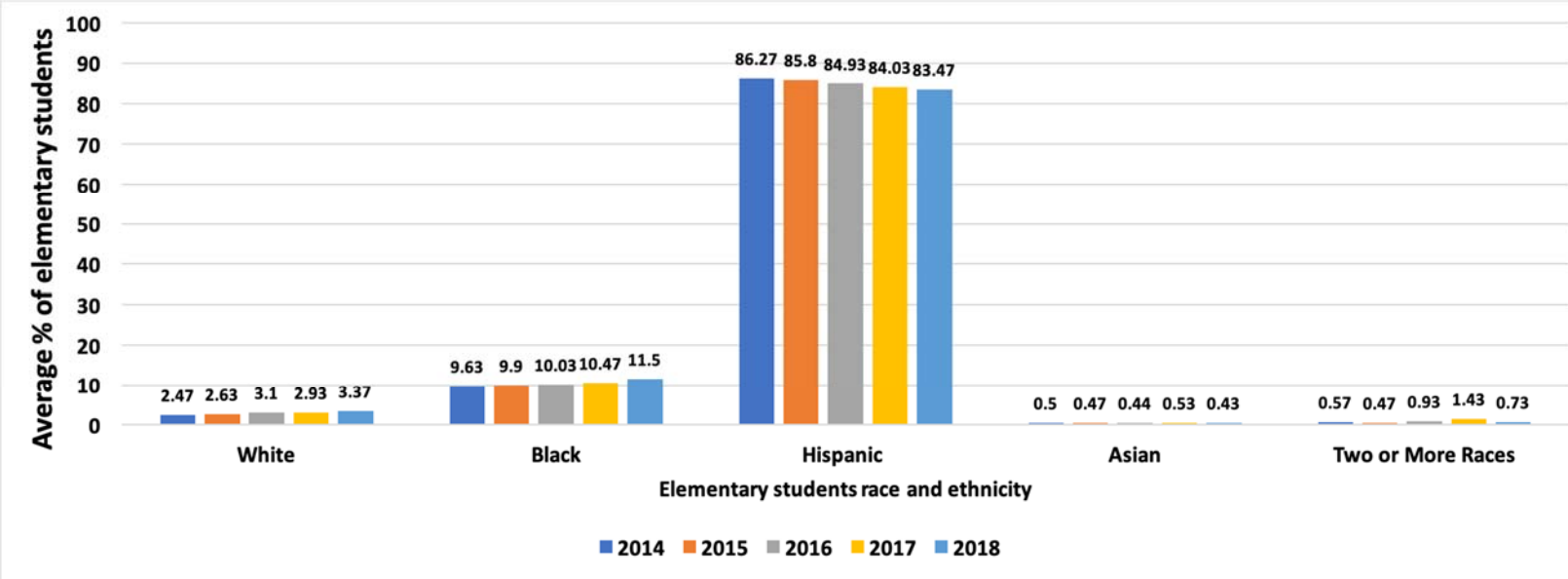
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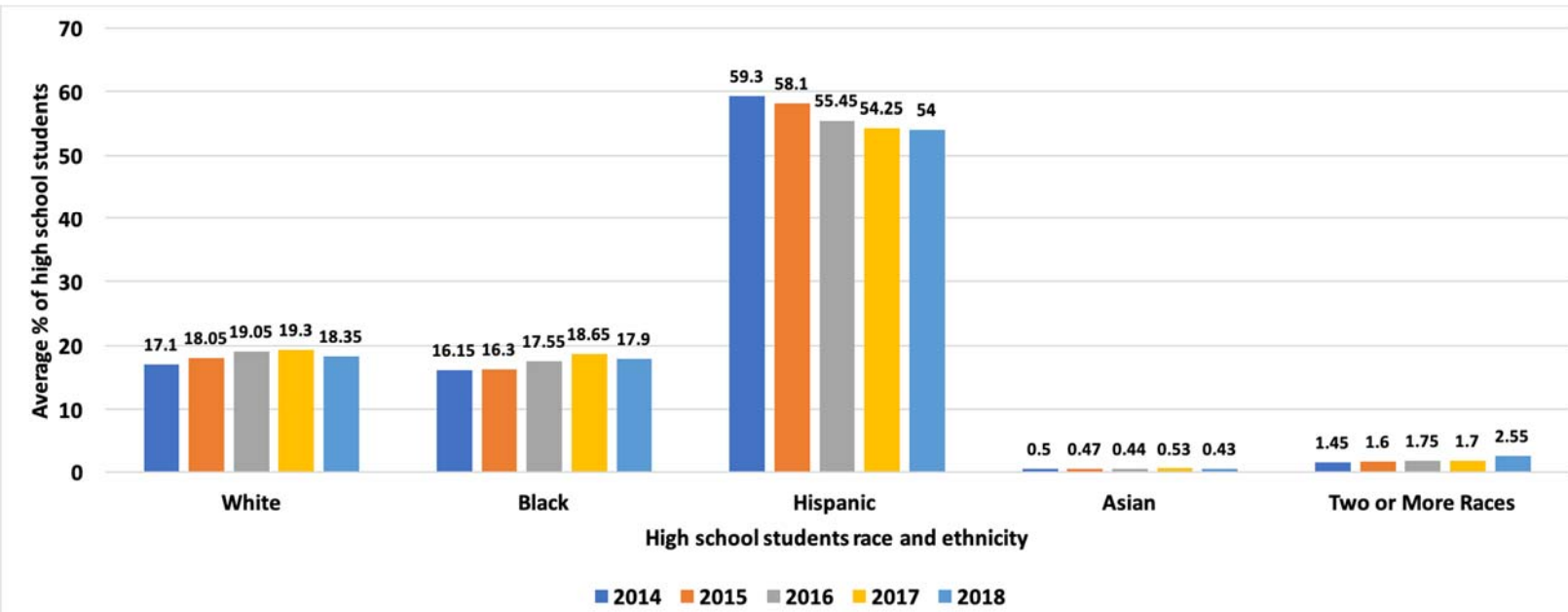
Appendix A

Average Demographic Information from Logan Square's Public Elementary Schools
(2014-2018)



Appendix B

Average Demographic Information from Logan Square's Public High Schools
(2014-2018)



Community Health Care Outreach Guide: Serving the Latino Population of Madison, WI

Melina Chavarria

Abstract

Are you a UW-Madison student interested in volunteering with health care organizations working to support the Latino community in Madison? Great! Your first step is to learn more about the community you want to work with. Here is a brief introduction and a few things you may want to think about as you start your journey. Even if you think you're pretty familiar with Latinos in Wisconsin, the picture of that community's health situation that emerges from official statistics may surprise you. Keep all of this in mind and use this guide as an important tool that will provide you with specific strategies to conduct outreach and examples of current health-care volunteering opportunities and organizations.

Background: Latinos in Madison, WI

The words "Hispanic or Latino¹" are typically used to refer to someone with roots in Mexico, Puerto Rico, South or Central America, or another Spanish-speaking society in the Americas regardless of race (Ennis, 2011). According to the 2010 US census, 50 million out of the 300 million people who reside in the United States are Hispanic or Latino. However, this number is disproportionately distributed across the US. For example, California is home to over 15.48 million Latinos (Statistics Portal, 1917) while more rural states like Wisconsin, are home to just over 370,000 (Perv, 2014). Madison, in particular, houses only about 15,000 Latinos (Ennis, 2011). Though these numbers come from census data and aim to include all individuals, it is important to note that they may be misleading in that they may not include undocumented individuals who refrain from being counted in fear of deportation or similar issue.²

With this in mind, it is important to reflect on the specific needs of this population. Undocumented individuals in particular are subjected to discriminatory animosity spurred by recent presidential policies and are constantly reminded that they do not have the same rights as ordinary residents. In Madison WI, people without legal residency are denied access to social services: employment, various loans, in-state tuition [The University of Wisconsin-Madison], food stamps, health insurance, driver's licenses and other vital programs that require a social security number or proof of citizenship. These individuals are an example of a subgroup within an already marginalized population who could greatly benefit from community resources and

outreach programs. Nevertheless, the entire Latino community suffers negative health effects from these deprivations. (Wisconsin Department of Health Services, 2018).

Disparities in the Latino Community

According to the US Department of Health and Human Services, Latinos "...have the highest uninsured rates of any racial or ethnic group within the United States." Furthermore, lack of affordability in addition to language barriers are among the most cited reasons to avoid seeking medical care which greatly contributes to the racial health disparities we see today. For example, in 2017, research showed that, Latinos "... are about 50% more likely to die from diabetes than [non-Hispanic] whites" (CDC.gov). This can be attributed to a lack of medical care but also to a lack of medical knowledge. More than half of Latino American adults are expected to develop type 2 diabetes in their lifetime. This obesity driven disease has been seen to largely impact the Latino community over other ethnic groups since Latino adults are 24% more likely to be obese (CDC.gov). Aside from physical health issues, Latinos are also at greater risk for some mental health issues because of the challenges they face. According to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, in 2017, 26% of high school aged children in the US who attempted suicide were Latino.

To further worsen the situation, Latinos also face economic disparities. Almost 30% of the people living below the poverty level in Dane county are Latino (healthydane.org). This is largely attributed to factors including educational disadvantages, language barriers and limited access to social services including job skills training. Although being economically challenged is a large deterrent to seeking medical care, Latino families are further marginalized by the lack of financial cooperation by national institutions. According to a study conducted by McAllister et al., less than 1.3% of philanthropic dollars on average were directly invested in Latino based organizations nationwide each year from 1999 to 2009. Even though the population of Latinos has drastically increased over the years, grant dollars specifically for organizations benefitting Latinos have not. Instead we see that the majority of the money donated, is allotted to ethnic and racial minorities as a whole and therefore must be distributed among other minority organizations specific for African Americans/Blacks, Native Americans and Asian and Pacific Islanders (McAllister et.al, 2011). Minority groups are being pooled together and represented as one group which decreases the amount of financial support that each group individually receives.

Because they lack funding, many Latino non-profit organizations struggle to support the Latino community. Furthermore, the lack of funding for social services in addition to marginalization by the US health care system ultimately negatively impact the health and well-being of Latinos in Madison and across the US. Your role as a volunteer to these outreach organizations is pivotal because it provides the support that is needed without monetary offsets. Student volunteers can make a huge impact in the community. Take Alyssa Fleischman for example. Alyssa Fleischman, a UW-Madison undergraduate student, volunteers as a supervisor for the resource navigator at Madison's South Side MEDiC clinic. MEDiC is a student-run free clinic aimed to improve the health of those uninsured and underserved. At this clinic in particular, the demographic of patients is largely undocumented individuals from various Latin American countries with occasional patients from Middle Eastern countries and the local area. From her experiences here, Alyssa notes how hard it is to connect undocumented patients with resources.

They do not qualify for Badger Care (Wisconsin Medicaid) or Food Share (Wisconsin's food stamp program), she says, and a lot of the organizations that we [The Resource Navigator Program] work with often require that patients provide a social security number. These patients also are very hard to get in contact with after we meet them. They often times do not have a reliable phone number or permanent address (MEDiC Clinic, 2018).

Through these encounters, Alyssa sees the need for health service organizations that are aimed to serve Latino groups.

Why is Outreach Important and What Can You Do?

Of all the factors impacting health the presence of supportive social networks and safety of a community are shown to have the greatest impact on health outcomes (healthydane.org). From first-hand experience, Kimberly Crow, a UW Madison undergraduate and health coach at Wingra Family Medical Clinic can attest to this. As a health coach, Kimberly, sees many Latino patients during her volunteer shifts. Although her role requires that she use motivational interviewing to help patients with health needs including nutritional planning, creating a medication schedule, and getting rid of bad habits, she finds that just being part of a supportive network— someone her patients can talk to, benefits their health and well-being immensely.

If we create a long-term plan with patients, she says, we always follow up with them to see how they're doing. Even if we can't directly be there for every step of the plan, the purpose of health coaching is to make the patient feel supported and valued. Sometimes the patients don't follow the plans they make with me, but I continue to call them and be there for them. Not only do they appreciate it, but often times it motivates them to start following the plan, she says (Madison, WI 2018).

Being part of outreach or volunteering opportunities gives community members the possibility to help each other to succeed and prosper. Although, there are organizations whose goal is to help Latinos and other community members with access to education and employment, it is important to realize that providing a social connection and support can be equally as meaningful. As college students, you have the maturity and time that it takes to immerse yourself in outreach opportunities to better serve the community. Both Alyssa and Kimberly are undergraduates who have dedicated time each week to help derail vulnerable members of society. Throughout this Community Outreach Guide I will provide information about distinct programs specific to Madison, Wisconsin, who welcome college student volunteers and aim to help the Latino Community. However, before becoming involved, it is crucial to be mindful of the way one approaches minority groups.

Effective Strategies for Conducting Outreach

If you want to support the Latino community, good intentions help, but they aren't enough. You need to keep specific strategies in mind. Although these suggestions may appear obvious or straightforward, they are worth stating specifically for people who have never worked with a vulnerable population.

The questions that you specifically ask a person during your interactions with them will depend on where you decide to conduct outreach. However, there are factors to consider that apply in any condition. For example, if you are bilingual how do you assess which language to use to talk to patients. First, it's important to consider what language you feel more comfortable talking in. If English is your preferred language use an interpreter line to facilitate your conversations with patients. After all, you want to make sure that the patient feels confident about your ability to handle the situation. Stuttering or forgetting words delivers the opposite message. It is unprofessional. It can make you more nervous and can make the patient feel like

you are incompetent to talk to them. If this is not the case and you feel comfortable speaking to the patient in either language, assess the situation and ask the patient if they prefer one language over the other. Furthermore, in any conversation you should always start by introducing yourself, your role in the organization and your role in talking to the person. You want to make sure that they understand why they are talking to you and the position of authority that you have to be able to help them. During the conversation, give the person your complete attention. Avoid using your phone or checking your email and actively listen to the person by giving them direct eye contact. Note that you should assess the situation and evaluate when too much eye contact makes the person uncomfortable. If there are multiple people in the room for example children or spouses make sure that you have the attention of the person of interest and that all conversations are appropriate. Moreover, it is quite common for Latino parents to tell their smaller misbehaving children that a stranger will punish them if they continue to misbehave. If you experience this situation respond in a professional and appropriate way. One good strategy is to tell the child that you will only be talking to their parents for a few moments and that it won't take long. This is done in a caring manner and lets the child know that you are acknowledging them. It could also be helpful to have coloring books or educational activities available for children. In no situation is it ever okay to discipline or punish the person's child. After the conversation, a great way to end things is to summarize what you both have talked about. This way you make sure that you understood everything properly and it gives the patient a chance to correct any misunderstandings or provide further explanations. After that, thank them for their time and remind them of what you will do to help them from now until your next encounter with them if applicable. This is also a great moment to give them your business card or remind them of your professional contact information.

To facilitate the conversations that you will need to have, the most essential strategy to implement is to first gain trust from the community. This strategy applies to any group of people but it's of particular importance here because Latinos are a group of people who have been institutionally and historically marginalized by society and government policies. When working with Latinos, especially undocumented Latinos, they need to be able to trust that your intentions are only positive. Rather than immediately trying to complete your goal, it is vital that you build a relationship with the people you are working with before you can ask anything of them. A good first step is to first try to put yourself in their shoes. Take the time to understand the culture of

the community; learn about the churches or grocery stores where people frequent, the cultural norms of the community, the traditions. Once acquainted, investigate what is one thing about this person/ community/ organization that you can relate to? Being able to answer this question, will help you empathize with the community's circumstances which will further foster your relationships. Showing empathy demonstrates that you can recognize and share someone's perspective and emotions without judgement— it drives connection (Brown, 2014). On the other hand, sympathy is feeling compassion, sorrow, or pity but it does not go beyond agreeing with the person's feelings (Brown 2014). By being empathetic rather than sympathetic you will appear more approachable and you'll begin to earn the community's trust. Utilize the limited time that you have with the person to learn deeply about them, about their culture, and about the root of their problems. Don't just acknowledge their issue and dismiss it, actually show compassion— ask questions about their well-being, ask about their family, ask about other aspects of their lives, share something about yourself to show that you care about them as a person and not just about solving the issue.

Along this process, it is important to be mindful of sensitive issues and the way you frame your words or questions. Word choice can depict attitudes and personal opinions that might steer the answer or even make someone uncomfortable answering. For example, a person who uses the words illegal aliens or "illegals" instead of "undocumented migrants" portrays a certain hostile biased opinion that may not seem approachable to someone of that identity. On that same note, it is important to never make an assumption or to never let your actions be driven by stereotypes. Stereotypes are preconceived notions about a population that are often associated with negative remarks and can make a person feel antagonized (McLeod, 2008). For instance, just because you are working with a population that has a high prevalence of undocumented individuals and low-income folks, you should never assume that either is the case unless explicitly told so. Avoid assumptions at all cost and only work with the information that the person has told you. Regarding the sensitive issue of immigration, you should avoid asking about their migratory status unless you have a reason to. One misinterpretation can antagonize the patient which will cause them to no longer want to work with you. Furthermore, if you must know their status to further help them, make sure that they understand the reason that you are asking for such personal information. Don't directly ask the person if they are undocumented

either. Instead use an indirect method to obtain your answer. For example, you can say “you have to be in X status to qualify for X. How does that affect you?”

Conducting outreach in a health care setting has its challenges because you are dealing with needs that are critical and time-sensitive to the patient. Although these interactions can be daunting for the patient it is in these situations when its most important to highlight a patient's strengths. It is easy for the patient to let the negative aspects of their lives outweigh the good things therefore you need to take a moment and remind them of the positive things in their lives. Asking them about their strengths not only helps uplift them, but it also allows you to be able to evaluate how you can both work together to achieve the end goal. A great suggestion for bringing this up in a conversation is by asking the patient about their strengths before you even start talking about their needs. This way the conversation begins on a positive note. Similarly, after the discussion of the patient's needs you can reiterate the patient's strengths to formulate a plan and manage to help them without doing for the patient something, they can do for themselves. After all, helping a patient requires both your and their cooperation and you can only do so much if you are helping multiple patients a day.

Latino Community Programs in Madison, Wisconsin

The following information is provided to you by the Latino Health Council (LHC). The LHC is an organization that was established in 1996 to support the health and well-being of the Latino community through education, advocacy and consulting of health-related issues facing the Latino community (Latinohealthcouncil.org). The organizations listed below are members of the Latino Health Council, we encourage you to contact and get involved with any organization whose goal appeals to you.

Centro Hispano of Dane County:

Website: <http://www.micentro.org/>

Primary Contact: Karen Menéndez Coller

Address: 810 West Badger Rd., Madison, WI 53713

Phone: 608-255-3018

Email: karen@micentro.org

Mission: Centro Hispano of Dane County exists to empower Latinos to be full and active participants in the community and to promote and preserve knowledge of and pride in Latino culture and heritage.

Rape Crisis Center:

Website: <http://danecountyrrc.org/index.php>

Primary Contact: Lucia Ledesma, Bilingual Counselor/Advocate

Address: 2801 Coho Street, Suite 301 Madison, WI 53713

Phone: 608-251-5126 x26

Email: espanol@danecountyrrc.org

Mission: The Rape Crisis Center works with the Dane County Community to offer and promote hope, help and healing for those affected by sexual violence. Rape Crisis Center strives through education and outreach to create social change to end sexual violence.

Telephone Crisis Line is available 24 hours a day for support, counseling, referral and information. 608 251-RAPE (7273)

UNIDOS:

Website: <https://unidoswi.org/en/>

Primary Contact: Veronica Figueroa

Phone: 608-256-9195

Email: veronicaf@unidoswi.org

Mission: UNIDOS provides bilingual/bicultural services to victims of domestic violence and sexual assault in Dane County. Our services include: Information on domestic violence/sexual assault, advocacy, support groups, referrals to other agencies, and LA RED, our 24/7 Spanish help line

ABC for health:

Website: <https://safetyweb.org/>

Primary Contact: Elena Espana-Regan, Bilingual Benefits Assistant

Address: 32 North Bassett St Madison, WI 53703

Phone: 608-219-4508

Email: eespana-regan@safetyweb.org

Mission: Advocacy and Benefits Counseling for Health, Inc., is a Wisconsin-based, nonprofit public interest law firm dedicated to ensuring health care access for children and families, particularly those with special needs or who are at risk. ABC for Health's mission is to provide health care consumers with the information, advocacy tools, legal services, and expert support they need to navigate America's complex and confusing health care financing system.

The Resource Navigator Program:

Website: <https://www.patientpartnerships.org/advocacy/resource-navigator-program/>

Primary Contact: Lane Hanson

Email: lane@patientpartnerships.org.

Mission: The resource navigator program aims to help pair patients with community resources to dismantle social determinants of health. Students work to provide patients with information regarding transportation, food, jobs even childcare and continuously follow up with them to help them stay healthy.

Location: Wingra Health Clinic, Northeast health Clinic, MEDiC clinic

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End Notes

1. Another commonly used term to refer to people of Latin American origin is "Latinx." A term that aims to be gender neutral. For the purpose of this paper I will refer to Hispanic and Latinx people as Latinos.
2. The US Commerce Department recently announced that the 2020 Census questionnaire will require answering a question about citizenship status. The purpose of requiring this information is to redistribute seats in Congress, specifically the House of Representatives, to account for only the voting population (Cohn, 2018).

Gendered Abuse on the Migrant Trail

Sarah Kear

Theories of identity and gender converge at the theoretical and physical borderlands – the ambiguous territory where Mexico meets the United States. Migrants live in the borderlands both physically and legally (Anzaldúa, 1987). Migrants are not only crossing the physical borderlands between Mexico and the United States; they are in legal borderlands because they lack agency and legal status. Since women are more vulnerable because of the violence that patriarchy engenders, migrant women are more likely to be sexually assaulted or raped while on the migrant trail to the United States (De León, 2015). With the convergence of different theories, a foundation is created in order to explain the systematic oppression and sexual abuse that migrant women face while in the borderlands. Migrant women find themselves in the legal borderlands that not only fail to protect them but outright harm them. Since neither the United States nor the Mexican government treats migrants as humans, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) become the mediators in giving migrant women agency and a voice towards their abusers and the abuse prevalent on the migrant trail.

The Migrant Trail

In *The Land of Open Graves: Living and Dying on the Migrant Trail*, anthropologist Jason De León argues that the United States government uses the geographical landscape of the Sonoran Desert as a natural deterrent for migrants (2015). The programs “Operation Gatekeeper” and “Prevention through Deterrence” is expected to stop migrants from migrating. This program failed to meet its stated goal, since undocumented migrants still migrate to the United States through the Sonoran Desert (De León, 2015). The physicality of the Sonoran Desert is not a deterrent but rather a breeding ground for the abuse that affects many migrants, particularly women.

In De León’s study of the migrant trail, specifically on the Sonoran Desert, De León details the process of migrating, starting with the reasons why individuals leave their home countries. Many migrants cross the United States border to find “safety and relief,” hoping not to get caught by immigration officials. Because the gaze of immigration law enforcement shapes their daily actions, their situation resembles the panopticon as described by French philosopher Michel Foucault’s theory (De León, 2015; Bartky, 1990). In his scholarship, De León highlights that the United States bottlenecked the Sonoran Desert, making it one of the only entries for

migrants to the United States during the 1990's after great fear of immigration swept the country during that time (2015). The Sonoran Desert is an environmental death march; the average temperature varies from 50 to 118 degrees Fahrenheit ("Sonoran Desert," 2018). The U.S. government believed that the conditions of the desert would pose as a 'natural deterrent,' but this idea has continually been proven false. Every day, migrants are still walking through the desert with hopes of surviving.

Nogales, Mexico, is one of the more popular spots for migrants before they begin migration, and is located right at the border between Mexico and the United States (De León, 2015). There, migrants can purchase supplies specifically for migrating through the desert: black plastic water bottles, backpacks, earth tone clothes, and canned foods (De León, 2015). In these towns, non-profits help recently deported migrants recover, travel back to their hometown, or try migrating again (De León, 2015). The dysphoria of being placed in alienating areas on the border of Mexico, especially for non-natives, strips away confidence and creates a disoriented feeling (De León, 2015). As Anzaldúa (1987) suggests, the borderlands put migrants back into a vulnerable position, in which the United States government confirms that their bodies are not worthy and further dehumanizes the individual.

Towns close to the border are also home to *coyotes*, a Spanish euphemism for "human smuggler," who for an expensive fee will migrate groups of individuals to the United States (De León, 2015, p. 302n24). This is another part of the journey when migrants' agency becomes vulnerable. Once an individual pays their dues and submits himself to a *coyote* or *guía* (a *coyote who leads migrants through the desert*), they must obey the *coyote's* or the *guía's* orders otherwise they may be left out in the desert for dead (De León, 2015). Due to continual abusive actions, migrants' agency become more vulnerable in order to survive while on the trail.

Theory

Different theories detailing gendered bodies align and create a base in which to fully understand how migrant women are more vulnerable than male migrants and are more likely to be sexually abused or raped. All migrants face risks, especially undocumented migrants, their individual agency is challenged and are extremely vulnerable, but De León argues that female migrants are more vulnerable and have less agency (2015). Female migrants thus become the abject, they have no legal status or general agency as the idea of death continually faces them while on the migrant trail. The theories of Anzaldúa, Foucault, Bordo, and hooks combined

together express the reasoning for this vulnerable position. Anzaldúa's theory about the borderlands between different intersections in the Latinx community suggests that individuals cannot be placed into boxes and expected to fit perfectly (1987). Migrants fit within this crux of the borderlands in similar ways to Anzaldúa's theory. Migrants are placed in a physical borderland as they travel to the United States. But migrants are also placed in a legal borderland. When a migrant steps onto the ambiguous territory of the United States and Mexico border their legal rights diminish. As migrants from Mexico and Latin American states migrate to and through the United States, they are not viewed as legal individuals to the United States' justice system and do not receive legal rights. Undocumented migrants in the United States have little to none rights when caught while crossing the border. Not being viewed as a legal "human" creates drastic effects on migrant women's wellbeing since they are systematically more oppressed and more prone to danger on the migrant trail (De León, 2015). The dehumanizing experience allows individuals on the migrant trail to sexually prey on women without governmental pushback due to the migrant woman's loss of legal status.

Gender is also a performance on the migrant trail. As Bordo (2003) writes, the body is a cultural text, implying that one's culture is reflected towards society. Migrant women are expected to be more docile and more apt to blame themselves for unwanted sexual assault or rape (Bordo, 2003). Men are also expected to display the idea of being strong and firm within the Latinx community because of machismo (Brigden, 2017). It is not just women that are preyed on and abused sexually. Men are also abused on the migrant trails and are more likely *not* to talk about their experiences because of the idea of machismo within the Latinx community (Brigden, 2017). Still, female bodies are still seen as weak and subordinate, thus allowing predators to prey on them due to no agency on the migrant trail.

As mentioned before, the migrant trail also aligns with Foucault's theory of panopticism (Bartky, 1990). Not only are migrants under constant self-surveillance of mixing in with the physical surroundings or wearing clothing that stand out to immigration officials, but they are under constant self-surveillance of looking weak towards their *coyotes* or to anyone else that could pose a threat. Migrant women are under more self-scrutiny than men because they are perceived as less strong and more vulnerable, thus allowing individuals on the migrant trail to forcefully exert themselves onto them. Not only are migrants afraid of also being under constant supervision by both Mexico and the United States immigration programs, they are under known

constant supervision by their *coyote* or *guía* (De León, 2015). This means that migrants, regardless of gender, have to display a front in order to socially and biologically survive. This idea of Foucault's panopticism also applies specifically to migrant women (Bartky, 1990), who not only face surveillance due to their physicality and strength, but through the way they show their gender towards other. Migrant women construct different gender scripts in order to deter themselves from being preyed on while on the migrant trail (Brigden, 2017). Being under self-surveillance is one way of trying to deter from sexual abuse or rape for female migrants.

Furthermore, on the migrant trail, there is an exploitation of the Other as theorized by bell hooks (1992). When migrant women agency is repressed while migrating to the United States, they are instantly categorized as Other. They lose their identity and become one of the many unnamed faces in yearly immigration reports and political campaign jargon. Further paralleling with bell hook's theory, the exploitation of migrant female bodies and the characterization of Other, puts female bodies into a convergence in which their agency diminishes and lose their legal rights, making their bodies and lives vulnerable towards natural and human danger.

Who Migrates

The reason many individuals migrate to the United States is due to historical relations between the United States', Mexico, and Latin American states. Latin American states were crucified under dictatorial regimes sanctioned by the United States during the 60's, 70's, and 80's (González, 2011). Latin American states were also economically vulnerable because United States' companies owned much of the larger businesses in these states, gaining control over large sectors of the economies (González, 2011). Many times, an individual from a Latin American family migrates to the United States in order to provide economic security for their family. The migration for economic security occurs because migrants are able to make more money in the United States and are able to send remittances back to their family living in their home country (González, 2011). The economic vulnerability in Latin American states, prompted by the United States, creates the need to migrate to the United States for economic security.

Communities of Latinx and Mexican populations have always been a part of North American history. Yet, since the 1960's migration from Mexico and Latin American states mushroomed and has increased since. In 1960, less than one million Latinx and Mexican individuals were a part of the United States' foreign-based population, and in 2010 the number has increased to nineteen million (Tienda, 2013). In 2016, 1.49 million immigrants moved to the

United States (Zong et al., 2016). 52 per cent of these individuals were women and 150,400 migrated from Mexico (Zong et al., 2016). However, Pew Research states there the number of Mexican undocumented immigrants living in the United States decreased by two million between 2007 and 2017 (González & Krogstad, 2017). Pew also states that more non-Mexican migrants were apprehended at the border than Mexican migrants in 2016 (González & Krogstad, 2017). Therefore, representation for non-Mexican migrant women is important when looking at gender violence; not only are they migrating through Mexico but they experience vulnerability and diminished agency by crossing multiple international borders.

How One Copes

Sexual assault and rape towards migrant women are currently on the rise on the migrant trail. *Red de Documentación de las Organizaciones Defensoras de Migrantes*, REDODEM, a network of sixteen organizations in Mexico who work to defend migrants, reveal that rape or sexual assault increased by 50 percent between 2014 to 2015 (Schmidt & Buechler, 2017). Since migrant women find themselves in extremely vulnerable situations that challenge their agency, predators assume female migrants are not a human with experiences and feelings, but rather a body that can be used for their own sexual wants. This mindset of a disregarded individual is not true, yet Mexico nor the United States do not give migrant women the space to speak about their experiences on the migrant trail. In response, NGOs have become institutions that allow migrant women to acquire safe spaces to speak about their experiences and to receive legal aid and resources. Female migrants also protect themselves while on the migrant trail by participating in different gender scripts in hope to deter predators. These activities and involvement give migrant women spaces to gain parts of their agency back.

Gender Scripts

Since women are a vulnerable group when migrating to the United States border, migrant women use different gender scripts as protection from being sexually abused or raped. Brigden states, “Many women must pay for passage with their body at various points, an informal sexual tax for crossing territory leveraged by drug gangs and corrupt officials” (2017 p. 111). This situation echoes Bordo’s (2003) argument that bodies reveal cultural context to the world and others, while on the migrant trail women use stereotypical gender scripts within the Latinx culture to access survival. The migrant trail allows gender to be ambiguous due to the

reinterpretation within the social space (Brigden, 2017). Gender is partially ambiguous on the migrant trail, creating social ambiguity and allowing migrants to use it as protection.

Since there is an importance of social networks, many women travel with a male family member because they know that if they travel alone, abuse from *coyotes* or others will increase (Brigden, 2017). Latin American women are also more likely to be abused if they travel alone because they are migrants in Mexico (Brigden, 2017). In response, women use gender scripts based on nationality (Brigden, 2017). Women who are not from Mexico might “mimic colloquial Mexican Spanish and dress” (Brigden, 2017 p. 116). This gender script refers to Foucault’s theory of the panopticon. Migrant women subscribe to national gender scripts to blend in and become less of a target (Bartky, 1990). They police themselves in fear of being targeted by *coyotes* or drug dealers on the migrant trail. Migrant women also play into the gender scripts of a pious or celibate woman to deter violence (Brigden, 2017). Due to the cultural idea that women who are virginal deserve more respect, migrant women latch on and use this script as coverage from sexual abuse and rape. Women also take the gender scripts of masculinity (Brigden, 2017). Taking a machismo impression on the migrant trail might deter predators based on the masculine actions the women send out to the individual or group.

Finally, women may also start relationships with men on the migrant trail (Brigden, 2017). This heteronormative idea creates safety for women because of the idea that men are stronger and women are subordinate flourishes on the migrant trail. The “intimate relationship” creates the illusion of protection to predators (Brigden, 2017). The gender scripts that migrant women subscribe themselves to are for protection. These actions align with the theory of Bordo and Foucault. Understanding that the world creates single stories based on what one reveals, migrant women are more apt to use gender scripts based on stereotypes and ideas about gender to protect themselves from violence. As Foucault might argue, women are constantly under self-surveillance to keep up the cultural scripts or assimilate into the Mexican culture. The gender scripts are also heteronormative and create a gendered space that excludes migrants who do not align with heteronormativity nor subscribe to these gender scripts.

Non-profits and Migrant Networks

Migrant women do not have the legal status of a current resident or citizenship in the United States and sometimes in Mexico, thus using government services to call out rape or sexual assault is not a viable option. Different NGOs and non-profits for undocumented migrants

are able to provide proper legal services that migrants would not normally receive if they went to a government agency or organization due to their vulnerable position. According to Leigh Anne Schmidt and Stephanie Buechler, non-governmental organizations allow migrant women to gain legal agency by helping them receive legal assistance (2017). Non-profits are normally situated physically nearby the migrant trail in communities that house migrants waiting to depart to the United States (Schmidt & Buechler, 2017). The organizations offer safe spaces for female migrants amidst the violence on the migrant trail. Unfortunately, this assistance is not for the long term. In Mexico, the non-profits only help women when they are in the physical area, and not on the actual migrant trail. In reaction, women create migrant networks. Migrant networks are the social ties migrant groups accumulate during current or prior migratory experiences (Schmidt & Buechler, 2017). Migrants with larger migrant networks gain more social capital and this helps them to go farther in their migration (Schmidt & Buechler, 2017). Yet, migrant women are less likely to have social capital compared to men, especially capital that is created outside of their families or neighborhoods (Schmidt & Buechler, 2017). This also places women in a more vulnerable position. Since women are less likely to create social capital outside of their networks from home, they are more likely to attach themselves to others when first starting their migration. This is when rape or sexual abuse becomes prevalent. Migrant women are often tricked into prostitution as the only way to recuperate missing documents to migrate (Schmidt & Buechler, 2017). Without migrant networks, migrant women are tricked and lured into unsafe situations and experiences.

Therefore, migrant networks are important for migrant women because it provides security for women on the migrant trail (Schmidt & Buechler, 2017). Specifically, within non-profits that have dormitories for women to reside in, activities such as *dinámicas* are incredibly important. *Dinámicas* range from activities like stress release to self-esteem techniques such as dance or group work; sometimes *dinámicas* is simply gossiping (Schmidt & Buechler, 2017). The process of spending time for the body and the mind makes migrant women feel safer and allows them to express their fears and experiences from the migrant trail; *dinámicas* also allow women to feel like they belong (Schmidt & Buechler, 2017). This belonging is a catalyst for women to create agency for themselves. The support and belonging that migrant networks create for women may provide future safer travels while on the migrant trail. Migrant networks also continue past the walls of non-profits through the usage of WhatsApp and social media (Schmidt

& Buechler, 2017). Where NGOs and non-profits do not meet, the migrant networks make up for women's safety. Although migrant networks are not official and are crafted in NGOs and non-profits areas, they are tremendously helpful to migrant women.

Conclusion

Women who are migrating through the migrant trail between Mexico and the United States face violence in various forms. Some forms of violence are state-sanctioned like the physical violence through the Sonoran Desert (De León, 2015). The bottlenecking of the Sonoran Desert by the United States' government is an explicit example of violence that migrants face (De León, 2015). Yet, migrant women face far greater violence because they are women and there is patriarchy on the migrant trail. The different theories explain why migrant women are placed in a more vulnerable position that exploits their bodies. Migrant women are also vulnerable because most of them are not citizens of Mexico and the United States, and they do not have the privilege of legal rights. This further diminishes their agency. Since they are seen as vulnerable individuals, many predators on the migrant trail or in towns near the border prey on migrant women.

In reaction to the inherent violence on the migrant trails, NGOs have sprouted in different communities by the border where many migrants take refuge. There, women are able to find beds and food, and they are able to participate in exercises that create space for them to feel comfortable and speak about their experiences about the migrant trail (Schmidt & Buechler, 2017). These exercises help create migrant networks for migrant women (Schmidt & Buechler, 2017). Migrant networks allow women to feel more comfortable with migrating and staying safe. The cultural factors situated in migrant networks can also mediate trauma and help with facing adversity (Lusk & Chavez-Baray, 2017). The migrant networks also increases women's social capital and a safety net that brings forth parts of culture and a collective front.

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