

***FUERTE COMO ACERO, TIERNO COMO UN ÁNGEL:* A STUDY OF
SOCIAL/CULTURAL CAPITAL AND
THREE FIRST-GENERATION IMMIGRANT WOMEN FROM
GUANAJUATO MEXICO**

By
Maria Aguayo Telles

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As members of the Dissertation Committee, we certify that we have read the dissertation prepared by Maria Aguayo Telles entitled, "*Fuerte Como Acero, Tierno Como un Ángel: Study of Social/Cultural Capital and Three First-Generation Immigrant Women from Guanajuato Mexico*" and recommend that it be accepted as fulfilling the dissertation requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Richard Ruiz

Date: November 17, 2010

Luis Moll

Date: November 17, 2010

Oscar Martinez

Date: November 17, 2010

Final approval and acceptance of this dissertation is contingent upon the candidate's submission of the final copies of the dissertation to the Graduate College.
I hereby certify that I have read this dissertation prepared under my direction and recommend that it be accepted as fulfilling the dissertation requirements.

Dissertation Director: Richard Ruiz

Date: November 17, 2010

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SIGNED: Maria Aguayo Telles

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to review the lives of three immigrant women from the town of Doctor Mora, Guanajuato, Mexico. The following questions were used to gather and analyze the data: 1) How were their lives prior to migrating to the U.S.? 2) What was their experience crossing the border? 3) What are their life experiences in the U.S.? This study is intended to analyze the history and path of acculturation of these three immigrant women.

This study analyzes Alejandro Portes's theory of selective acculturation, concept of funds of knowledge, Gordon's classical theory of assimilation, and the concepts of cultural and social capital. Selective acculturation theory is applied as a basis for analysis of the case studies.

The case studies were conducted using observational, audio-taped and open ended interviews. This study took place in Tucson, Arizona. Interviews took place in Spanish. The interviews were transcribed, translated, verified and analyzed.

Findings show the persistence of these participants to become part of American society through education and involvement in the host society, utilizing their inherent cultural and social capital and supporting the theory of selective acculturation path.

The next section gives a more detailed introduction of this study.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

As previously indicated, this study reviews the lives of three immigrant women from the town of Doctor Mora, Guanajuato, Mexico and document their acculturation experience. The study examines how their lives were before migrating to the US, how their lives were during the migration and how their lives are now. This study is intended to help analyze and understand the history and acculturation path of immigrants from Mexico to the United States in general terms.

The topic of immigration continues to be controversial as anti-immigrant sentiments continue to rise in the United States. This study uses Alejandro Portes's theory of selective acculturation along with the funds of knowledge concept, Gordon's classical theory of assimilation, and the concepts of cultural and social capital. Selective acculturation theory is applied as a basis for analysis of the case studies.

These studies were conducted using observational, audio-taped and open-ended interviews. This research was conducted in Tucson, Arizona. Currently, the State of Arizona has become a center of national and international attention as government agencies introduce legislation deeply affecting immigrants of Mexican descent.

These anti-immigrant sentiments are not new in Arizona. According to historian Rodolfo F. Acuña, on "August 20, 1914 the *Los Angeles Times* ran an article titled 'Race War in Arizona; Death List is Sixteen' at Ray, Arizona. Two days later *Regeneracion* echoed the *Times* reporting that four white men and twelve Mexicans were killed in a bloody riot precipitated by a posse hunting 'horse thieves,' a euphemism for Mexicans" (Acuña, 2010). Furthermore, "reports said that many Americans were searching the hills near Ray tonight; bent upon killing every Mexican they meet" (Acuña, 2010). During the

Mexican Revolution, every Mexican crossing the border was thought to be a member of the Pancho Villa group. Americans demanded that the government take control of the border, according to Acuña (2010). In Bisbee and Jerome in 1917, Minutemen arrested many Mexicans, loaded them in the railroad cars and took them to New Mexico where the detainees were dumped. In 1848 when the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was being signed, political leaders never imagined that the same basic principles guaranteed in that document would be widely disputed among the citizens and leaders of the two countries involved. Who would have thought that the citizens of this territory newly acquired by the US would ever be exceeded in numbers by those originally known as the "conquered"? Despite the rapid population growth of Hispanics in recent years, the majority of policy makers and leaders in the US are other than Hispanic. Scholars such as Maritza De La Trinidad, Guadalupe San Miguel, Gilbert Gonzalez and Oscar Martinez have documented the history of inequalities and marginalization experienced by Hispanic students and people of Mexican descent.

The catalyst for this research is the strength of the anti-immigrant sentiments, despite the cultural and social capital Mexican immigrants bring to the US. These sentiments against immigrants are codified in recent legislation, especially SB 1070 further justifying discrimination by physical appearance and language background in the State of Arizona. Similar bills are being introduced in other states. SB1070 was passed, then amended and challenged and challenged yet again by federal government. It is important to include this information in this study because this type of legislation has caused immigrants to fear law enforcement agencies, especially women whose distrust of law

enforcement causes them to fail to report domestic violence and other crimes for fear of being deported.

This study addresses whether the classical theory of assimilation and selective acculturation theories are supported or rejected in the three case studies. It documents the persistence of these participants to become part of American society through education and involvement in the host society, utilizing their inherent cultural/social capital and funds of knowledge.

Immigrants bring valuable funds of knowledge to US society. They are willing to adopt the host society's culture while maintaining their own. They are willing to embrace the educational system and to volunteer for the betterment of all children, not just their own. While the three participants feel the educational system in the US is better than Mexico's since children in this country do not have to pay directly out of their pockets for K-12 schooling, they feel their children may be excluded from higher education because of its high costs.

While two of the three participants have utilized public assistance, their preference is to be able to sustain their families on their own. The three participants support immigration reform, including the payment of fines by undocumented immigrants and learning the English language as requirements. Their preference is to be allowed to remain in the US legally. They feel the red tape of the bureaucratic Department of Immigration and Naturalization makes it nearly impossible for immigrants to have legal mechanism to be in the US legally.

This study is informed by the work of Portes and Rumbaut, who found many anti-immigrant feelings and legislation in California during the 1990s. It also reinforces their

findings that many people equate "illegal immigrants to 'poor immigrants' or 'bad immigrants' or perhaps 'Mexican immigrants'" (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001, p. 270). Similarly, the Arizona climate has expressed parallel sentiments as Arizona's SB1070 is debated at state, national and international levels. In so many ways, this measure has informed immigrants, especially Mexican immigrants, that Arizona is not welcoming to them. Arizona's SB 1070 is similar to Proposition 197 in California in the 1990s, in that it aimed to halt immigration and send undocumented immigrants back to Mexico and other countries as soon as possible, taking the responsibility back from the federal government. Portes and Rumbaut tie these legislative actions to deep-seated sentiments about the history of the assimilation of immigrants in this country: "Assimilationists want the future to mirror this past as a proven way to restore cultural unity and peace; just as Yiddish-speaking mothers had to leave their culture and language behind, so should Mexican immigrants and Vietnamese refugees today" (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001, p. 272).

Portes and Rumbaut also found evidence that hostile government and societal reception affects the mode of incorporation of immigrants. Adults are less likely to put their human capital to use, making "parental control" difficult (Portes and Rumbaut, 273).

Children's perceptions of the surrounding society become more threatening, their academic aspirations and achievement suffer, and they become more preoccupied with issues of ethnic identity and reassertiveness than with the achievement of high goals through individual effort" (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001, p. 273).

Furthermore, Portes and Rumbaut find that "delegitimizing the culture and language of parents" promotes dissonant acculturation, resulting in conflict between the generations. The education system promotes the conflict: by "instilling in children the sense that their parents' language is inferior and should be abandoned in favor of English, schools help drive a wedge across generations" (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001, p. 273).

In their longitudinal studies, Portes and Rumbaut (2001) point out the benefits of selective acculturation (a path of acculturation). This mode of incorporation is "closely intertwined with preservation of fluent bilingualism and linked, in turn, with higher self-esteem, higher educational and occupational expectations, and higher academic achievement."

Furthermore, "children who learn the language and culture of their new country without losing those of the old have a much better understanding of their place in the world" (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001, p. 274).

Portes and Rumbaut assert that members of the second generation who have not lost their roots are able to make more contributions to society since they are able to speak more than one language and understand other cultures. But selective acculturation has "no political constituency" (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001, p. 274) since nativists think that anything that "reeks of preservation of foreign ways is suspicious and should be made to disappear" (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001, p. 274). While assimilationists want immigrants to get rid of their cultures, nativists want to get rid of the immigrants themselves. Portes and Rumbaut propose a third alternative of selective acculturation. This path requires a socially and politically friendly environment where learning of the American culture is paced and not rushed. This path allows immigrants to retain some of their culture and adopt the host society's culture at the same time.

In Chapter 1, I will briefly discuss my reasons for the study, research questions, limitations of the study, theoretical framework, and implications of study. This chapter ends with the reasons for including information that may seem irrelevant to the case study. Chapter 2 describes the theoretical framework in more detail and discusses the research

literature on the principal concepts of the dissertation. This chapter also gives a historical overview of the creation of the physical border between Mexico and the US, a brief summary of the US Department of Homeland Security, implications for immigration, and a discussion of the concept of transnationalism.

The theoretical framework relies heavily on the work of Alejandro Portes and Ruben Rumbaut as well as that of scholars such as Oscar Martinez, Carlos Vélez-Ibañez and Luis Moll. Many of the tables and graphs have been obtained from the US Bureau, the Minority Policy Institute and the Pew Hispanic Center. In Chapter 3, I detail the process and method of gathering my data and conducting the ethnographic work. I also discuss the coding and analysis of the data. In Chapter 4, I compile the qualitative review and describe the results of the analysis of data and case study interviews. This chapter also discusses the theories as they apply to the participants. Chapter 5 explains how this study supports the theories used. It includes social, political, educational and economic implications. Many questions remain unanswered, as the topic of immigration becomes more convoluted and complex. This chapter includes some of the economic, social, political and educational implications resulting from not properly dealing with the issue of immigration. I also include an epilogue suggesting further research.

The writing of this dissertation took place during a time in history where the topic of US immigration echoed internationally. This was due to many factors, especially the passage of Arizona Senate Bill 1070 that authorizes the arrest and detention by police and other law enforcement agencies of those who *appear to be* illegal aliens. This study also coincides with a worldwide economic crisis that provokes questions about the economic

impact of immigrants, especially the undocumented. Therefore this section also suggests other questions for possible future research.

Reasons for the Study

The impact of the success or failure of immigrant populations is a highly controversial topic. Recently, a new publication by NLERAP (National Latino/a Education Research Agenda Project) further confirms the idea that Hispanics have been part of "subtractive schooling" (Valenzuela, 1999) and their culture has been seen as a problem and not an asset. This concept of subtractive schooling addresses the school's assimilating process where different cultures are not valued or accepted. Instead, the school "subtracts resources from the student" (Valenzuela, 1999, p. 5). The NLERAP publication places much of the blame on the US public school systems. "This miseducation of Latino/a communities is reflective of larger sociohistorical and economic inequalities that have resisted various remedies over the decades" (2003, p. 3). There are several factors that account for the rise in interest in immigration in the US and constitute a rationale for this study.

First, according to the Census Bureau, by 2050 Latino/Hispanics are predicted to become the largest racial/ethnic minority group in the US. In many communities and some states, Hispanic/Latinos have surpassed the White population in numbers already. In New Mexico, persons of Hispanic or Latino origin constitute 44.9% of the population compared to 41.7% for White persons of non Hispanic origin. In Arizona, the Hispanic/Latino population constitutes about 30.1% as compared 15.4% for the nation. Second, there is the rapid increase in communities that speak different languages and dialects. The US Census

Bureau shows that a great majority of people in Arizona speak a language other than English in the home.

Table 1: Language at Home: Persons Five and Older

Language at Home: Persons 5 and Older

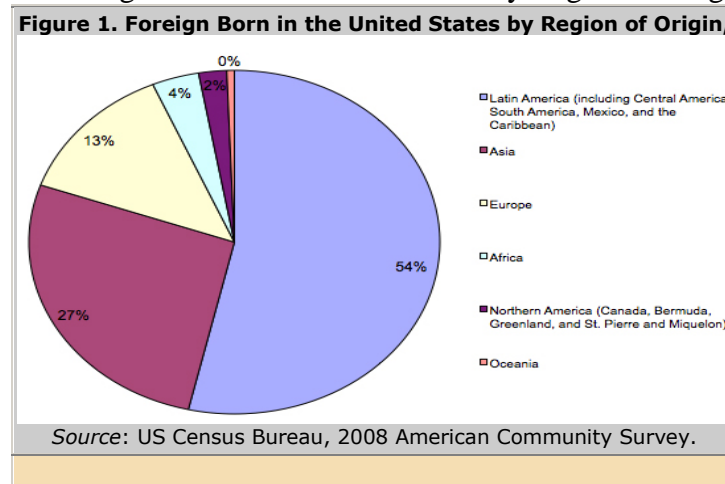
Only English Spoken at Home	445,000 (27%)
Language Other than Only English Spoken at Home	1,220,000 (73%)

Source: Pew Hispanic Research, 2010

The US Census Bureau also shows the increase in foreign-born residents in many states, specifically in the Southwestern region of the US. Although there is a long history of immigration into this region, it is referred to as a new wave since the national origin is other than European descent which was the case for the 20th century immigrant flow.

Immigrants from all over the world have built this country; their influx is part of the unique American history and fabric. The composition of the “new wave” of immigrants can be seen in Figure 1 below and we can see that the majority of this new wave of immigrants comes from Latin America which includes Mexico, the Caribbean, Central American and South America (see Figure 1). The second highest percentage comes from Asia and next from Europe etc.

Figure 1: Foreign Born in the United States by Region of Origin, 2008



Furthermore, the Census Bureau reports the following:

The 11.4 million foreign-born coming from Mexico constituted the leading immigrant group in the United States in 2008 and accounted for 30.1 percent of the foreign-born population. With a significantly smaller population, the Philippines is the source country for the second-largest group (4.4 percent), followed by India (4.3 percent), China (3.6 percent, excluding Hong Kong and Taiwan), and Vietnam (3.0 percent) (Census Bureau, 2010).

Third, the need to understand and include immigrants is imperative, as is the need to overcome the xenophobia that persists and poisons our daily interactions as the changing demographics in the nation continue. As indicated in a recent newspaper article published in the *Arizona Daily Star* (4/28/2009), "Dupnik (Pima County Arizona Sheriff) has called illegal immigrants "a major source of crime." He states, "If children of illegal immigrants weren't able to get a free education here, perhaps fewer illegal immigrants would settle in Tucson." He further asserts that reducing the number of illegal immigrants would reduce the number of crimes and social problems. This statement equates immigrants to a social problem and the source of crime. Another article published on November 7, 2008, titled "Arizona led the nation in deportations," further confirmed the stance of Arizona when it comes to immigration. "This state had an increase of 64% of deportations from the previous year." These articles have continued to be published. Current figures show that a record number of immigrants have been deported. The current Federal Government Administration has broken the record for deportations, more than any other Presidential Administration.

The fourth reason for this study is that increased research on immigrant populations is necessary in order to develop successful strategies and support systems to ensure upward mobility and integration of immigrants. If immigrants are woven into the very fabric of our society, chances are they will be seen as productive and educated citizens. America can no

longer have one homogeneous blueprint where “one size fits all.” The different backgrounds and experiences of all citizens can be utilized and cherished. There is a current need for economic, social, political and educational reform to meet the growing needs of a new population. The three women who are the focus of this study can be considered a microcosm of the way the society sees the issue of immigration.

Why study immigrant women? Because, often, women are absent from history. Women play many key roles in their households and society. They are wives, mothers, aunts, sisters, “*madrinas*” (God mother, or a second mom), grandmothers, educators, bankers, cooks, counselors, and are the glue that holds families together. While they do not seek praise, they know the influence they have, especially on their husbands and family. One of the participants states, “*Sí, cuando vamos de compras parece que el marido tiene decisión exclusiva pero antes de llegar a la tienda ya tiene advertido qué es lo que se compra.*” (Yes, when we go to the store it looks like he has exclusive decision but before getting to the store he's been told what will be purchased.)

While women have not been recognized as contributors to official histories, Juan R. Garcia (1996) finds women have always made significant contributions to the economic well-being of families: “Both organized and informal community life depended on the interpersonal abilities, social networks and organizational skills of women” (Garcia, 1996, p. 83). According to Garcia, women were instrumental forces in the Midwest in the early 1900s. Women have been active contributors both in and outside the home. For example, Garcia finds that in the Midwest, Mexicanas worked in agricultural, manufacturing, light industry and clerical jobs. Many women operated businesses such as restaurants, brothels, and bootlegging. “Women encountered prejudice, discrimination, exploitation, poverty,

and insecurity in the work place and the home. Sex and gender established and circumscribed the world in which they lived and worked. That they were women of color only exacerbated the problems they experienced at the hands of the '*macho*' and '*gabacho*'" (Garcia, 1996, p. 83).

While the three participants in this study do not have higher education experience, they have a high ability to excel in many aspects of life and society. Many factors account for the lack of economic and educational achievement of immigrants. Their educational attainment is affected by their country of origin and mode of incorporation. Maritza de la Trinidad, who investigates segregation in the Southwest, further affirms the idea of academic segregation and also discusses in detail the idea of intellectual segregation, specifically in Tucson, AZ. Such segregation results in "inferior schooling" (de la Trinidad, 2008, p. 14) and has resulted in teachers, students, and other community members mobilizing and challenging these ideas. Garcia (1996, p. viii) finds that Mexicans have not been passive victims but rather "actively have resisted political, economic, and legal exploitation and discrimination." Mexicans have organized to resist discrimination and have created organizations to help them cope with and even excel in the American system.

As the debate among researchers from the different disciplines continues, educators and politicians may demand social, political, economic and education reform.

Education level, occupations and opportunity for success of Hispanics may be aligned with the success of those immigrants from other countries. Opportunity should be provided to all citizens and include opportunity for education and economic advancement for all immigrants including those of Mexican descent. Although education is thought to

be the “great equalizer” by enhancing the prospects of those who are able to benefit from it, immigrants from Latino/Hispanic backgrounds tend to have lower success rates. Many factors account for the lack of economic and educational achievement.

However, it is clear the three participants in this study have engaged in the educational process and system in the US. While two of the three participants have taken professional development classes, all three of them are educating and teaching their children. The three participants have confirmed the many ways life experiences teach individuals and how individuals based on their life teachings form their value systems. These three women are not just ensuring their children are schooled, but are also making sure their children are "*educados, buena educación*" (educated, good moral values), because for Mexican families being educated means having high moral values and respect for elders.

All four reasons mentioned above justify studying the immigrant populations specifically from Mexico. And, it is important to continue research that addresses how to increase the success of all immigrants in the US.

Research Topic and Questions

This study examines the lives of three immigrant women from the town of Doctor Mora, Guanajuato, Mexico who have left their homeland to seek better opportunities for themselves and their children. Are the experiences of these immigrants informed by Gordon's classical assimilation theory, Portes's theory of selective acculturation or another mode of acculturation? This study's focus will be on the history and adaptation and the differences in success and coping mechanisms of these three participants. In particular, the questions are: How were their lives before they came to this country? What were their

experiences crossing the border and how are their lives now that they are in this country? I hope also to answer the following questions: What impact do their different experiences have on their acculturation? What funds of knowledge do they share? How do cultural differences affect their ability to persist in the education system? What are their shared values and experiences? How can the experiences described in these cases be used to understand the process of immigration, and perhaps increase the chances for success of other Mexican immigrants?

Limitations

It is impossible to reach any general conclusion concerning how immigrants acculturate and which paths to acculturation are taken based on three case studies. Even though the three studies involve women from the same geographical location, the life events of each one are different. While they all immigrated to this country around the same time, their funds of knowledge differ in many ways.

While Gordon's classical theory aligns assimilation of immigrants with upward mobility, Alejandro Portes's theory of selective acculturation compares the different paths of acculturation. Neither of these theories takes into account the recent phenomena of changing demographics. Neither theory takes into account the current shift American society has taken as a result of the economic downturn nor the increase of anti-immigrant sentiments by American citizens and government agencies.

Furthermore, the classical assimilation theory was basically applied to a different population and national origin group. While Portes' theories include Hispanics, his data were collected before the current economic recession. The economic downturn has also caused intraethnic conflict, with many people including other Hispanics resenting

immigrants as people compete for the few jobs available in the market. Norma, one of the participants (and her husband) tells me,

Pues hay de todos; por ejemplo hay gente blanca que nos ha tratado bien y la misma gente por ejemplo yo conozco una gente que es de Colombia y piensan que por su dinero pueden tratar a las personas pues como ellos quieren y yo pienso que eso no está bien. (Well, there is every kind. For example there are White people who have treated us well and the same people for example, I know people from Colombia who think because they have money, they can treat people how they want to. I don't think that is right.)

Mi esposo se encontraba listo para ir a trabajar después de que se lastimó. Fue a su trabajo este alegaron con esta persona y es un blanco y los humilló a mas no poder. (My husband was ready to go back to work after he injured himself. He went to his job and they talked to this White person who humiliated them to the point they couldn't take.)

A veces entre con los mismos paisanos no queremos que unos sobresalgan. (Sometimes within our same people we don't want others to excel.)

Porque muchas veces nada mas dicen, si nada mas vienen a quitarnos los trabajos. (Many times people just say, 'they just come to take our jobs way'.)

The current social and economic context has made this research more relevant in that many more questions have arisen. The three participants are not willing to give up their identity. Their interest is to embrace many of the host society's cultural traits but they are unwilling totally to give up their Mexican identity. They continue to celebrate Mexican Independence Day, Mexican Mothers Day and other Mexican Holidays and traditions. They also celebrate other common holidays such as Thanksgiving and Easter. When asked about US Independence Day, one of the participants says, "*No pues no. Nada mas vamos a ver los fireworks y es todo.*" (No. We just go to see the fireworks, that's all.) While they enjoy other foods such as pizza and hamburgers once in a while, they prefer their own "*carnitas, tamales, nopalitos*" and other traditional Mexican foods.

It is important to include in the Literature Review information not directly related to the three participations to give a sense of some of the historical events that have shaped the border and those who cross the border; to give a sense of the continuous flow of immigrants despite the billions of dollars spent to keep immigrants out; to give a glimpse of some of the major issues, laws and climate immigrants face in the host society, how they make sense of the host system and its people and how they see themselves fitting into the overall picture of the American system. I will refer to this as transnationalism, even though two of the participants do not physically cross back and forth currently, they participate in the other types of interactions—including sending money and other items back to Mexico, telephone calls, emails, having their children spend time in Mexico with other relatives, practicing their traditions, and so on.

The issue of immigration is as important as ever, in the US and in the world. The present dissertation presents pictures of what the actual experience of crossing and living along a border is like; assuming the borders are similar in many parts of the world, the study should reveal much about the issue in general.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

In this chapter I will review concepts and theories to be used in the analysis of the cases presented in this study—including funds of knowledge, social and cultural capital, the classical theory of assimilation, and selective acculturation.

These form the basis of the theoretical framework for the study. Other conceptual approaches, such as Ogbu's distinction between voluntary and involuntary minorities, will also be described briefly as a way to contextualize the concepts to be used.

The concept of "funds of knowledge" is considered to be a form of social and cultural capital, according to Vélez-Ibañez (2009, personal communication), one of its original conceptualizers (see also Vélez-Ibañez, 1983). The different forms of funds of knowledge immigrants bring to this society allows them to function and navigate the American system in a way that also helps their children and themselves survive and in many cases begin an economic upward mobility. Funds of knowledge are the forms of expertise not necessarily learned in classrooms; these include knowledge, skills, ideas, values and information held by families in community and often passed down from generation to generation. Gonzalez, Moll and Amanti (2005, p. ix) tell us, "People are competent, they have knowledge, and their life experiences have given them that knowledge." The benefit of the funds of knowledge approach is that it allows us to see how this expertise is used by people in community (Gonzalez, Moll and Amanti, p. xi).

The three participants in the study reveal many different forms and levels of knowledge gained through life-experiences, passed down from generation to generation and also gained through education.

Social capital can often be seen in the orientation of families toward work and education. The density of the social capital in their community also helps families maintain the network of friends and relatives that form their support system. The first participant, for example, lived with her brothers and sister for a while, allowing them to save money to rent their own place. Her brothers were also able to help her husband find work after a couple of months after arriving in the US. The second participant and her family were able to cross the border in Juarez, Mexico and take the Greyhound bus to Tucson, where a friend came meet them. They stayed with a friend in Phoenix until they were able to travel to California. Nancy was able to stay with a brother and cousins in Oakland, California while her husband traveled to Oregon to look for work and a place to stay. The third participant was brought to Tucson by her brother-in-law where they stayed until they were able to find an apartment to rent. Social capital can be a powerful asset, but its real strength is in its density (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). The third participant's "cultural capital" further supports this idea of the importance of density. Furthermore, the participants further reveal that they adhere to the principle of payment for work even though two of the three participants have utilized public assistance.

These women are in tune with and committed to their culture. While they are willing to adopt many new traits and traditions, reinforcing their cultural background is important and is something they continue to do, as exemplified in the following comments.

First participant: *Mire de Mexico—nosotros navidad, año nuevo, a veces los días reyes para los niños también. Cuando eran más chicas mis hijas incluso esperábamos darles los regalos el 6 de enero que es el día del Rey Mago que se celebra de donde somos nosotros. El día de las Madres celebramos aquí el segundo domingo de mayo. Nosotros siempre lo celebramos el 10 de mayo así es que tenemos 2 días de celebración para el día de las madres, viernes santo y todas las fiestas religiosas. El día 16 de septiembre eso es independencia Mexicana. Nunca se nos olvida a mis hermanos y a mí que un día preparamos tanta comida*

que ya no supimos que hacer con ella. Comimos tanto que el otro día en la recalentada ya no queríamos por que comimos tanto. (Look from Mexico we [celebrate] Christmas, New Year's Day and sometimes the day of the Wise Men for the kids too. When my daughters were younger we expected to give them their gifts on the 6th of January which is the day of the Wise Men that is celebrated where we are from. Here, we celebrate Mother's Day on the second Sunday of May. We always celebrate it May 10th so we have two dates to celebrate Mother's Day. [We celebrate] Good Friday and all religious holidays. The 16th of September, that is Mexican Independence. My brothers and I never forget that one day we made so much food that we didn't know what to do with it. We ate so much that the next day did not want to eat leftovers because we ate so much.)

Second participant: *Con mi familia celebramos cualquier día. Todavía mantuvimos el hecho que como familia nos juntamos cualquier fin de semana a hacer una carne asada, una comida y convivimos. Celebramos cada cumpleaños de cada sobrino y son como 16 sobrinos. El día de la mamá, más bien el 10 de mayo que es en Mexico. El día de la coneja que es americano. El día de Thanksgiving ya también tenemos muchos años celebrándolo. La navidad y el día antes de la navidad eso es de Mexico.* (With my family, we celebrate any day. We still maintained the custom that as a family we got together any weekend to grill meat, have food and visit. We celebrate every birthday of every nephew, and there are about 16 nephews. Mother's Day, rather May 10th that is in Mexico. The day of the rabbit that is American. We have many years celebrating Thanksgiving. Christmas and the day before which is Mexican.)

Third participant: *Celebramos el 15 de septiembre que es el día del grito de independencia cuando Mexico se levantó en armas para independizarse de los españoles.* (We celebrate the 15 of September that is the day of the *grito* of independence when Mexico armed itself to get free from the Spaniards.)

While some immigrants seem to acculturate much more, many continue to practice the cultural beliefs and rituals of their homeland. The refusal to acculturate is not something new. Garcia finds that "One issue that drew strong and continuing support from all sectors of the Mexican expatriate community in the Midwest was the drive against acculturation" (Garcia, 1996, p. 141). Mexicans complained about life in the US and the erosion of their culture and language. Garcia cites a song, *El Renegado* (The Renegade), that was used to condemn those who denied their identity. Garcia (1996, p. 142) gives some of the lyrics: "But he who denies his race is the most miserable creature. There is

nothing in the world more vile than he." In the early 1920s similar ethnic conflict took place as what is seen today. These conflicts also extend into intraethnic battles as well. These antipathies cause people to ignore the social and cultural capital and funds of knowledge Mexican immigrants bring to society.

This study will synthesize the funds of knowledge and social and cultural capital of the three participants to capture the experiences and resources the three immigrants bring to US society. It also examines how they are able to use social and cultural capital to navigate the host society. These concepts will also be used to explain the mode of incorporation and explain the path of acculturation the three immigrant women have taken as they make their lives in the US.

This study will also compare the path of acculturation these participants take. Gordon's classical theory of assimilation and Portes's theory of selective acculturation are used to analyze and describe the path. While the classical theory of assimilation was initially used to explain a previous wave of immigrants to the US in the 1900s, it also helped to support the idea that immigrants with time come to resemble the host society. This theory aligns immigrant assimilation with upward economic mobility. On the other hand, Portes's theory of selective acculturation presents an alternative path for immigrants. This path allows immigrants to retain some of their cultural traits without fully assimilating. Taking this path, immigrants retain their culture, values and beliefs while adopting some of the traits of the host society. Portes further explains that this process or path "takes place when the learning process of both generations is embedded in a co-ethnic community of sufficient size and institutional diversity to slow down the cultural shift and promote partial retention of the parents' home language and norms" (Portes and Rumbaut,

2001, p. 54). While the topic of immigration is complex, the reasons people immigrate need to be considered.

In explaining some of the variables involved in immigration, scholars have posited the importance of push and pull factors between two countries.

The desire for one person to flee their home country for better opportunity elsewhere becomes the basis for both the push and pull factors affecting immigrants. Are these individuals leaving their home country to get away from exploitation and poverty, or are they leaving because the other country offers better wages, education or other opportunities? What are the factors pushing individuals out of their country and what is attracting immigrants to the new society? Where does wanderlust fit in? Similar to other immigrant groups, many have relatives or friends already in the US (social networks), lessening the initial cultural shock. Some of these questions are considered when analyzing the life history of the participants in this study. Having the cultural and social capital makes it possible to navigate the system while one becomes familiar with one's new situation.

It is not always clear what success or failure is for immigrants, or what impact these might have for them; both the definition and the impact are different for different groups, and also different from those of the Anglo majority in the US. For example, recent research shows that when a Hispanic succeeds or breaks the "glass ceiling," it may be perceived as simply the result of an affirmative action quota, as one of Ramos' informants observes:

Fijate [Look]... if you don't get the Ph.D. for some rare reason, van a decir que no te lo dieron por que eres Mexicana, you didn't get it because you are Mexicana. But if you do get it, they will say it was given to you because you are a Mexicana. You are going to spend the rest of your whole

life proving that you earned it.

It is true, even to this day, at my age and with my credentials, and with my career successes. When I walk in, I still have to do it all again. People do not want to believe that whatever I have done, I did it. It is not attributed to me. People do not want to believe that I could have done what I did or that I am smart. I can feel it. They will say things to other people like: 'boy she is so smart. I didn't know, she is so impressive.' What they are saying is: 'this is in contrast to what I thought.' It is real, not imagined. For the rest of your life you have to prove that you didn't get the degree because of affirmative action. You got it because you merited it. You did not get the job because they were giving it to Hispanic women. You got it and kept it, because you merited it. (Ramos, 2009, p. 148)

Failure, on the other hand, may be easier to explain since historical expectations of this population of Hispanics has been low and as not caring (Valenzuela, 1999). We know that many educational institutions have seen the culturally and linguistically diverse students as deficient; consequently, teachers have had very low expectations for these students. Research suggests that when students and their diverse backgrounds are seen as an asset rather than a deficit, models can be developed to enrich their educational experience. Such was the case with research conducted in Tucson Arizona by The University of Arizona where researchers and teachers visited the homes of students. This study was conducted by Gonzalez and Amanti in 1992. As a result of such studies, many classroom practices were designed incorporating the knowledge the children brought to the classroom.

On one hand, we see that early 20th century sociologists and psychologists published research indicating students of Hispanic descent are intelligently inferior (i.e. their intelligence levels were not equivalent to those of Anglos) based on assessments normed on another group (Gonzalez, 1990). On the other hand, current research by Moll, Ruiz and others look for new models of education based on the cultural and linguistic

strengths of Hispanic students. In her research, Gonzalez found that Mexican students historically were placed in segregated and inferior facilities, "with an emphasis on Americanization and vocational education" (Gonzalez, 1990, p. 94-95). These practices were justified because of "(1) irregular school attendance, (2) transientness of the Mexican family, (3) native capacity, or intelligence of the Mexican people" (Gonzalez, 1990, p. 69).

Much opposition to Mexicans was based on perceived racial inferiority. According to Garcia (1996), even people of Mexican descent sometimes perceive other Mexicans as inferior. He documents that an interviewee who claimed to be of a better social class claimed, "Mexicans.... are a low kind of people. The color is the main thing; they don't want to rent to dark Mexicans." This statement refers to someone in the Midwest during the early 1900s. Garcia further finds that color also influenced attitudes about Mexicans. "Some of them are dark, just like the niggers; I wouldn't like to live among them. I want to live among white people" (Garcia, 1996, p. 57). It is important to look at historical prejudices against Mexican immigrants to further explain how and why they choose the path of acculturation and reasons for not making the upper echelon of US society.

Similar to current times, Mexicans have been seen as "unfair competitors for jobs because they worked for lower wages and displaced other nationalities" (Garcia, 1996, p. 57). However, findings indicate the contrary. "Reports, studies, surveys, and employment records present a far different picture of the Mexican worker. Contrary to popular perceptions, Mexicans did not passively accept wage differentials, the abuses of foremen, difficult working conditions, and discrimination in the work place" (Garcia, 1996, p. 61). The historical record shows some of the complications of immigration to the United States.

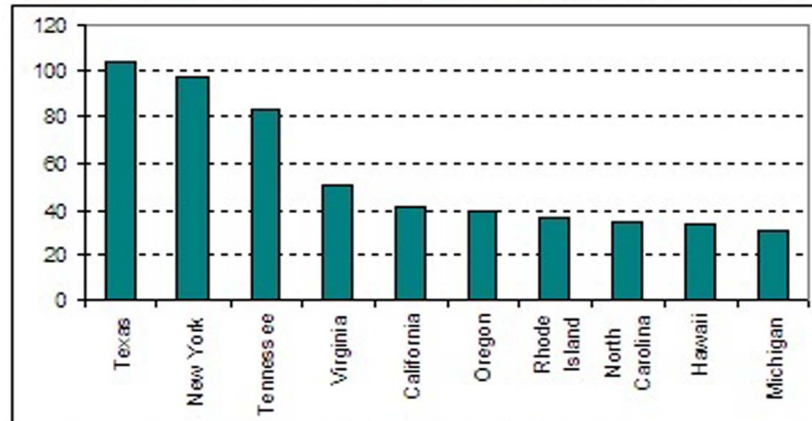
In the following review, I will discuss briefly and in general terms the following topics: Immigration to the US, the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) and its impact on immigration; the physical border, the theoretical framework of this study, transnationalism, the role women have played in border issues. It is important to have a clear understanding of some of the significant events that shaped the border, the events triggering increased immigration and some of the reasons for the continued flow of immigration from Mexico to the US. An understanding of these topics is important because they affect the life of the three participants in this study. For example, DHS is continuously dealing with the "problem" of immigration, especially from Mexico. Many other government agencies are repatriating many immigrants specifically from Mexico. History shows that during difficult times in Mexico, many Mexicans choose to migrate to the US, when there is a need for labor. The opportunity to work is a pull factor, but it also complicates the relations between the two countries.

Immigration to the US

As previously stated, the current wave of immigrants is faced with many anti-immigrant sentiments. De Sipio reminds us that "immigration and immigrants have been targets of national concern" (Garcia, 1997, p. 314). This is a time, especially in the State of Arizona, where anti-immigrant initiatives have been passed and the number of anti-immigrant groups and movements has increased. The Migration Policy Institute reported in 2007 on the top three states that had proposed immigration legislation: Texas (104 bills), New York (98), and Tennessee (83).

Figure 2: Top 10 States that Proposed Immigration Legislation, 2007

Figure 3. Top 10 States that Proposed Immigration Legislation, 2007

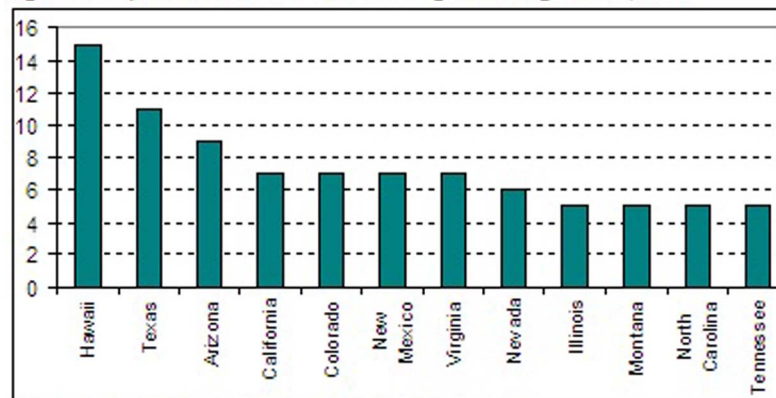


Source: MPI/NYU Database of State Immigration Legislation

But, the three states that actually saw the most immigration legislation signed into law were Hawaii (15), Texas (11), and Arizona (9).

Figure 3: Top 12 States that Passed Immigration Legislation, 2007

Figure 4. Top 12 States that Passed Immigration Legislation, 2007



Source: MPI/NYU Database of State Immigration Legislation

The topic of immigration is very emotional for both proponents and opponents of legal and illegal immigration. A study by University of Arizona professor Antonio Estrada, titled “At the Crossroads: the Hispanic Population in Arizona and Pima County,” delineates the significance of success and the need for action in terms of policy as the Latino population continues to grow in Arizona. He points out the health, social, economic

and political implications of this new wave of immigrants not only for the state of Arizona but for the nation as a whole, as the numbers of this population increase at astronomical rates.

Currently, there is a need for policy reform in order to develop policy that affects all individuals. The US and Mexico have tried to deal with the issue internally, but have also collaborated on joint efforts (Cano, 2005).

Cano finds that from the 1990s on, the Mexican government has tried to respond to the immigrants' necessities. While the Mexican and U.S. governments discuss this issue at the federal and state levels, the immigrants try to respond to the different challenges and barriers set in place. There are also many agencies and groups that have organized to try to effect change in the issue of illegal immigration from Mexico and other countries to the US. Until many of these groups discussing immigration affirm the social capital, cultural capital and funds of knowledge immigrants possess, they may not accept these groups as positive contributors to society.

Using their cultural and social capital and funds of knowledge, immigrants learn to survive and maneuver in the social, educational, political and economic system. For example, the families in this study take care of one another's children as necessary, taking them to school, watching them while the other works, picking them up from school, and so on. These families also tend to form "*compadrazgos*" types of networks that allow them to develop stronger ties with one another's children and families by standing in as godparents during the ritual of baptism. In that role, one is committing to serve the role of a parent in case the parent is not available, or is deceased. This then becomes one of the strongest of ties for this family, transforming it to a religious commitment. These networks extend far

beyond baptizing but include *quinceañeras*, confirmations and other life events immigrants celebrate.

However, because of hostility in their communities, immigrants sometimes fail to use their skills to pave their way, and acquire what Portes refers to as “modes of incorporation” (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001, p. 46). Immigrants continue to manifest and intensify such relationships. The structure of the immigrant family plays a significant role in molding the second and 1.5 generation (those who were brought to this country at an early age). Because many immigrant children who migrate to the US are young, they adjust quickly and tend to adopt the ways of the host community. In other words, these children, although still the first generation, grow up in the same manner as the second generation immigrants. Many families stay and live together, with grandparents, extended family and older siblings living in the same household, all playing a role in molding of the younger generation.

Studies show that the current immigrant flow includes immigrants that are closely associated with their national origins (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001). Even though many of them are not professionals or have high-level skills enough to attain an upper status in this society, their funds of knowledge and cultural and social capital help them survive and excel. Despite many obstacles created by government agencies that are used to exclude them out of the system and country, immigrants are still able to survive.

Many immigrants have studied English and taken other professional development classes. Many have also taken classes to become certified daycare providers. There are many other immigrants with social and cultural capital who are forced into remedial jobs due to language barriers and sometimes discriminatory practices (Portes and Rumbaut,

2001) even though they may have professional degrees and credentials from their home countries. Studies show that arriving immigrants with professional skills are channeled into unskilled jobs with the contacts made from more recent immigrants. For example, recent immigrants arrive to homes of acquaintances or relatives who have already been established, and those who are already in the US. These acquaintances and relatives assist the recent arrivals obtain employment which many times are remedial positions.

It is clear that family structures have helped to foster the notion of selective acculturation, making it possible for second generation children to move up the social and economic ladder. Many stories of immigrant families have been captured and analyzed, similar to this study, to show the role families play in molding individual lives. Despite low incomes, the sacrifices parents make, supported by funds of knowledge sustained in a household, make it possible for families of lower incomes to survive. Yet, despite obstacles put in place by society, many immigrants and children of immigrants do succeed. This is evident in this study. The three participants emphasize is education for themselves and for their children.

Immigrants know that education is important in order to succeed. Similar to Moll's indication of families establishing "*confianza*" (Gonzalez, Moll, Amanti, 2005, p. 129) with the school officials, the three participants in this study established networks with the grandchildren's teachers, increasing the networks and in return, obtaining resources and information on jobs, health and education. Despite a popular perception that immigrants are all the same, immigrant groups of the same national origin differ in many respects. Portes and Rumbaut (2001) shows that families of immigrants differ in three ways:

- 1) individual features, including their age, education, occupational skills, wealth and knowledge of English;

- 2) the social environment that receives them, including the policies of the host government, the attitudes of the native population, and the presence and size of a co-ethnic community; and
- 3) their family structure (p. 46).

In his paper, “No Margin for Error: Educational and Occupational Achievement Among Disadvantaged Children of Immigrants,” Portes discusses how immigrants (not just Mexicans) have changed the American nation in overwhelming proportions. “Children of immigrants, and immigrant children, exceed 30 million today and are by far the fastest growing component of this population” (Portes & Fernandez Kelley, 2008, p. 3). Family structures play a major role in development. Michael Cole, in his “four streams of history, four levels of development” (Moll, 1990), writes:

the founders of the sociohistorical school emphasize that a full theory of human development must take account of changes occurring simultaneously on four historical levels: the development of the species, the history of the species, and the history of human beings since their emergence as a distinct species, the history of individual children and the development of particular psychological process in the course of experimental interactions. (p. 92)

Race and physical appearance play an important role in the resources available to immigrant families. In recent years, anti-immigrant (especially anti-Mexican) sentiments have grown significantly in the US, to the point that certain identifiable looks (phenotype) are targeted by enforcement agencies in states such as Arizona and copied by other states who are trying to implement similar laws. Along with phenotype, Mexican immigrants often do not have the educational level that immigrants from other countries have.

Studies are being conducted by different scholars and research agencies such as the PEW Hispanic Center to measure the numbers of those who have had to leave the State of Arizona either to other states or back to Mexico due to the passage of SB1070 and the economical downturn of the entire nation.

Table 2: Projected Population Change in the United States, by Race and Hispanic Origin: 2000-2050

(In thousands except as indicated. Resident population.)

Numerical or percent change and race or Hispanic origin	2000 - 2050	2000 - 2010	2010 - 2020	2020 - 2030	2030 - 2040	2040 - 2050
NUMERICAL CHANGE						
TOTAL	137,729	26,811	26,869	27,779	28,362	27,908
White alone	74,078	16,447	15,634	15,102	13,959	12,936
Black alone	25,543	4,636	4,911	5,077	5,434	5,485
Asian Alone	22,746	3,557	3,747	4,592	5,412	5,438
All other races 1/	15,362	2,171	2,576	3,009	3,557	4,049
Hispanic (of any race)	66,938	12,134	12,000	13,299	14,530	14,975
White alone, not Hispanic	14,554	5,383	4,824	3,240	1,155	-48
PERCENT CHANGE						
TOTAL	48.8	9.5	8.7	8.3	7.8	7.1
White alone	32.4	7.2	6.4	5.8	5.1	4.5
Black alone	71.3	12.9	12.1	11.2	10.8	9.8
Asian Alone	212.9	33.3	26.3	25.5	24.0	19.4
All other races 1/	217.1	30.7	27.9	25.5	24.0	22.0
Hispanic (of any race)	187.9	34.1	25.1	22.3	19.9	17.1
White alone, not Hispanic	7.4	2.8	2.4	1.6	0.6	0.0

1/ Includes American Indian and Alaska Native alone, Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander alone, and Two or More Races

Source: US Census Bureau, 2004, "US Interim Projections by Age, Sex, Race, and Hispanic Origin," <http://www.census.gov/ipc/www/usinterimproj/>

Internet Release Date: March 18, 2004

The statistics in this table tell an important story about immigration. While we have seen immigrant waves before, as illustrated in the book *"Coming to America,"* by Roger Daniels, the current influx and projections create a picture of a much more ethnically diverse US, one of communities less inclined to "lose" their former identities. We will need a new understanding of what it means to "be American." The current case studies may help us develop this new understanding.

According to the Census Bureau for the State of Arizona, "Between 1995 and 2025, the number of non-Hispanic Whites residing in Arizona is projected to increase by 750 thousand, compared to a gain of 83 thousand for non-Hispanic African Americans, a gain of 76 thousand for non-Hispanic American Indians, Eskimos, and Aleut, a gain of 88 thousand for the non-Hispanic Asians and Pacific Islanders, and a gain of 1.2 million for persons of Hispanic origin." The source for the above numbers is Series A (the Preferred Series) as reported by Campbell, 1996. The majority of the data are available in files found on the Population Projections section of the World Wide Web's Census Bureau Home Page (<http://www.census.gov>). These numbers further indicate the need to incorporate immigrants of all countries into the social, political, and education fabric of American society.

Research indicates these opposing sentiments toward immigrants (especially of Mexican descent) are of long standing. Samuel Bryan, a professor at Stanford University, warned in 1912 "that the nation would pay a high price if immigration from Mexico continued" (Martinez, 2001, p. 27). The passage of current initiatives and propositions such as California's Proposition 187 reflected and in turn gave rise to many xenophobic sentiments (Maciel, 1996). This kind of sentiment toward immigrants, especially toward Mexicans, has prevailed since immigration quotas were first discussed in the early 1900s by the American government (Martinez 2001). The political climate of the host society is relevant because it affects how immigrants acculturate and the path they take whether by choice or force. Acculturation of immigrants specifically from Mexico is important because of the fast pace by which the Hispanic population is increasing in the US.

According to the Census Bureau, about 340,000 of the 4.3 million babies born in the US in 2008 were born to unauthorized immigrants. Furthermore about 4 million US-born children of unauthorized immigrant parents lived in the US in 2009. Also, 1.1 million foreign-born children of unauthorized immigrant parents resided in the US that year.

Recently, the debate over the 14th amendment has also surfaced. Congressional officials and many US Citizens have called to repeal “birthright citizenship.” These officials feel the 14th amendment serves as an attraction to many undocumented immigrants from various countries. This Amendment, adopted in 1868, grants automatic citizenship to those born in this country. This topic is very important for two of the three participants in this study since they have children born in this country and they themselves are undocumented.

The Pew Hispanic Center (2010) finds that 45% of unauthorized immigrants live with a spouse (or cohabitating partner). Legal immigrants constitute 34% of couples, and US-born only 21%. While there is concern about the provisions of the 14th Amendment of the US Constitution, “a nationwide survey by the Pew Research Center for the People & the Press in June, 2010 found that, by 56% to 41%, the public opposes changing this provision of the Constitution” (Passel et al, 2010, p. 2). Research by the Pew Hispanic Center also finds that the median age for immigrants is about a decade younger than US-born adults, and they have higher fertility rates. Hispanics who live in the US have higher rates of fertility than do whites, blacks and Asians. Immigrants and their children are part of this population explosion of Hispanic growth. For example, in Tucson AZ, there is a very sophisticated enclave of people from Guanajuato. This group has come together to find better ways of combining and utilizing resources to help each other and others still in

Guanajuato. This enclave has formed a Committee that includes a Board of Directors. This committee was formed as immigrants settled in Tucson. Many were unable to find jobs immediately after their arrival, and others wanted to find ways to send money to other relatives in Mexico; yet others simply needed money for different emergencies and to transport relatives back to Mexico for proper burial.

Members through hard work and investments were able to accumulate different resources and land, and began to offer people different ways of making money. People from Guanajuato would go to them to borrow money, and they had to come up with different ways to have people make their own money. Every so often, this enclave holds a "*tianguis*" (similar to open market) where residents bring their traditional foods and items to sell. They pay a small fee and keep all their profits.

This group has a Board of Directors, all US citizens. They meet every so often to discuss issues, problems and other ways of fundraising. This group also informs its members on political and educational issues, and was very involved in dissemination of political propaganda for the elections in 2010 in the State of Arizona. It has also taken the initiative to make sure all young adults register to vote as soon as they are of age. This Board of Directors has become involved with the social, economic, political and educational well-being of the members of their enclave. This is an prime example of how some immigrants use their social capital to become part of the host society.

But the results are not always positive. Immigrants also engage in illegal activities. The American legal system currently has many immigrants being tried for illegal behavior and activities resulting from breaking the law, including property and identity theft, sexual crimes, tax violations, production of illegal documents, and trafficking of both illegal

substance and human beings). It is important also to look at the negative aspects of immigration because many times only one side is discussed. To deal with the flow of undocumented immigrants, federal and state governments have developed high tech and other methods of detecting, countering and identifying illegal documents and capturing undocumented immigrants as they cross the border. The U.S Government has taken many security measures to protect the American borders and citizens.

Recently, White House Deputy Press Secretary Matt Chandler stated the following:

This Administration's unprecedented commitment of manpower, technology and infrastructure to the Southwest border has been a major factor in this dramatic drop in illegal crossings. We are cracking down on employers who hire illegal labor, seizures of illicit goods are up across the board, criminal alien removals are at an all-time high, the Border Patrol is better staffed than at any time in its 85-year history, and the southwest border is more secure than ever before. (2010)

Recently an additional 1200 National Guard members have been deployed to the border. Also, an additional \$600 million have been committed to further enhance technology for security. Unmanned Security Systems (USS) have also been expanded and the number agents have increased from about 10,000 in 2004 to 20,000 in 2010, resulting in increased deterrence of illegal crossings. Department of Homeland Security (DHS) reports that "illegal border crossings have been significantly reduced, as apprehensions of illegal aliens decreased from 723,825 in FY2008 to 556,041 in FY2009, a 23 percent reduction, in part as the result of increased security along the southwest border" (2010).

According to the Homeland Security Homepage, counterterrorism includes aviation security, cybersecurity, chemical security, law enforcement, protecting, analyzing and sharing information, protecting infrastructure and against fraud and counterfeiting, securing of identification, laws and regulations and other areas. It is important to include as much

information regarding the mechanisms the government has in place to deter immigration.

In 2001, as a result of the terrorist attacks of September 11th, the Department of Homeland Security was established with the primary responsibility to protect the borders and citizens of the United States.

Homeland Security

What does the office of Homeland Security have to do with immigrants? Before it was formed, immigration was the responsibility of the Office of Immigration and Naturalization and Border Patrol under the umbrella of the Justice Department. The mission statement of DHS contains its primary goal, which is the protection against terrorism, enforcing the laws of the US and fostering economic security through lawful international trade and travel.

Once again we should ask, what does this office have to do with immigrants? It is clear that, currently, immigrants, specifically undocumented immigrants from Mexico, are seen as a threat to national security; the recent drug cartel territorial wars along the border have served as partial justification for this perception. The families in this study are affected in that they live in fear of being deported, in fear of not being able to contribute to society and in fear of being classified as terrorists or drug dealers simply by their background or looks. Many nativists have linked all immigrants, associating them with the cartels and drug trafficking. As Portes and Rumbaut (2001) also point out:

Because of their numbers, poverty, and visibility, Mexican immigrants were targets of repeated waves of nativist hostility throughout the twentieth century. These attacks included organized government campaigns aimed at their repatriation or at forcefully preventing their settlement. Mexicans immigrants have thus experienced a negative mode of incorporation not only at present but for over 100 years. (p. 277)

The recent economic downturn has left the US with high unemployment rates. The increase in high unemployment has caused many American citizens including other Hispanics to struggle and reject undocumented immigrants. The Department of Homeland Security has taken charge in helping to enforce laws to help get rid of undocumented (Mexican) immigrants. Many Americans are demanding the government resolve the undocumented "problem" so the jobs can be made available to American citizens. For example, the husband of one of the participants has been told, "*Sí, nada más vienen a quitarnos los trabajos.*" (Yes, they just come to take our jobs away.) "*Por ejemplo, ahorita como está el trabajo no quieren emplear a uno para dejar los trabajos para ellos, los Americanos.*" (For example, right now the way the situation is with jobs, they don't want to employ us to leave the jobs for the Americans.) "*Ahorita los Americanos están pidiendo los trabajos por que ya no tienen las minitas esas que tenían de oro.*" (Right now the Americans are asking for jobs because they don't have the little gold minds they used to have.) "*Pero esos trabajos nosotros los vamos a volver a tener que hacer; son de nosotros. Cuando se arregle la economía, ellos no querían hacerlos otra vez.*" (But those jobs we'll have to do them again; they are ours. Once the economy is fixed, they aren't going to want to do them again.). The participants also realize the recent violence in Mexico have impacted their lives. They further realize that they are now categorized as terrorists, drug dealers and other negative connotations associated with Mexicans.

Furthermore, events in Mexico have also created a need to further protect the border. The recent outbreak of terrorism and territorial domination by the Mexican Cartel Groups has sparked a need for even further protection of the border, increased National

Guard protection and increased funding for innovative methods of protecting the border. These cartel groups continue to regain control of the lucrative drug trafficking business.

The popular newspaper, *Alarma*, has published many photos of the violent decapitations and killings of many times innocent people (see <http://nuevoalarma.com.mx/alarmaprincipal.html>).

According to NPR news (2010), the Mexican Cartels have replaced the Colombian groups as the dominant cocaine traffickers. It is believed that Mexico acts as a top marijuana and methamphetamine supplier to the US. A recent article by ABC News, "Arizona Cops Threatened by Mexican Drug Cartel," by Ray Sanchez reveals the escalated efforts the American Government must take to secure the border. While two off-duty police officers confiscated approximately 400 lbs of marijuana worth about \$250,000, their lives have been threatened by a Mexican Cartel. "The pressure is on them from the President in Mexico and that desperation is starting to spill over the border" Kirkham told ABCNews.com (2010). Jeffrey Kirkham is chief of the Nogales police department. As part of the spillover, violence on the Mexican side of the border has caused the US Government to feel a strong need to protect the citizens on the US side of the border, especially those physically located near the border. Therefore it is very important for one to understand the history of the border.

This recent outburst of violence in Mexico has resulted in the participants in this study to fear for their lives. The fear in the US is to be labeled and deported. Their families are in jeopardy of being assaulted by "*sicarios*" (one of the violent groups) knowing they have family members in the US. If the participants are deported, these

groups may assault them taking all their possessions away. They are in fear if deported; these groups may kill them.

Brief History of the Physical Border

As mentioned in the Introduction, in order to begin understanding immigrants from Mexico, one needs to be somewhat familiar with the creation of the physical border between the US and Mexico. Border scholars such as Oscar Martinez chronicle the development of the Mexico-US border. It has its origins in the battles between Spain, France and England for control of what is now referred to as North America. This competition somewhat ended in the mid nineteenth century when the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was signed.

Martinez has been able to trace Mexican immigration to what is now known as the US as far back as the sixteenth century (Martinez, 2001). While many events shaped what is now the physical border, four major occurrences were crucial in the process. First, the Texas Rebellion of 1836 gave rise to the Velasco Treaty which ceded Mexican land to what is now the US. This is when Texas seceded from the Union (Martinez, 2001). Second, ten years later, the US-Mexico War took place, ended by the Guadalupe Hidalgo Treaty signed in 1848. This treaty, as Martinez states, "transformed the people of those areas into foreigners in their native land" (Martinez, 2001, p. 70). Furthermore, according to Martinez, "violence, attitudinal racism, and discrimination became key instruments in maintaining the conquered population in an inferior status" (pgs. 70-71). Martinez's research also shows that during that time many innocent people perished and many left the area due to vigilante groups and Texas Rangers terrorizing anybody who spoke Spanish (2001). As a result many Mexican communities developed ill feelings toward European

Americans and began to terrorize them. During the Depression "firings, layoffs, threats of deportation media propaganda, and other pressures led to a mass exodus to Mexico" (Martinez, 2001, p. 71).

However, with the signing of the Guadalupe Hidalgo Treaty in 1848, Mexico lost a vast amount of land, including California, Arizona, New Mexico, Oklahoma, and parts of Kansas, Utah, Nevada and Colorado. Article V defines the border and Articles VIII and IX define citizenship, property rights and religion for the people being incorporated into the US (Martinez, 1996). Third, in 1854, yet another occurrence resulted in more acquisition of land by the US; the Gadsden Purchase signed in 1854 made it possible for the US to acquire even more land. With this purchase, Mexico lost parts of what is now known as New Mexico, Arizona, and parts of Chihuahua and Sonora. The US exchanged 10 million dollars for about 29,640 square miles. (Martinez, 1996) The fourth event resulted from the regime of Porfirio Diaz. This period of time, also known as the "Porfiriato," constituted about 34 years of dictatorship in Mexico. While Mexico's infrastructure made enormous advancements, it was at the cost of the common people. Many indigenous people were displaced and dislocated from their land. These events culminated the Mexican Revolution, during which large numbers of Mexicans fled to the US. The revolution overthrew this dictatorship.

The first three key events resulting in land loss, where land was lost to the US, were devastating for Mexico and became a sore spot where Mexico became distrustful of the US. This land acquired was yielding much fertile land with abundance of gold, silver, copper and many other valuable resources.

However, for the US, these acquisitions allowed the US to expand from coast to coast and become a world power.

The revolution that overthrew the Porfiriato regime included many women as key players. The role of women in the history of modern Mexico and the development of the border is seldom discussed in everyday conversation or by historians. One exception is Arrizon (1998) who discusses in detail the role played by women with regard to the border.

Creation of the border caused people to be aliens in their own land. Even though these events occurred more than a century ago, the contiguous border with the continuous contact and circular migrations are constant reminders of the relationship Mexicans have always had with this land. To expect Mexicans to forget this aspect of their history is naïve.

Increased research of immigrant populations is necessary in order to develop successful strategies and support systems to ensure upward mobility and integration of the immigrant into the nation's social and institutional fabric. The different backgrounds and experiences of all US citizens should be utilized and cherished. Education is key to incorporating immigrants; the participants in this study have the dream of a good education and a better life for their children.

Recent research as previously mentioned shows that Hispanics are the fastest growing population in America. Although their immigration currently may be slowed by border tensions and increased vigilance, the flow of immigrants will continue. Education level, occupation and opportunity for the success of Hispanics should be aligned with the success of the US economy. Although education is thought to be the "great equalizer," by enhancing the prospects of those who are able to benefit from it, immigrants tend to have lower success rates; the reasons for this vary, but certainly the perceptions of the majority

and attendant efforts to exclude Mexican immigrants from crucial social institutions are major factors, as demonstrated in a recent article by the Pew Hispanic Center, "Latinos and Education: Explaining the Attainment Gap" published in 2010 (p. 1):

When asked why Latinos on average do not do as well as other students in school, more respondents in the Pew Hispanic Center survey blame poor parenting and poor English skills than blame poor teachers. The explanation that Latino students don't work as hard as other students is cited by the fewest survey respondents; fewer than four-in-ten (38%) see that as a major reason for the achievement gap.

Furthermore, recent studies also show that Hispanics are the lowest in graduate degree attainment. A survey (2009) conducted also shows that Hispanics between the ages of 16-25 highly value education but the educational system has been subtractive and has not valued the cultural backgrounds and experiences of these students.

Ogbu states (1978) that immigrants' educational and employment trajectories are greatly affected by the nuances related to cultural and social capital of immigration into the US. Ogbu argues that differences in economic attainment can be attributed at least in part to differences in group status, which he characterizes as "voluntary" (immigrants who chose to come to the United States) versus "involuntary" or "caste-like" minorities (born in or imported into the United States). For example, many Asian groups would be considered "voluntary" since they chose to migrate to America; African Americans would be considered "involuntary immigrants" since for the most part their ancestors were brought to America by force. In *Minority Education and Caste* (1978), Ogbu argues that "involuntary minorities" often adopt an "oppositional identity" to the mainstream culture because of the "glass ceiling" placed by white society on the job-success of their parents and others in their communities. Ogbu (1978) reasoned, non-whites "failed to observe the link between educational achievement and access to jobs."

However, Carlos Vélez-Ibañez (personal communication, 2009) feels Ogbu is only partially right:

Most migrations are involuntary but they are different in quality, rationale, and meaning. Enslavement is not the same as leaving your home because you can't make a living. The former includes widespread dissonance, fracturing, and destruction while the latter may include some of these but they are repairable with rejoining of relationships after a period of time. Wanderlust is another thing.

Many historical obstacles are in a place that affect the education of minorities.

Educational historians such as Gilbert Gonzalez and Guadalupe San Miguel find segregation, inadequate educational funding, subtractive schooling (where schools act in such a way that the language and culture of the child is taken away), tracking, lack of expectation for success, failure to enforce compulsory laws, discrimination and other factors affect negatively the educational achievement of this group (1990, 1987).

It is important to continue research that addresses how to increase the success of immigrants in the US. While immigrants may experience similar obstacles they may deal with them differently. This analysis focuses on the differences in success and coping mechanisms of these particular three women from the town of Doctor Mora, Guanajuato, Mexico. Furthermore the study looks at the history and adaptation of these three women immigrants. The theories used to explain the lives and acculturation paths for the participants in this study begin with the concept of funds of knowledge.

Funds of Knowledge

The concept of “funds of knowledge” refers, according to Luis Moll, “to those historically developed and accumulated strategies (e.g., skills, abilities, ideas, practices) or bodies of knowledge that are essential to a household’s functioning.” Further, Moll explains that funds of knowledge “refer to these historically accumulated and culturally developed bodies of knowledge and skills essential for household or individual functioning

and well-being" (Gonzalez, Moll and Amanti, 2005, p. 72). "They are the inherent cultural resources found in communities surrounding schools. Funds of knowledge are grounded in the networking that communities do, in order to make the best use of those resources" (Moll, 1990, 2000, Wink, p.1). Carlos Vélez-Ibañez further describes funds of knowledge as a form of cultural and social capital. He states in a personal communication (2009), "The former [cultural capital] refers to information, skills, knowledge, ideas, and values (*confianza*) while the latter [social capital] refers to social relations that are reciprocal, exchanged, and mostly dense." *Confianza* is a sense of trust and faith that is developed by people after much interaction and conversation. Immigrant populations many times do not reveal any information until this relationship is established.

The concept of funds of knowledge was coined by Vélez-Ibañez and fellow anthropologists in 1984. They were able to carry out their study on "nonmarket systems of exchange" (Gonzalez, Moll and Amanti, 2005, p. 3) within Tucson, Arizona partly by a grant funded by the National Science Foundation. This study, referred to as "The Tucson Project," included intensive ethnographic interviews with the Mexican-origin community in the area.

This work clearly demonstrated the extent to which kin and non-kin networks affected families and households. The ethnographic interviews revealed 'core' households, (usually the mother's) that were central to providing information, goods, mutual help, and support to a whole circle of other households. (Gonzalez, Moll and Amanti, 2005, p. 3)

Furthermore, in a study conducted by Gonzalez, Moll and Amanti using Vygotsky's concept of "mediation," they assert that "culture provides human beings with tools and other resources to mediate their thinking" (Gonzalez, Moll and Amanti, p. 18). And, according to Gonzalez, "culture" is very fluid and multiplex. It is not a constant word

merely surrounded by certain characteristics or traits. They further indicate that from the time one is born, culture supplies us with tools and resources to "mediate" one's thinking and impacts how one thinks and develops. With another Tucson Arizona study conducted by Gonzalez, two other conclusions were drawn. First, the idea challenged the notion that culture is only portrayed through traditional folklore, dances, food etc. This study demonstrated how culture is not static and is rather a very dynamic process. This study also debunked the idea that diverse students lack knowledge and experiences (1992). Furthermore the teachers involved in this project learned to view the funds of knowledge of these students as valuable. They learned to appreciate the students and placed higher expectations on them.

In a recent YouTube video, a teacher at John Muir Middle School in South Central Los Angeles describes the conditions of the school, about which the students are upset. They feel the families in the surrounding communities do their best to maintain and clean their homes, but wonder why the school fails to do the same. This teacher is struggling with the idea of meritocracy and does not want to disappoint her students who try very hard and ultimately fail to succeed. This school population is 76% Hispanic and 24% African American. The HOLLYWOOD sign on the mountain visible from their school is a daily reminder for students of the social distinctions in their community. These students often discuss what it takes to succeed, but feel their school has a mission to educate and empower but finds itself not valuing them (2010). These feelings are widespread in the school. This is a clear example of a school that has not learned to value the cultural capital and funds of knowledge students have with them when they come to school.

A recent survey conducted by Pew Hispanic Center reveals that while many students know there is an educational problem, they feel the major problems have to do with issues of security such as school violence and drugs. However, the survey also shows that discrimination and the desire to stay close to family is a deciding factor when attending college. These reasons were cited more often especially among Hispanics not born in the US. Latino students for the most part also mentioned that parents failed to push the students to work hard and that the schools are also too quick to label the students with behavioral or learning problems and therefore have lower expectations of students. Students also mentioned that too many White teachers do not understand them because they come from different backgrounds.

In terms of higher education, the majority of parents surveyed indicated the importance of their children attending higher education.

Luis Moll combined different disciplines including Anthropology, Psychology, Linguistics and Education to develop a model that he believes will give people a more realistic picture of the culturally and linguistically diverse students. He believes "immigrant households typically contain transnational domains of knowledge" (Gonzalez, Moll, Amanti, 2005, p. 124) and further notes, "Such bodies of knowledge can serve as the foundation for learning models or thematic units developed by teachers" (Gonzalez, Moll, Amanti, 2005, p. 125). His idea is to take a more sociocultural approach. The study he conducted in Tucson, Arizona revealed an abundance of knowledge the students and families had. He remarks, "The experience of interacting socially with minoritized families of low socioeconomic status provides teachers with an appreciation of cultural systems from which Mexican origin children emerge" (Gonzalez, Moll, Amanti, 2005, p. 129). He

urged teachers to find meaning in teaching, not simply reviewing facts. The majority of these skills are self taught or taught by other family members and friends. These funds of knowledge are not learned in school. Rather, understanding of these households requires knowing their history and development as well as the sociopolitical and economic context (Gonzalez, Moll and Amanti, 2005). Gonzalez, Moll and Amanti (2005) indicate schools focus more on what students lack (such as English proficiency) rather than to see that students come from families rich in social and cultural resources; this emphasis on deficiencies has proved to further justify how teachers many times have lower expectations of Mexican instead of an appreciation for their culture. "Oral histories and narratives told by family members, in combination with expressions of cultural identity and solidarity, build an appreciation for individuals and what they have endured" (Gonzalez, Moll and Amanti, 2005, p. 129).

In *Formation and Transformation of Funds of Knowledge*, Vélez-Ibañez and Greenberg intend to provide an anthropological context for educational reform. Their thesis is that schools fail to give credit to the cultural resources of students. These cultural resources they termed "funds of knowledge." They felt these resources could be useful assets by which to understand and value the US Mexican children. They view the problems of educating this population began when the industrial societies began to separate the work place from the home. They explain funds of knowledge by using Wolf's (1966) discussion of household economy where he explains multiple funds that households juggle including caloric funds, funds of rent, replacement funds, ceremonial funds, and social funds. They further assert that uncontrolled industrialization alongside the border have shaped the structure of Mexican households. This change caused people to have to go back

and forth across the border for work; rural and urban proletarianizing of the rural population after 1929 when the repatriation of Mexican began to interfere with the formation and maintenance of "cross-border families." This era and the creation of immigration policies created the categories of legal and illegal people. After this period, legal citizenship became more important than culture, and citizenship became a big part of cultural identity. American schools at this time under Americanization programs begin to give the language of Mexicans a secondary position in society. Mexican-Americans during this time change their names, anglicized their names and began to accept a sort of second class status.

System policies have implemented repatriations and deportations since then. In 1954 the US experience "Operation Wetback," and in 1982 "Operation Jobs." More recently, we are in an era of anti-immigration, repatriation and deportations in the name of Democracy and for protection from terrorism. According to the Department of Homeland Security (website, 2010), "In fiscal year 2010, ICE set a record for overall removals of illegal aliens, with more than 392,000 removals nationwide. Half of those removed—more than 195,000—were convicted criminals. The fiscal year 2010 statistics represent increases of more than 23,000 removals overall and 81,000 criminal removals compared to fiscal year 2008—a more than 70 percent increase in removal of criminal aliens from the previous administration." The participants in this study feel and fear repatriation. They are aware of the increased deportation of undocumented immigrants specifically from Mexico.

Returning to the discussion of funds of knowledge, Vélez-Ibañez and Greenberg found that each household they studied had accumulated funds of knowledge for survival and included much of the previous generation's information and skills. These funds, they

find, are not only exchanged by generations but between households as well. They find that these funds, "provided them the cultural matrix for incorporating new understandings and relationships in a "Mexican way" (Gonzalez, Moll and Amanti, 2005, p. 65).

In a study of a Puerto Rican community, Gonzalez, Moll and Amanti found that in schools, teachers view children with a very dense (sometimes tinted or unclear) lens and often fail to see the skills and tools that these families bring to the classrooms. In their study they found many forms of funds of knowledge in this community—knowledge about materials, science, business, education, household management, communication, home/building and maintenance and repair, healthcare and medicine, recreation and hobbies, activism, performing arts, institutional, policies and practice and folklore.

In researching immigrants, funds of knowledge and experiences can "become very good educational resources for curriculum development," stated Browning-Aiken in *Funds of Knowledge* by Gonzalez, Moll, and Amanti (2005, p. 67). Using funds of knowledge as part of the curriculum development will also affirm the culture and identity of these students along with strengthening the relationships between the teachers, parents and students. Browning-Aiken found the richness of each family's background and human ties between family members across the border. Similar to other studies, she finds a high value for "*educación*." This notion is not only the academic idea but extends far beyond to include morals and respect for adults, relatives, teachers, friends and others. These adults in the lives of many serve as teachers, leaders and mentors. "From these adults, children learn skills such as tending a small store and managing households tasks, and these sources of knowledge have provided inspiration for curriculum units on math and the market economy" (Gonzalez, Moll and Amanti, 2005, p. 168). We might trace the idea of funds of

knowledge to prior notions of the importance of relating school to the everyday life of the child, as in the following comment from an earlier era:

From the standpoint of the child, the great waste in the school comes from his inability to utilize the experiences he gets outside the school in any complete and free way within the school itself; while, on the other hand, he is unable to apply in daily life what he is learning in school. That is the isolation of the school-its isolation from life. He the child gets into the schoolroom he has to put out of his mind a large part of his ideas, interests, and activities that predominate in his home and neighborhood. So the school, being unable to utilize this everyday experience, sets painfully to work, on another tack and by a variety of means, to arouse in the child an interest in school studies. (John Dewey, 1908, cited in Gonzalez et al., 2005, p. 213)

Similar to Portes and Rumbaut, Browning-Aiken finds the importance of family and friend relationships very important and reveal an interdependence and reciprocity between members. This reciprocity is a relationship that is connected to "*confianza*." This relation "*confianza*," or sense of trust allows families to bond and support one another.

A more recent study by University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill further supports the need to understand the funds of knowledge children bring to the classroom, further confirming the need to prepare and address the achievement gap among minority students in American society.

Theories of Acculturation and Assimilation

Immigrants take different paths of assimilation. Some paths are upward, a "straight-line" (Xie and Greenman, 2005), and others are downward, also called "selective acculturation" (Portes and Rumbaut 1996, 2001). Rumbaut finds that there is not a direct correlation between time spent in the US by immigrants and upward mobility (Rumbaut, 1997). There are two specific changes in the new wave of immigrants of the late 20th Century and early 21st Century: the majority of the new immigrants are from Asia and

Latin America, and the host society has changed. The economy requires a different type of immigrant, either the very highly skilled or unskilled laborer, but nothing in between.

Scholars such as Portes and Zhou originally proposed the theory of “segmented assimilation.” They claimed that because the US is such a diverse and highly stratified society, there are different segments of the society available for the immigrant to fit into. The original paths proposed by Portes and Zhou were referred to as Paths 1, 2 and 3. Path 1 was similar to Gordon’s classical theory of integration and alignment with the American middle class. Path 2 led to poverty and lower mobility (underclass). Path 3 was what is now referred to as selective acculturation where the immigrant’s values and customs were accompanied by economic integration. This path did not necessarily mean the outcome was beneficial.

Portes and Rumbaut (2001) expanded these theories to include the different factors that play a part in the various paths of acculturation. “They identify human capital, modes of incorporation into the host society, and family structure as the relevant background factors that shape the experience of the first generation” (Xie and Greenman, 2005, p. 3). According to Portes and Rumbaut, these factors influence the outcomes of the second generation. Consonant acculturation occurs when the parents and children move at a similar pace; that is, both parents and children move at the same pace and smoothly to either acculturation or remain un-accultured. In this case according to Portes and Rumbaut (2001) both the children and the parents learn the English language but are not inserted into the ethnic community. Selective acculturation, also referred to as segmented assimilation, occurs when both parents and children pick and choose some traits of the new culture while maintaining their culture. This path is dependent on many factors, including

the history of the immigrant, the pace of acculturation among parents and children, the cultural and economic barriers confronted "by the youth in quest for success and adaptation" (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001, p. 46), and family and community resources or density of community where they live. In this case, both parents and children limit their acculturation while adopting some of the host society's traits. In this case, both children and parents learn the English Language and adopt the American customs, and both parents and children are inserted into the ethnic community. The third is dissonant acculturation. This process occurs when the children of immigrants acculturate faster than the parents and more completely. This path leads to much conflict between the parents and children. In this path, parents lose their ability to guide their children, which many times results in downward assimilation. The children in this case learn the English language much faster than the parents resulting in role reversal and intergenerational conflict where parents often feel they lose authority.

The classical theory of assimilation on the other hand was used to explain the assimilation of the earlier wave of immigrants, who were mainly from Europe, while the new wave of immigrants is primarily from Latin America and Asia. The different disciplines have been trying to understand and explain the different adaptation mechanisms of the new wave and old wave of immigrants. While the classical assimilation theory aligned upward mobility with assimilation, it was believed that immigrants with time would become more linguistically similar to the middle class, according to Rumbaut and Zhou (1997). However, other factors come into play for the new immigrants.

The new wave of immigrants differs from the old wave in that their geographical location of origin is different, and also the host society has changed in many ways.

Because the new wave tends to have a more diverse socioeconomic background, they have integrated into different strata of the American socioeconomic system.

Suarez-Orozco and Suarez-Orozco (2001) claim that upward mobility and assimilation was easier in the earlier period due to the expansion of manufacturing. The current economy is more of an hour-glass economy where there is a demand for high-level professionals and low-skilled service workers at the bottom of the rung, with nothing in between. Portes and Zhou in 1993 proposed the theory of "segmented assimilation." They proposed that the US system is unequal and stratified and therefore there are different segments of the society where immigrants can assimilate. The first path, they assert, is the same as the classical theory where immigrants can merge with the middle class. They referred to this path as Path 1. The second path (Path 2) is the acculturation into the "underclass, leading to poverty and downward mobility" (Xie and Greenman, 2005, p. 3). The third path (Path 3) which they referred to selective acculturation (Portes and Rumbaut) is "the deliberate preservation of the immigrant community's culture and values, accompanied by economic integration" (Rumbaut 1994; Portes and Zhou 1993; Zhou 1997a, Xie and Greenman, p. 3).

Portes and Rumbaut (2001) expanded these theories to include the different factors that play a part in the different paths of acculturation. "They identify human capital, modes of incorporation into the host society, and family structure as the relevant background factors that shape the experience of the first generation" (Xie and Greenman, 2005, p. 1998, p. 3). According to Portes and Rumbaut, these factors influence the outcomes of the second generation. Consonant acculturation, therefore occurs when the parents and children move at a similar pace, that is, if both parents and children move at the same pace

and smoothly to either acculturate or remain un-accultured. Selective acculturation occurs when both parents and children pick and choose some traits of the new culture while maintaining their culture. In this case, both parents and children limit their acculturation. The third is dissonant acculturation. This process occurs when the children of immigrants acculturate faster than the parents and more completely. This path leads to much conflict between the parents and children. In this path, parents lose their ability to guide their children, which many times results in downward assimilation.

Social Capital

The concept of social capital has existed at least since the early 1920s. However, the first systematic review of this concept of social capital was by Pierre Bourdieu in the 1970s. He defined this concept as “the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition” (Portes, 1998, p. 3). James S. Coleman went further to include education, moving this concept to academia or for academic debate. Others incorporated their own ideas to further develop the concept. The central idea of this concept is that social networks are a valuable asset. Interactions and networks facilitate the building of communities, to commit themselves to each other and to knit the social fabric of a society. Immigrants who build and take advantage of these social network generally have a smoother transition and greater acceptance in their communities.

Cultural Capital

According to Vélez-Ibañez, cultural capital includes information, skills, knowledge, ideas, and values. Funds of knowledge are a form of cultural capital. Vygotsky (1978) and Gonzalez, Moll and Amanti (2005) tell us that culture "provides human beings with

tools and other resources to mediate their thinking" (p. 18). They further indicate that since we are born one's cultural practices show us how to use our culture and language to interact socially. "Human thinking has a sociocultural character from the very beginning, because all human actions, from the mundane to the exotic, involve 'mediation' through such objects, symbols, and practices (Gonzalez, Moll and Amanti, 2005, p. 18).

Different studies suggest that cultural capital is used to survive and maneuver one's way through society. Gonzalez, Moll and Amanti (2005) tell us that culture is embodied in curriculum as "static, normative, and exclusive. Culture is portrayed as homogenous and frozen in time, such as when teachers engage their students in learning about the holidays, food, typical costumes and art of their own or other cultures" (p. 131) But, culture, anyone's culture, changes over time. As seen in this study, cultural capital especially for the immigrant women in this study changes constantly as they merge with the new culture, experience intraethnic interactions and as they deal with a new system. Their cultural capital changes sometimes daily as they find new ways of interacting, working, educating and passing their traditions to their children. This cultural change is also affected by transborder interactions.

Transnationalism

The original definition of transnationalism by scholars included the physical interaction between people of at least two nations. The interactions between US and Mexico are of various sorts—educational, social, economic and political—and can be both legal and illegal. While the illegal actions taking place are normally associated with Mexicans crossing to the US, there is also illegal behavior in Mexico by American citizens. These include US citizens the border to solicit prostitution, drugs and alcohol. There are

many Americans who take part in human smuggling as well as drug trafficking. According to Secretary of Homeland Security Janet Napolitano (2010), "This administration has focused on enforcing our immigration laws in a smart, effective manner that prioritizes public safety and national security and holds employers accountable who knowingly and repeatedly break the law. Our approach has yielded historic results, removing more convicted criminal aliens than ever before and issuing more financial sanctions on employers who knowingly and repeatedly violate immigration laws than during the entire previous administration." About 128,000 of those people deported this year have been classified as "criminal aliens." The crimes have been dangerous: illegal drug trafficking, larceny, burglary, robbery, fraudulent activities, sexual assault, family offenses and other charges. Many of the local media have also recently published articles on some of the offenses by undocumented immigrants, further fueling anti-immigrant feelings.

A recent press release dated October 7, 2010 summarizes some of the recent arrests that have taken place in Arizona. The crimes include drug smuggling, sexual offenses against minors and rapes. Some of these arrests are of people with criminal history. These occurrences are tracked using fingerprints. Releases by Customs and Border Patrol also list the rescue and recovery attempts. Press releases are categorized by significant arrests, rescue and recovery and significant seizures.

Because families have crossed and re-crossed the border as a result of the economy, the idea of generational hop-scotching has been introduced. These families have some members born in the US and others in Mexico as well a generation in Mexico, one in the US and a third in Mexico. These situations sometimes make it easier for families to cross the border since they have legitimate family reasons for migrating. It also means there is

some pressure on them to learn about the institutional contexts of both countries, and pass these on to their family members.

In *Mexican Origin Peoples in the Southwest*, Martinez tells us that "for generations, border cities such as Tijuana, Mexicali, Nogales, Ciudad Juarez, Nuevo Laredo, Matamoros and other interior centers in the border states such as Hermosillo, Chihuahua City and Monterrey, have been integral parts of the binational living and working spaces for people from many communities in the US border region. Intense cross-border interaction have evolved in many forms, including job commuting, family visits, shopping, and tourism" (Martinez, 2001, p. 198).

These interactions have been taking place for many years and will continue to take place. Norma Gonzalez (2001) writes, "The presence of a politically constructed 1,947-kilometer demarcation line between two national states did not stop the continuous movement of people, commodities, and exchange relationships. Because of its proximity to the border, the Tucson Mexican-origin population is continually in a state of flux in terms of both in-migration and out-migration" (p. 7).

Ten states line both sides of the US/Mexico border. On the Mexican are the states of Tamaulipas, Nuevo Leon, Coahuila, Chihuahua, Sonora and Baja California. On the US side the states include Texas, New Mexico, Arizona and California, all or parts of which at one time were part of the Mexican territory. Many families were split by this physical border, which means that many do not see the line as having legitimacy to keep them separate from their relatives. The different forms of transnationalism include the following.

Education

Education offers the opportunity to access the resources and increases social and economic upward mobility. Along the US Mexico border, children cross to the US on a daily basis to attend school. There are also many Americans who cross to Mexico either through different exchange programs or “study of abroad” programs. Study abroad is a legal mechanism that allows schools and universities from two countries to exchange students.

Browning-Aiken (Gonzalez, Moll and Amanti, 2005) finds that education comes in different forms for this population. Education is considered far more than the academic education most people are familiar with. Education for the immigrant and Hispanic population includes moral values and respect for others. The bonds these families form with friends and relatives from both countries as cross-borders allow them to form a community where adults teach children different skills.

A recent article appearing in *The Dallas Morning News*, April 29, 2007, titled *Mexican children filling US schools* reports that in El Paso, there are so many students crossing the border to go to school that a special lane was opened. The *Houston Chronicle* also reported that more than 1,200 people passed through that lane from Mexico on a recent morning. While some of these crossers were college or private school students, many of those students crossing are attending public schools. While many feel this is a burden on state and local economies, there is little to be done since many have provided proof of residency in local districts. According to this article published on April 29, 2007, "The growth of Mexican border towns like Ciudad Juarez far outpaces the government's ability to build schools, ... forcing many to turn away students. Mexican schools also can be too expensive for some parents, charging fees for books, photocopies and sometimes even the

cost of administering a test." Parents also feel the quality of education can be better on the US side since schools have more resources available for students than on the Mexican side.

Another recent article discusses the same reasons stated above in reference to sending Mexican children to school on the US side.



Figure 4: Father Walks Daughter Across Border to Attend an El Paso School
(Source: Houston Chronicle)

"As one father who regularly walks his 6-year-old across the border said, '*As a parent, it doesn't matter if you don't make it, just as long as your children do.*'" (*Latina Lista* posted by Marisa Treviño). According to *Latina Lista* there have been a few inspiring stories of Mexican children who have crossed the border for a chance at a better education. Among those success stories is that of Hector Ruiz who is Chairman of Advanced Micro Devices, Inc. (Herrera, 2007).

Commerce

Commerce on both sides of the border is crucial in maintaining the economy of many towns. Citizens from both sides cross to purchase goods and services. For example, people from the US cross to purchase such products as furniture, alcohol, souvenirs, art and other Mexican items.

"Anglos who like to shop in Mexico are attracted by such products as food, crafts, artwork, furniture, and clothes, especially 'traditional' embroidered dresses and *guayaberas* (loose-fitting, dressy, summer shirts). Those who have adopted a Mexican motif for their homes are especially fond of wall hangings, pottery, and miscellaneous objects that reflect 'typical' Mexican culture. Many Anglos regularly have lunch or dinner in favorite Mexican restaurants. Some enjoy meeting in Mexican bars for 'happy hour,' while others spend Friday or Saturday nights in popular nightclubs and discotheques, not to mention brothels" (Martinez, 1994, p. 129).

Some Mexicans cross to purchase food, vegetables, clothing and technological gadgets and devices such as TVs, VCRs, stereos, computers and cameras.

Since the North American Free Trade Agreement almost 20 years ago, both countries continue to work on extending commerce relations. "Just last week, the San Diego Regional Economic Development Corp. unveiled a Cali Baja Binational Mega-Region initiative aimed at promoting the benefits of high-tech research-and-development centers in San Diego, undeveloped land in Imperial County and cheap labor and manufacturing costs in Baja California" (Calbreath, 2009). Calbreath also indicates that a cross-border business group has been in discussion to further extend the relations beyond Tijuana. "In cooperation with Merck & Co., dialogue has been working to develop biotech manufacturing capabilities in a broad area of Mexico stretching through the states of Guanajuato, Jalisco, Morelos and Nuevo Leon" (Calbreath, 2009). The key is for both sides to benefit from the relations, states Jesus Arguelles (2009) who is a capitalist from San Diego.

ROSCAs (Rotating Savings and Credit Associations)

This form of transnationalism is seldom talked about. While there is research dating back to the 1960s, these practices were not seen as significant until recently. According to Vélez-Ibañez, this practice is more about the way in which these groups of people become part of bigger economies and polities (Vélez-Ibañez, 2010, p. 1) or systems. During these practices populations engage in a broader transborder interaction. These interactions cross not only economic and social lines but extend far beyond national borders where people use their social and cultural capital. Because this population engaging in transborder relations is required to have "megascripts," they are required to find new and innovative ways of functioning and making ends meet. In his new book, Vélez-Ibañez further chronicles how these forms of credit and savings are integral to the Mexican-origin populations of the American Continent. This practice includes all Mexican States and American States as well. Sometimes these groups also invite individuals from other countries such as South and Central America, and sometimes even some of the Asian countries.

These practices also reflect how "everyday persons tackle global processes at local levels to deal with over-indebtedness, lack of opportunity, poverty, and the struggle to provide stable social platforms for their families and households" (Vélez-Ibañez, 2010, p. 3). These practices according to Vélez-Ibañez are in the hands of women for the most part.

This process helps us understand the "economic impact of global and transnational processes," (Vélez-Ibañez, 2010, p. 4). This process relies heavily on cultural capital, or "*confianza*," which is mutual trust. While this trust relies heavily on reciprocity, there have been some cases of violation of this trust. Such violations of trust usually result in expulsion of these violators from future interactions, especially when dealing with money.

Furthermore these practices are fast transforming areas of the US not previously seen as Mexican concentration states. States such as Alabama, Mississippi, North Carolina and others are rapidly being transformed by the Mexican population. The spread of these practices is facilitated by technology, but it is accelerated by the economic necessities.

These practices can be as simple as one person collecting the money and one person getting the pot of money every other week or once a month. Research by Vélez-Ibañez also shows this practice to be very complex in terms of record-keeping where as many as 40 to 50 people participate. These practices are part of normal everyday practices of various communities throughout the world. Vélez-Ibañez (2010) writes:

The ROSCA serves as a lens through which we become much more familiar with the manner in which culture and political economy interact through the great region that includes all the Mexican and US states along the border and, many times, beyond those places, both north and south. It provides us with a means and measure for cultural change at this point in time when broad demographic and economic dynamics move people. (p. 3)

Banking

Banking services and interactions take place on a daily basis on both sides of the border. While we tend to think that Mexicans invest and deposit money in American banks, there are many Americans who also cross the border to deposit money in Mexican banks. Also, according to Oscar Martinez, Mexicans have millions of dollars invested in the US.

Banks on both sides of the border are in discussions to facilitate and monitor the transactions. For example, a recent study concludes that the Federal Reserve Bank and Banco de Mexico have established a service that allows for cross-border payments. This program is called *Directo a México* and provides many benefits. "Not only is Directo a México committed to low fees and next-day clearing of payments, but the program also

provides foreign exchange rate conversions at highly competitive rates. This service has helped US banks and credit unions increase their historically small share of the rapidly growing US-to-Mexico remittance market." This process also monitors transactions.

The Department of Homeland Security frequently reports different ways in which money is embezzled and laundered in cross-border relations. Operation Cornerstone is a new financial investigations program that will identify vulnerabilities in financial systems through which criminals launder their illicit proceeds, bring the criminals to justice and work to eliminate other vulnerabilities according to HS. This department has created many task forces to oversee the financial aspect of transborder relations.

Real Estate Transactions

Real estate interactions also take place along the border. Many Americans have purchased property, especially along the coastline and resort areas. However, because the Mexican constitution prohibits non-Mexican citizens from owning subsoil, only structures or top soil are truly owned by foreigners. On the other hand, many Americans have spouses that are Mexican-born, allowing them to purchase real estate under their names. For those Mexicans who have become US Citizens, the option is now to obtain dual citizenship or regain their Mexican citizenship. Mexicans have also purchased land along the border. The US has no stipulation on citizenship and purchase of land. Many Anglo visitors own homes or condominiums in Mexico, especially in coastal communities such as Baja California, Sonora and other states of Mexico. According to Martinez, Americans who like to vacation in the interior of Mexico often go to major beach resorts such as Cancun, Acapulco, Puerto Vallarta and Mazatlan; Martinez also points out that other popular interior points such as Guanajuato, Mexico City and Oaxaca are common places

for Anglo Americans. Many times, these wealthy Americans purchase homes there as well and condominiums.

Investments

There are many investment interactions taking place between entrepreneurs from both sides of the border. Many Mexican investors own much property along the border. They own, shopping centers, ranches, restaurants and other businesses.

Maquiladoras, twin manufacturing plants, employ many workers from both sides of the border. These are mostly assembly plants managed by American workers who reside on the American side. These CEOs prefer to live on the American side in order to send their children to American schools.

After the signing of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), many American businesses began to move farther south in Mexico and to other countries.

The *maquiladora* industry is an important economic engine in the border area. It is a visible form of transnationalism resulting from the interaction of both sides of the border. This industry has also drawn many people from south of Mexico, Central Americans and South Americans, to the border area. Many of the *maquiladora* workers end up crossing to the American side after they see the wage differences.

Labor

Labor has been exchanged for decades between the two countries. Mexican cheap labor has become a commodity for many American businesses. Mexican labor is not only cheap but dependable.

The *maquiladoras* previously discussed give a glimpse of some exchanged labor taking place on both sides of the border.

According to Martinez (1994),

Because their jobs demand it, Anglo commuters must make a rapid adjustment to the special circumstances of the border, becoming functionally educated in the business and industrial climate of Mexico, at least minimally fluent in Spanish, and sufficiently informed about local customs to get along reasonably well with Mexican employees, associates, and functionaries. (p. 130)

Martinez believes these commuters are very important in the formation of opinions about Mexico and Mexicans. These commuters are often asked for opinions on how things work across the border. Martinez (1988) describes commuters as people who hold US residency cards, also referred to as green cards, people who illegally cross using local permits issued to shoppers, students, business people, tourists and workers and others who simply cross illegally. While in 1981 the Department of Immigration and naturalization estimated about 40,000 people as green card holders who commuted, it is impossible to really track the number. Many of these people refuse to call themselves commuters because they do not trust INS to collect their information. The table below is compiled from figures discussed by Martinez in *Troublesome Border* (p. 116). These numbers should be considered conservative because of the difficulty in obtaining accurate information.

Table 3: Number of Mexican Green Card Commuters, 1981

Major Ports		
	Nuevo Laredo-Laredo	1,759
	Piedras Negras-Eagle Pass	1,689
	Juarez-El Paso	7,554
	San Luis-Yuma	7,919
	Mexicali-Calexico	6,954
	Tijuana-San Ysidro	10,592
All other ports		3,720
Total		40,187

SOURCE: US Immigration and Naturalization Service, Commuter Report, 1981, Washington D.C. Cited in El Paso Chamber of Commerce, El Paso Area Fact Book, sec. 12, pp. 8-9

Vélez-Ibañez (2010) reports the following:

- In 2009, there were an average of 722,000 (24 million per month) passengers crossings per day at the 35 points of entry on the 1952 mile border between the United States and Mexico and the United States issued 906,622 nonimmigrant visas for Mexicans in fiscal year (FY) 2005.
- Approximately 60 percent of the 500 million visitors admitted into the United States enter across the US-Mexico border, as do 90 million cars and 4.3 million trucks annually.
- The Mexicanization of former Anglo towns, and the creation of Mexican rural population settlements in vacant lands in the United States, termed "*colonias*," are now home to hundreds of thousands of people, 97 percent of whom are Mexican origin (pps.118-119).

These *colonias*, according to Vélez-Ibañez, are primarily located along the border in California, Arizona, New Mexico and Texas and lack infrastructure and other basic services (Vélez-Ibañez, 2010).

There are many American citizens who live on the Mexican side of the border who also are considered commuters since they cross to the American side to work, and vice versa. There is no definite number of commuters since many do not report their status in fear of American federal officials.

The US has benefited from cheap Mexican labor for many years. Martinez finds in his research (1991) that Americans for many years have sent labor recruiters to Mexico seeking workers for the railroads, mines and agriculture. Furthermore, "The US government, often with the cooperation of Mexico City, aided American employers in securing labor by overlooking violation of labor laws" (Martinez, 1991). Evidence shows that the American government has extended its recruitment roots to Mexico for military purposes during war time, offering the opportunity for American legal residency in return but not mentioning the legal bureaucratic entanglement in this process.

Middle and upper class American society also benefited from the cheap labor—witness the many maids, gardeners and other service workers hired by American families and companies (Martinez, 1991).

Tourism

Tourism is a pleasure-seeking activity enjoyed by citizens from both sides. Attractions on both sides of the border provide major sources of income for both countries. As previously stated, many Americans travel the coastal beach areas of Mexico to vacation and purchase homes and condominiums.

Martinez finds that tourism has been beneficial to both sides of the border. Certain activities have given the border cities a reputation. “Historically, cities like Juarez and Tijuana have been seen by many on both sides of the boundary as wide-open recreation centers for foreign visitors, appealing particularly to American military personnel eager for thrills from sex, liquor, drugs and other vices” (Martinez, 1991).

Mexicans, on the other hand, tend to travel to many American destinations such as Las Vegas, Disneyland Resorts and other tourist attractions in the US

Mexicans who have the means to travel farther into the interior of the US often do it to shop and explore the American life.

Vélez-Ibañez (2010) estimates that 500 million visitors, as well as 90 million cars and 4.3 million trucks, cross into the United States from Mexico each year, and that such crossings amount to more than \$600 million in trade daily. He says that the border region is no longer just a place to cross but instead, “the US-Mexico border region has become the central axis and node for trade, commerce, population crossing and re-crossing, linguistic experimentation, institutional development, academic interest, population settlement, class creation and divisions, and cultural emergence and conflict” (Vélez-Ibañez , 2010, p. 128).

Medicine, Pharmaceuticals and Narcotics

The purchase of pharmaceutical products on the Mexican side of the border by Americans has become a commonality. US citizens are able to buy medications many times without prescriptions for about a third of the cost of the same product on the US side.

There are many doctors and dentists across the border sought out by Americans. Many of these doctors, for various reasons, are American doctors. It is unclear if these doctors have the proper licenses to practice. Many women from Mexico cross to the American side for specialized services they feel are better on the US side. *Curanderismo* is also a folk type of medicine that is practiced on both sides of the border.

Martinez (1991) reports that the Drug Enforcement Agency indicates that 20% of the heroin and 48% of the marijuana consumed in the US come from Mexico. In the 1980s, cocaine became a problem. *The Financial Times* reports that between 50 and 70 percent of the cocaine in the United States now comes through Mexico. While air patrolling has reduced the amount of smuggling, very sophisticated ways of transporting contraband are implemented. More effective counter measures will have to be developed by both sides of the border working together if the tide is to be stemmed.

In relation to the three participants their medicinal practices and rituals have crossed the border as well, also connecting relatives and friends.

Relatives and Friends

The most common form of transnationalism results from the going back and forth by people to visit relatives and friends. Many children from the US side often spend school vacations and holidays with relatives on the Mexican side. Also, relatives who reside on the Mexican side travel to the US side to visit.

The children of the participants in this study often send their children with relatives over the vacation breaks from school and holidays.

Norma: Trato de explicarles a mis hijas que son nacidas aqui, que han tenido la oportunidad de ir a Mexico con mi Mamá y menciona mi Mamá que no se quieren venir por que es un tiempo que pasaron bonito. (I try to explain to my daughters who were born here that they have had the opportunity to travel to Mexico with my Mom, and my Mom mentions that they don't want to come back because they've had a good time there.)

Lorenza: Cuando estoy en Mexico me da mucho gusto ir por que voy a ver a mi familia, a mi Papá, a otros hermanos que tengo allá, visitar mi pueblo, ver tantas cosas donde yo crecí; pero siento muy feo venirme por que cuando regrese no me van a dejar entrar a Estados Unidos pero yo ya me hice ciudadana. (When I am in Mexico, I feel really good going because I go to see my family, my father, my other brothers/sisters that I have there, visit my town, see many things where I grew up. But I feel bad coming back because sometimes I feel they aren't going to let me cross the border but I already became a citizen.)

According to Portes and Rumbaut, Mexicans are a product of "an uninterrupted flow lasting more than a century. Mexicans are the only foreign group that has been part of both the classic period of immigration at the beginning of the twentieth century and the present movement. Accordingly, Mexicans are also the only group among today's major immigrant nationalities to have spawned an earlier second and even third generation" (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001, p. 277). This idea further supports the continuous flow and transborder activities existing for many years and that the interchange and exchange between families members will continue.

According to Gonzalez, the communities of northern Sonora and Arizona provide a continuous round of transborder exchange relationships from Nogales to Hermosillo and all the towns in between on the Mexican side; the same for Arizona and other border states. These families on the border towns on the American side travel often to the border towns to purchase, toys, candies, *piñatas*, *pan dulce*, jewelry and many times clothing.

In her study of border crossers, Browning-Aiken finds richness and reciprocity existing from families crossing the border to spend time with relatives and friends. The participants from the study further support this idea. These families send or take their children to their home town. They keep close connections with their relatives from Guanajuato.

Spaces and Places

There are other spaces and places that are rarely discussed. These are many phenomenological spaces where according to Vélez-Ibañez people carry, exchange and are reminded on a daily basis of the different exchanges. For example, he uses the participation of people in *tandas* and *cundinas* which are "behavioral actions in transnational spaces that have developed and the actual physical site is no longer just the US but a transnational site" (personal communication, 2009). He further asserts that there are other examples, such as the waving of the Mexican flag in Las Cruces, and Tucson. There are many actions, transactions, and institutions that on a daily basis are either thwarting or helping those crossing the borders. While many scholars limit the definition of transnationalism to the act of crossing back and forth, others such as Vélez-Ibañez (personal communication, 2009) feel the term is much broader; it is not simply one medium but should include other "acts and feelings, ideas, practices emotions, materials and values that are articulated daily, frequently, and constantly in this region."

One area that requires further research in dealing with transnationalism is the use of technology and transborder relations. There is evidence of corresponding via email between family members and friends. It is clear that the use of cell phones has increased based on the three case studies conducted for this research as well as the use of email.

Other transactions, such as the many remittances of money back and forth between the two countries, are very seldom discussed by researchers. But this activity has become an important dimension of transnationalism. It is also an important part of the life of the three women in this study.

Other examples of transnationalism come from religious traditions. In the case of the three participants of this study, many of their religious practices have also become part of their new lives in the US: their religious practices have also crossed the border; their proverbs and *dichos*, many of them based on religious values, have crossed and become part of their daily routine.

Homeland Security

The participants in this study feel the Department of Homeland Security targets Mexican immigrants and has taken aggressive actions to deport and criminalize immigrants, specifically Mexican immigrants. The Department has budgeted millions of dollars to increase dramatically the numbers of agents patrolling the border. Its goals are “to prevent and investigate illegal movements across our borders, including the smuggling of people, drugs, cash, and weapons.” The Department also mentions on their website that it is working to strengthen security on the southwest border to disrupt the drug, cash and weapon smuggling that fuels cartel violence in Mexico by adding manpower and technology to the southwest border. They support smart security on the northern border and to facilitate international travel and trade Security. Furthermore, according to the website, BEST (Border Enforcement Security Teams) have doubled. With Border Patrol alone, agents use many modes to combat illegal immigration, from horses to dune buggies and high tech equipment. The Department reports on its website through a regularly-

posted Fact Sheet the amount of resources resulting in what they refer to as tremendous progress through their operations and commitment to securing the border.

Federal and State governments have tried to regulate illegal immigration as the flow of immigrants continues at a steady pace. For now, their success seems to be limited; this flow may be slowed at times, but because of the social, educational, economic and political interaction between the two countries, the flow will likely continue indefinitely.

Other Forms of Transnationalism

While research indicates many positive influences immigrants bring to society, other aspects of immigration have become a topic of concern. There is an increase in human smuggling, drug trafficking, money laundering, reproduction of false documents, identity theft and other illegal activities. As a result of increased security protection, immigrants live their lives in fear of being detained and deported back to Mexico, separating families and leaving children behind with relatives or in custody of the states.

Classifying Mexican immigrants as terrorists and as a national threat has caused much anxiety among the three participants in this study. Because of the illegal activity undoubtedly taking place by undocumented immigrants, many families fear repatriation causing the splitting of families. Another fear of the three participants is, if they are deported, their children raised in the US will have trouble adjusting to another country. Many of the individuals being repatriated are older, and some have injuries or disabilities. They are also concerned about reported increases in violence in Mexico.

The Department of Homeland Security takes many actions to deter illegal immigration. These actions by the Department of Homeland Security include the arrest, detention, repatriation, and removal from the United States of foreign nationals who violate US

immigration law. Violations include failing to abide by the terms and conditions of admission or engaging in a variety of crimes such as violent crimes, document and benefit fraud, terrorist activity, and drug smuggling. The following statistics for 2009 are posted on the Department's website:

- 613,000 foreign nationals apprehended; 86 percent were natives of Mexico.
- approximately 383,000 foreign nationals detained .
- 393,000 foreign nationals removed from the United States—the seventh consecutive record high. The leading countries of origin of those removed were Mexico (72 percent), Guatemala (7 percent), and Honduras (7 percent).
- 128,000 known criminal aliens removed from the United States.

These statistics are important because they show that even though the number of detainees is on the rise, this has failed to deter the flow of immigrants, documented and not. It shows the strength of the push-pull factors at the center of migration.

Roles Women Have Played in Border Issues

In order to understand the life of a Chicana/Mexican woman, there has to be an understanding of the pre-Columbian and Colonial Mexican history. The relevance of this historical context is important to explain the active participants women have been in history. This review will discuss this cultural heritage of the contributions of women that is for the most part ignored.

Different codices state that women in Aztec society were involved in almost all aspects of society. In the military area, women not only accompanied men to wars, they served as cooks, carriers, served as warriors and courtesans. Many of the Aztec women also served the warriors in their sacred dances. In the religious sphere, females as well as males were trained in the religious vocation. Many women had titles of priestess or women

priests. In the medicine realm, women participated as *curanderas* (medical specialists) and *parteras* (midwives). As *parteras*, women were believed to have "terrestrial powers."

Therefore, women in Aztec society had many roles from birth to death depending on the class base, their skills and their vocation or religion. *Curanderismo* was considered a derogatory term and is seen now as a border phenomenon. Trotter and Chavira (1997) find that Ana Castillo,

has delineated a method and theory of *curanderismo* that draws from ancient Mesoamerican medicine and religion. Through this mode, Chicanas can become active agents of religious production spiritual healing and physical curing. Like the ancient Aztecs, she understands mind/body and soul/spirit on a continuum. (Page xiii)

The practice combines Spanish-Moorish medicine with some Native American practices in a system of folk healing. *Parteras*, on the other hand, are midwives trained to deliver babies.

Women were rewarded by the public as well as the family if their duties were performed. An example of a woman who gained historical status is *La Malinche*. Her role in Aztec society has been viewed through different lenses. She has been a symbol of treacherous and sexual behavior, often not easily accepted by society. She was supposed to be fluent in three different languages (Nahuatl, her native tongue, Maya and Spanish). As Del Castillo writes, this colonial period was engulfed in much turmoil among many groups, including the Aztecs. *La Malinche* was instrumental in helping save many groups from the Aztec taxing system. Whatever the attitudes toward her, there appears to be consensus that she was the beginning of "*mestizaje*" as we know it today. She became Cortes's interpreter and adviser and later his mistress who bore him a son. The colonial period is very important in discussing the role of the Mexicana or Chicana women. This is a period in

which we begin to see the change from a stratified but collective structure for women and changes to an oppressive structure according, to Alfredo Miranda and Evangelina Enriques in their book entitled *Chicana: The Mexican-Woman*.

Early writings begin to emerge in the early 1800s about the women of the New World. These early writings contained many European prejudices, and of course many of the early writings were of and by the upper class in the caste system established by the Spaniards. For example, Madame Calderon de la Barca was the English wife of a Spanish minister. Her writings were on a variety of subjects; many concerned different foods, ways of life, manners, dress and social and political conditions. Her observations were of her obvious superior looks compared to those of the Indian women she encountered. She writes talks about her own beauty and considers it to be rare in the women of what she refers to as a foreign land (Miranda and Enriquez, 1979). She goes on to write that the Indian women have a few fine features but they are generally too short and fat. Still, by the end of her two year stay in Mexico, Madame de la Barca began to acknowledge the generous hospitality of these Indian women.

On the other hand, one woman who did rise during the colonial period was Sor Juana Ines de la Cruz, who was gifted and served in a convent pursuing a life of scholarship and poetic writing. She later went on to open schools for other women. Other women such as Dona Maria Josefa Ortiz de Dominguez were involved in the cry for independence. She disliked being governed by *gachupines* (the colonial Spaniards). As Jandura's research indicates, others such as Dolores Jimenez y Muro and Hermila Galinda have been involved politically, in war, and in creating their own agenda as feminists and professionals. Other *soldaderas* or *Adelitas* have been involved in different revolutions.

Even though these women permeated every niche in society and the revolution, they have received only a small fraction of the recognition by writers and scholars.

Women and immigrants have played a key role in forming the US. Many scholars have researched and discussed their findings and views of women and immigrants. Still, women are generally absent in the histories of nations, and even less so are they given credit for the role they have played in the process of assimilation and acculturation in the US. Rather than being passive victims, women have been active agents of social change. Hispanic women specifically have continued to be active agents of change and the struggles for inclusion on the border. As Anzaldua (1987) wrote, "The US-Mexican border *es una herida abierta* (is an open wound) where the third world grates against the first and bleeds" (p. 3).

In her dissertation, De La Trinidad (2008) finds the key roles women have played in promoting educational reform from grassroots activism to different community work promoting bilingual education. Although Mexicans/Mexican Americans became the minority in their own land, De La Trinidad finds they made their voices heard. Furthermore she finds that "Educators realized that forced Americanization and native-language restriction were detrimental to the educational process of Mexican American students and denied them equal education" (De La Trinidad, 2008, p. 94). Because of the proximity to the border, children and adults realize the importance of maintaining their language.

This case study of three immigrant women from Mexico supports the findings of previous scholars. For example, Alejandro Portes discusses the importance of density when immigrants incorporate into a host society. The success of the three participants in

this study depends heavily on the density of their social capital - of friends and family members who have played a key role in their well being. The three participants in this study fit into Alejandro Portes's selective acculturation model because they have adopted many of the host society's characteristics: they have adopted the language, many of the foods and customs; they celebrate many of the holidays, and have adopted the new educational system and play sports of both countries. But, they also retain many of their cultural characteristics such as foods, religious traditions and practices, language and will continue to celebrate many of the holidays they celebrated in the town of Doctor Mora Guanajuato.

The participants studied for the most part do not fit into Gordon's classical theory of assimilation; after years of adaptation, they still do not resemble the host society. They have not given up their identity, their language and traditions. While they seemed to be making economic progress, the country took an economic downturn and now the participants find themselves in dire economic need.

As seen by the letters provided by Norma's husband, the Mexican Government will no longer welcome these individuals back to their country due to their age and injuries incurred in the US.

Now more than ever, further research is necessary to find ways to incorporate these immigrants to the American Society and find ways to ensure their upward mobility without subtracting their cultural characteristics. The demographics are changing and the Mexican immigrant community is growing. With the generational Baby Boomers getting close to retiring and the economic downturn, the success of the country depends on the education and readiness of this new population. This generation will need to maintain and sustain a

working class society. If we don't take the interest now, who will maintain the security system and the country as the Baby Boomer population retires?

From colonial times to the present, women have been instrumental to the daily lives of people around the border. According to Dr. Vélez-Ibañez (2010) "Many women, especially, carry transborder adjustments, adaptations and innovations to great lengths. The reason is fairly simple: they carry most of the weight of raising children, keeping hearth and home, and ensuring that relationships are maintained and that social capital is guarded and spent" (p. 127).

The participants in this study are committed to their Mexican culture even as they try to weave themselves into the American society. As these participants make sense of their lives in the US, the Department of Homeland Security criminalizes their immigrant status and their Mexican *paisanos* (fellow countrymen) also target them if repatriated. In the meantime the participants and their families continue the transnational relations and their life in the US.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

Introduction

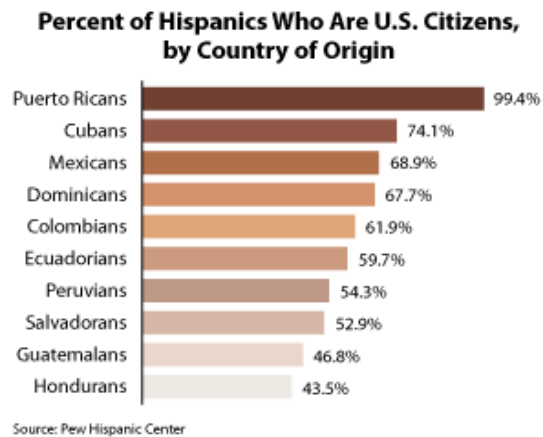
This study took place in Tucson, Arizona using qualitative methods. The State of Arizona borders California on the west, New Mexico on the east, Utah on the north and the State of Sonora, Mexico on the south. Arizona was part of the land acquisition by the US through the Guadalupe Hidalgo Treaty and expanded by the Gadsden Purchase.

As seen by the following table of the 2000 Census, slightly more than a third of the population is of Hispanic descent.

Table 4: Population Demographics of Tucson, AZ

Population	Tucson city, Arizona	Arizona
Total Population	486,699	5,130,632
Male	49.0%	49.9%
Female	51.0%	50.1%
18 years and over	75.4%	73.4%
65 years and over	11.9%	13.0%
Married Persons	45.3%	55.0%
Single Persons	54.7%	45.0%
Median Age	32.1	34.2
Average Family Size	3.12	3.18
Ethnicity		
White	73.3%	77.9%
Black or African American	5.1%	3.6%
American Indian and Alaska Native	3.2%	5.7%
Asian	3.2%	2.3%
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander	0.3%	0.3%
Other	19.0%	13.2%
Hispanic or Latino (of any race)	35.7%	25.3%

Table 5: Hispanics Who are US Citizen by Country of Origin



Pew Hispanic Center 2001

The likelihood is that these numbers will be much higher once the 2010 census is published. The places of origin for Hispanics in the US have varying relations with this country. For example, Puerto Rico is a territory of the US, and Puerto Ricans are US citizens, although their political identity is sometimes confusing for those on the mainland; Puerto Ricans themselves sometimes refer to their island as a different country. Other Hispanics have been given political asylum once they enter the country; not true for Mexicans. In the table below we see that the educational attainment for Hispanics in Tucson is low. This is important because of the differences in groups classified in the "Hispanic" category and the way the US Government relates to each group.

Table 6: Education Characteristics Tucson/Arizona Population

Education Characteristics	Tucson city, Arizona Arizona	
School Enrollment		
Elementary School Enrollment	53,711	624,766
High School Enrollment	25,012	286,122
College or Graduate School	52,143	331,099
Educational Attainment Population 25 years and older		
High School Graduate	24.0%	24.3%
Associates Degree	6.6%	6.7%
Bachelor's Degree	13.9%	15.2%

Education Characteristics	Tucson city, Arizona	Arizona
Graduate or Professional Degree	9.0%	8.4%

Source: 2000 US Census

There is a strong correlation between educational attainment and economic well-being. For example, the figures below show the population living below poverty level. It is not clear what percentage of the population living at the poverty level is of Hispanic descent since many are not counted (if undocumented) but a major part of Hispanics live at or below the poverty level because of many factors such as educational level and immigration status; many immigrant Hispanics are in the service industry and manual labor force.

Table 7: Economic Characteristics of Tucson/Arizona Citizens

Economic Characteristics	Tucson city, Arizona	Arizona
Median Household Income	\$30,981	\$40,558
Per Capita Income	\$16,322	\$20,275
In Labor Force	61.7%	61.1%
Families below poverty level	13.7%	9.9%

Source: 2000 U.S Census.

The following data further justify the need to educate the Hispanic/immigrant community. A comparison of the figures of Hispanics to those of Non-Hispanic Whites ages 18-64 shows a huge disparity in poverty level. Figures provided by Hispanic Pew Research also indicate that at least 41% of children in the K-12 schools in Arizona are of Hispanic descent.

Table 8: Percentage of Poverty in the US

Poverty	Percent in Poverty³
Hispanics 17 and Younger	27%
Non-Hispanic Whites 17 and Younger	9%
Non-Hispanic Blacks 17 and Younger	30%
Hispanics 18-64	16%
Non-Hispanic Whites 18-64	3%
Non-Hispanic Blacks 18-64	15%

Source: Pew Hispanic Research 2010

The three women in the case study perceive the political climate in Arizona as anti-immigrant. The perception is fueled by the public statements of government officials such as Maricopa County Sheriff Joe Arpaio, who continues the daily raids of those who are perceived to be undocumented. The Sheriff has had literally hundreds of law suits filed against him for civil rights violations, according to America's Voice. Moreover, recent legislation also adds to the perception of a strong anti-immigrant climate; Arizona, along with Hawaii and Texas, passed the most anti-immigrant legislation in 2007 than any other states, according to the Migration Policy Institute. On a daily basis articles appear in different newspapers discussing immigrants, specifically from Mexico. Also, with the current economic crisis in Arizona, state legislators have detained immigrants, transferring them to the hands of the federal government. For example, a recent article in the *Arizona Daily Star* (February 6, 2010) reported that 39 detainees in Tucson were transferred to a federal detention center and eventually deported. The state saved about \$2500 a day. It also reported that “about 15 percent of the roughly 42,000 prisoners in the state system are criminal aliens and eligible for the early transfer. It is expected up to 1,000 of them will be transferred to ICE within the next 18 months.” A spate of recent articles on legislation and government enforcement activities add to the strong perception that the state is moving forcefully to criminalize illegal immigration to unprecedented levels.

Such developments further justify the anxiety of immigrants. These examples are similar to many during the Great Depression, as described by De La Trinidad (2008): "Dire economic conditions during the Great Depression gave rise to heightened nativism and a campaign to rid the nation of its foreign workers, especially Mexican workers. Mexican origin people, especially the undocumented, became the target of a massive repatriation campaign of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) in cooperation with the Mexican government." De La Trinidad chronicles discrimination in many dimensions of public life, including the school systems dominated by Anglo-Americans. Mexican teachers were almost non-existent in the late 1800s early 1900s.

As the intensity of the discussion of immigration continues to escalate, the issues and players multiply and the climate becomes denser. It is important to document the historical context of immigration from Mexico as well as the current climate affecting this sector of society. The three participants are very much aware of the history and relations between Mexico and the US and prefer to become active participants in the American society as they maintain the culture and values of their homeland, specifically their regional geographical values.

Participants

The three participants in this study are women from the town of Doctor Mora Guanajuato, Mexico. They are first generation immigrants between 32 and 46 years of age. The first participant chose the pseudonym of Norma Rios and the second Nancy Cruz. While the third participant originally wanted to use her real name, her pseudonym was changed twice. In the end, she wanted to change it to Lorenza Orduña in honor of her Grandmother.

The town of Doctor Mora, as well as the entire state of Guanajuato, has a longstanding colonial history. The town was named after a Reformist named Dr. Jose Maria Luis Mora; it has a current population of slightly over 21,000 people. The following from the town's website exemplifies the vision and mission of the town of Doctor Mora:

VISIÓN (Vision)

CONVERTIR A DOCTOR MORA EN UN MUNICIPIO DE DESARROLLO DONDE TODOS SUS HABITANTES CONVIVEN, TRABAJAN, APRENDEN Y PARTICIPAN EN LA CONSTRUCCIÓN DE UN MEJOR NIVEL DE VIDA.

(Convert Doctor Mora into a municipality of development where all its citizens associate, work, learn and participate in the building a better life)

MISIÓN (Mission)

GENERAR Y CONSTRUIR EL DESARROLLO INTEGRAL DE TODAS LAS PERSONAS MEDIANTE POLÍTICAS PÚBLICAS QUE GARANTICEN SU DERECHO A LA SALUD, SEGURIDAD, EDUCACIÓN, VIVIENDA Y TRABAJO.

(Generate, construct and develop of all the people, through public policies that guarantee their right to health, security, education, shelter and work.)

VALORES (Values)

UNIDAD (Unity)

PERSEVERANCIA (Perseverance)

COMPROMISO (Commitment)

HUMILDAD (Humility)

SOLIDARIDAD (Solidarity)

RESPONSABILIDAD (Responsibility)

It is important to understand the values the three participants bring with them because we know that the density of ties among immigrants is important for their social integration and economic success. It is clear that, even with the educational and economic

capital immigrants may bring, this will not translate to success in the other country if they are geographically dispersed. Their sending community is very religious. The three participants are very proud of their religious background and the practices they try to instill in their children. Lorenza provides photos of a famous pilgrimage done very year by people from different towns in their state. They travel for weeks walking to this mountain where the statue and shrine of the Virgen de Guadalupe is located. As the people walk and arrive at the bottom of the mountain, they kneel and go up the hill on their knees. As they travel on this pilgrimage, people from the surrounding towns join them. They also do not take food or water with them but rely on people from the different towns they pass to feed them and give them drink. Each town has a group or town number and sign which they carry.



Figure 5: Annual Pilgrimage to the Virgen de Guadalupe

The religious faith of this town reaches far beyond the women as shown on the above photo. Adult males also participate in religious traditions. Below is a photograph of the crucifixion of Christ. The men dress as the "disciples" of Jesus in the photo below as they receive the holy sacrament. Lorenza's brother, receiving communion at Easter time in the photograph below, volunteered to be one of the disciples.



Figure 6: Lorenza's Brother Receiving Communion as a Disciple of Jesus

Portes and Rumbaut find that “modest and tightly knit communities can be a valuable resource, as their ties support parental control and parents aspirations for their young” (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001). The values the three participants bring are shared by others from Doctor Mora. It is evident these values are embraced by the town government and the people.

The three participants in this study arrived in the US into very dense immigrant communities. Norma and her family were convinced by Norma’s brothers and sister to migrate to the US and stay with them. They resided with family until they saved enough

money to rent their own place. Norma's brothers and sister would help them out with diapers for the children and living expenses. Nancy Cruz, who crossed the border from Juarez to El Paso, was supported by friends in Arizona, relatives and friends in California and friends in Oregon until they were able to rent their own place. Nancy stayed with a brother and cousins in Oakland, California, while her husband traveled to Oregon to get settled in and find a place to live. Lorenza Jimenez and family stayed with her brother-in-law for two weeks when they first arrived and soon found an apartment to rent. They had a car in their hometown that they sold for expenses to migrate. They had enough money to rent an apartment with that sale.

Similar to the values of the town of Doctor Mora the three participants are humble. They struggle to find ways to make ends meet. They help one another, and do not give up or give in regardless of circumstances. These values are imbedded in who they are; even after many years in the US, they pull together to help recent arrivals and help others cross.

These women come from a locale that has strong cultural, social and human capital where the potential of everyone is valued and cared for and where morals are strong.

The three participants are of similar all women; their precise ages are not known but range between 32-46 years. The three participants are first generation immigrants from the same geographical region of the town of Doctor Mora, Guanajuato, Mexico.

Procedures

The participants were initially contacted to confirm their participation in the study and were then contacted to schedule the initial interview that lasted between one and two hours. Data collection was by tape recording, note taking and observations.

The interviews were conducted using open-ended questions; they were audio-taped. Participants were called after the interviews to clarify their comments. The interviews were conducted in Spanish. The participants were asked to describe how their lives were in the town of Doctor Mora, Guanajuato, Mexico, how their lives were as they migrated to the U.S and how their lives are now. As the discussions took place, the interviewer took notes and observed the non-verbal communication as well as surroundings and other activities taking place in the household.

Analysis

For the analysis, I modified the Funds of Knowledge table compiled by Gonzalez et al. (2005) in their study of Puerto Rican households in New York City. After transcribing the audiotapes, the information coded, compiled and recorded in a table. The information was used to compare and contrast the lives of the three women as a way to understand their various experience in acculturating to their new US context.

Participant 1 Demographics (Obtaining Consent)

On April 2, 2010, participant # 1, Norma Rios, was contacted to schedule and confirm that she was still interested in participating in the interview. This participant was identified by a gatekeeper who is also another participant in the study. Norma was initially contacted to ask her if she would be interested in participating in a study about immigrants, and she agreed without hesitation. She also agreed to be available at the researcher's convenience. She confirmed her availability on Thursday April 8, 2010 and agreed to go anywhere for the interview. I asked her if she would be willing to share her home and she agreed. The interview was therefore scheduled on Thursday, April 8, 2010, 9:00 am in her home in Tucson.

As I arrived at her residence I observed that her neighborhood, a mobile park, was surrounded by businesses. Her mobile home is well kept and her husband, whose trade is carpentry, is in the process of building a porch in the back of the mobile home.

As I arrived, another vehicle pulled up in front of me and a woman dropped off a baby for the participant to care for.

During the day, the participant and her husband are generally home while their daughters are in school. The participant and her husband are about 35 years of age. The participant generously offered coffee or something else to drink or eat. The home was modest but very clean. In one corner of the home there is a computer and printer that seemed fairly new.

We greeted one another and began to chat about various things as an ice-breaker before I began to explain the interview process. I indicated she had the option of using another name for confidentiality reasons. She briefly explained the legal troubles brewing for her friend, the baby's mother, and began changing the baby she agreed to take care of for the day. As her husband walked in, she asked him what name she should use and he said "Norma Rios" after a friend who still resides in Mexico. The participant agreed.

The consent form was explained to her along with her other rights as a participant. She agreed to read it over and sign the form at a later date, once she had a chance to review all the information. She was informed that if at any one point she wanted to stop the interview or chose not to answer a question she had that right.

Norma Rios is originally from the town of Doctor Mora, Guanajuato, Mexico. She is about 35 years of age as previously mentioned. She has four daughters who are of school age and no sons.

Participant 2, Demographics (Obtaining Consent)

This participant, Nancy Cruz, was also contacted on April 2, 2010 and immediately agreed to schedule the interview on Saturday, April 10, 2010. She chose to come to my home because she would be in Catalina, Arizona on that Saturday cleaning a home. On the scheduled day, however, this participant indicated she would be unable to do interview.

Later that evening of April 10, 2010, this participant indicated she would be able to conduct an interview on Sunday, April 11, 2010 at her home. She suggested about 11:15 am. I suggested an earlier time of day and she refused, since she had to take the children to mass.

As I arrived at the home on Sunday morning, this participant was still in church. The husband was in back of the home with other men breaking up a slab of cement. He came to the front of the house since the wife indicated I would be arriving. While he asked me to go inside and wait inside, I decided to wait outside. This participant has about 50 or so plants outside under the porch.

Participant arrived about 11:20 and we went inside. She had different pans on the stove and asked me to sit down while she made some tacos for the working men before proceeding with the interview. She also asked me to get a plate and get some food. I helped her warm up some tortillas while one of the kids brought me a glass of *pulque* (*Pulque* is a home-brewed drink common in the central and southern part of Mexico).

While we were in the kitchen I explained a little bit of the interview process and told her she should pick a different name before beginning the interview. I also wanted to check if I could audiotape the interview and she agreed. She picked the name Nancy Cruz.

Participant 3 Demographics (Obtaining Consent)

This participant was also contacted on April 2, 2010 to see if she would be willing to participate in this study and she agreed. However when I called again to confirm and schedule the date of the interview, the participant did not answer. I left several messages on different occasions and the calls were not returned.

On April 11, 2010 in the evening she returned my call and indicated they were on their way back from Guanajuato and had not gotten the signal on their cell phone in Mexico. They were at the border getting ready to cross to the US. I told her to call me the following day to give them time to cross and arrive home.

She called me back the next day again and we scheduled the interview on Wednesday, April 7th at 4:30 pm at her home. On the day of the interview, I arrived at the home 4:15. Her sister was there with two boys. Her husband and youngest son were also there. The oldest son's girlfriend and 3 month old baby were also there. They are living there with the family. The participant was making dinner when I arrived. I asked her what she was making since it smelled so good. Dinner that evening was going to be scrambled eggs fried with beans, corn tortillas and *jalapeños en escabeche*.

This home has a lot of photos of the family on the walls and nice furniture. They also have three adult dogs and four brand new puppies outside.

This participant is between 35 and 40. She was also born in the town of Doctor Mora, Guanajuato and indicates they were in dire economic need in Mexico. She is currently married and has one daughter and three sons. This participant chose to use her real name originally but changed later to Lorenza Orduña in honor of her grandmother.

Setting

The setting of the interviews was the privacy of the participant's home. This choice was for comfort level purposes and time convenience and so that a descriptive analysis of their home could also be included. Other data, such as personal documents and photographs, were also used to enrich the description of their living situation. They willingly shared these and other documents during the interviews. Other information was provided after the formal interview, via telephone and personal contact.

The first participant, Norma, lives in a mobile home with her husband and four daughters. Her home is very humble but is very clean and organized. This mobile home is surrounded by many large businesses and a mall as previously indicated. While the rent is quite steep, the family feels they must remain there since they are unable to afford a move to another mobile home space or to purchase a home. While the husband is building a porch on the back of the mobile home, the process has been slow. The husband is a carpenter, was injured on the job and ran into some trouble with ICE. Their funds are low and it will take a while to finish this project.

The second participant, Nancy Cruz, chose to be interviewed in my home because she will be in the general vicinity on the day of the interview. However, the location was changed since the date of the interview was changed and the interview took place at her home.

Nancy Cruz lives in a home closer to the I-10 freeway. This home is under renovation for additional room, a porch on the back and various other projects. Originally, this home had a swimming pool but is not in use at this time. The family cannot afford the maintenance of a pool. The plan is to cover it up and perhaps build an addition to the house. The husband, a carpenter, has already enclosed a porch and made it into a room.

This participant has many different plants on the outside of her home. This is important because some of these plants have been brought from the town of Doctor Mora Guanajuato. This family is in the process of buying this home with the help of Nancy's oldest brother who also lives in Tucson. Nancy's brother also works in construction but has a bachelor's degree in business administration from the University of Guanajuato. All the brothers and sisters came together while they were working in Guanajuato and helped this brother obtain his degree.

The third participant, Lorenza, lives in a home the family is purchasing. This home is on the east side of Tucson, close to the Davis Monthan Air Force Base. While they have also remodeled their home, they feel they need more funding to make more improvements. The majority of this family has been legalized but the economic downturn has also affected them since the husband is a carpenter. He has been out of work for a while or has worked limited days/hours. The majority of the work they have done to the house has been by friends and relatives. Lorenza has been able to obtain many furniture pieces from the families she has worked for. She also has many plants in her home and yard. However none of these plants have been brought from Mexico.

One can draw many conclusions by seeing the family decor, types of music, and television programs in the home environment. For example, the religious icons on the walls suggest a strong spiritual commitment. Since the interviews, I have been invited to different religious events by all three families. Lorenza's grandson was recently baptized in a Catholic Church and the invitation was extended. A *quinceañera* celebration took place in October 2010 and the invitation was extended. In August 2010, the families were celebrating their patron saint from their hometown of Doctor Mora. They celebrated with

food an entire Sunday with the praying of the rosary following the celebration. While the families were not playing music (inside the house) during the interviews, Nancy's husband and friends who were working outside had the radio on to "La Caliente," a local Mexican music station.

Participant Protection and Validity

Extra precaution has been taken to ensure the anonymity of the participants; privacy is maintained at all times. Pseudonyms, chosen by them, were used for the three participants. The husband of one of the participants provided Mexican Government documents; the name of the husband has been crossed off. These documents further confirm one of many reasons why they prefer to remain in the US, further discussed in the Findings and Conclusion section below.

Extra precaution was taken to ensure neutrality was maintained. Professors and external community members provided feedback and suggestions.

It was difficult excluding my own voice out of the participant's life because I am considered a 1.5 immigrant myself. However, sharing my life with the three participants is why they were willing to share much of their most intimate life experiences, challenges and dreams. I was able to establish the *confianza* needed to delve into their secret life in the US. Due to the bond established, participants continued to provide information for this study even after the interviews. As developments on family and status surface, they feel comfortable to call me and share information and ask for guidance and feedback.

The trust developed was so strong that two of the participants called to see how they could help with the Primary Elections held in August 2010 in Arizona. Their main interest

was to see if I had information they could distribute among their relatives and friends who are eligible to vote.

Data Collection

In all three cases, I had to ensure that the participants felt comfortable and were willing to reveal their life stories. I had to establish *confianza*. I had to reveal some of my life story to them and explain why I was conducting this study. I had to form a bond with the three participants to ensure trust and confidentiality. As I revealed my life story, concerns and worries, the three participants began to open up with their stories. While not all the information was recorded due to the fact that two of the participants were undocumented, much information was revealed.

The three participants were audio-taped and were also interviewed using open ended questions. Due to their immigration status, two participants chose to not be video-taped; I decide for consistency not to videotape any of the participants. However, the third participant, who has become a US Citizen, has provided photographs which have been included in this study. The third participant wanted me to use her real name for this study and had no concerns of her life story being published. However, the Dissertation Committee felt it was necessary to change to a pseudonym which she has chosen as well. During the interview, the homes were observed for decor, religious artifacts and any music or television programs or music. Notes were taken while interviews were being conducted.

Faculty and other sources were consulted to ensure accuracy of process. Faculty members from other Universities were also consulted with for feedback and input.

After the interviews were conducted, the transcribing was conducted immediately. After producing the transcriptions, I proceeded to translate them. Transcriptions were read frequently and often to ensure accuracy.

Coding

The coding began by identifying a list of funds of knowledge and social and cultural capital similar to that resulting from the Funds of Knowledge study of Puerto Rican households in New York City reported in Gonzalez et al (2005). Keeping in mind that funds of knowledge are a form of social and cultural capital, I went through the transcribed interviews highlighting every mention of any funds of knowledge. The transcripts were read several times for accuracy. The item was counted only once even if mentioned several times. As examples, words such as *educación and familia* were mentioned frequently.

Instances of code switching (using loanwords from English) were also recorded. Every instance of code switching or Spanglish was counted only once because the intent of my research was to investigate the acculturation process, rather than analyze specific language behaviors. Still, this particular behavior can be reflective of some degree of adaptation to the new society.

Code switching has been defined by J.J. Gumperz as the “juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages belonging to two grammatical systems or subsystems. This juxtaposition can occur at the boundaries or within sentence boundaries” (1982).

Below are some examples:

Norma: *Cuando entraron al **kinder** yo estuve en ese trabajo y mi esposo me dijo que me buscara otro trabajo.* (When they started **kindergarten** I was in that job and my husband told me to look for another job.)

*El dijo, yo no aguanto esta humillación. Yo me **quiteo**.* (He said, "I can't stand this humiliation. I'll **quit**.")

*Podemos sacar un abogado y yo te voy a pagar **cash**.* (We can get an attorney and I can pay you **cash**.)

Nancy: *No teníamos carro, andabamos pidiendo **raite**.* (We didn't have a car; we always asked for a **ride**.)

*Y luego encontramos una **trailita** fea.* (And then we found an ugly little **trailer**.)

*Con el tiempo mis tres hijos les dieron educación de **high status**.* (With time, my three kids received **high status** education.)

Lorenza: *Sí, todos graduaron de **high school**.* (Yes, all of them graduated from **high school**.)

*Ahora estoy en mi hora de **lonche** y no te puedo ayudar.* (I am on my **lunch** hour now and can't help you.)

*El **baking soda** lo usamos mucho para el estómago.* (We use **baking soda** a lot for the stomach.)

Language is a big part of one's identity, as Gloria Anzaldúa writes, "I am my language. Until I can take pride in my language, I cannot take pride in myself" (Anzaldúa, p. 59).

The three participants grew up in a town with a commitment to high moral values. They have been in the US for many years. They know what traits are valuable to sustain their families and they recognize what is important to survive in the US. The following chapter reveals in more detail the many values, beliefs, knowledge, and skills they bring with them as they maneuver the American system. They also reveal the importance of their social networks that are responsible for their survival and success.

CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

The findings reveal the stories of the three participants as they were before coming to the US, their experiences crossing the border and how their lives are in the US now. As their stories are revealed and documented, their acculturation process or path has also been documented.

As seen from the stories below, the three participants migrated to the US primarily for economic reasons. Because they come from a community with high moral values, they are not willing to completely assimilate. The three families celebrate many of their cultural and religious celebrations and traditions from Mexico. While they have adopted many of the American cultural traits, they are not willing to give up their cultural identity. They speak both languages at home and they have adopted some English into their speech. For example, Norma tells me, "*Después de dos meses encontró trabajo en una **norseria**.*" (After two months he found a job in a plant **nursery**.) and "*No, pues estuve trabajando en un **daycare** por cinco años.*" (No, well, I was working in a **daycare** for five years.) Nancy explains when she first came, "*Me acuerdo que nos salíamos, hablabamos con monedas en un **payphone**.*" (I remember that we would not go out. We would just go out to call with coins from a **payphone**.)

Because of the economic hardship they experienced in their countries, the three participants have become very productive citizens and are resilient to hardships. They all work very hard and know how to stretch the money they make by budgeting. They are willing to learn the system, learn English and encourage their children to continue their school. Because of their hardship before they also do not take anything for granted. The three participants believe the only way to succeed is through education and their number

one goal is to see their children graduate from college or university level. The three participants believe in the educational system and recognize that education is the only way to make a better a life. While two of the participants have taken classes for professional development, their focus is the education of their children. The three participants are passing down what they know to their children by teaching them their trades, skills, moral values, traditions, foods and their knowledge.

Their experiences can increase the success of other Mexican immigrants by serving as model families. Their value on educational attainment is admirable. Their genuine support for their children to continue education and become involved with the school system is exemplary. Through education, they can become more informed citizens and exercise their right to vote and elect those who value education, especially education for Hispanics. They can also become part of the school boards and school administrations to be able to allocate resources to programs that promote education for Hispanics. There are many ways in which these families and their children can participate in the educational system.

The stories below further support their values, commitment, and genuine desire to remain in the US as active and productive citizens.

Participant # 1 (Norma Rios)

Life Before Coming to the US

As Norma was growing up in the town of Doctor Mora, Guanajuato she remembers being poor. While her mother tried her best to support the family, they didn't always have the necessary supplies for school. While she and her brothers and sister would get two tablets of paper and two pencils for school each year, if they ran out there was nowhere to

get more. Their father would travel to the US to work but didn't always send the family money. Later they found out the father may have had another family in the States and had to support them. Their mother would sew and cook to make ends meet. While Norma attended *preparatoria* (equivalent to high school) she had to quit because the mother could not afford to pay further school fees and supplies for her. There are seven brothers and sisters in this family and therefore the resources were scarce.

Norma was 18 years of age when she and the person she calls her current husband decided to live together. "*Para empesar pues yo era muy joven; tenía 18 años cuando mi esposo yo decidimos vivir juntos.*" (To start, I was very young; I was 18 years old when my husband and I decided to live together.) Two years later their first daughter was born, and the next year the second daughter was born. Their economic situation was difficult since she was unable to work because she had to take care of their daughters and her husband was unemployed. "*Pues de allí se puso muy duro; mi esposo no trabajaba, vivíamos de dispensa de la mamá de mi esposo y pues era muy difícil para que buscara trabajo yo.*" (From then it became very difficult; my husband did not work. We lived from handouts from my husband's mother. It was very difficult for me to look for work.) They lived at the discretion of her husband's mother; she also implied that they also lived under the rules of her mother-in-law. A year and a half later Norma became pregnant again with their third child.

Otra ocasión volví a quedar embarazada a año y medio, de mi segunda niña. Entonces decidimos traernos a mis niñas. Nosotros decidimos antes de que se me empezara a notar de cuatro meses de mi tercer bebé. (Another time I became pregnant again after a year and a half with my second daughter. Then we decided to bring my daughters. We decided before I began to show in the fourth of my third baby.)

Aquí habían pues, uno, casi todos. En Mexico quedaría el más chico y el que sigue del más chico. (Here there were one, almost all [my brothers and sisters]. The youngest and the one that follows were still in Mexico.)

At the time Norma already had family members in the US; some of her brothers and one sister who had migrated insisted on her migrating to the US to search for a better life. She discussed it with her husband and they decided to migrate and include their daughters with them. Norma at this time was four months pregnant.

Experience Crossing the Border

Since most of Norma's siblings were already in the US and had convinced Norma and her husband to migrate, they decided to proceed with their plans. They took a plane from Mexico City to the City of Hermosillo, Sonora where they looked for someone to help them cross. They brought their two daughters with them; Norma was four months pregnant. The daughters were two and one year old. She said this was a painful memory since they did not know what to expect and what kind of people they would encounter.

“Gracias a Dios nos fue bien, pues no sabe a los peligros que uno se pone, con la gente que uno se espera topar.” (Thanks to God, it went well. One doesn't know the danger one is in or the type of people one will run into.) She feels they traveled with luck since it only took them around two hours before they could cross. Before they crossed the border they ran into some *cholos* (a *cholo* usually refers to a gang member) who demanded money, of which they had none. Her husband pleaded with the *cholos* to let them go for the sake their daughters; finally, after they saw they didn't have any money, they left them alone.

Mi esposo les suplicaba nos dejaran en paz pues que lo hicieran por mis hijas y este ellos lo único que buscaban era dinero y pues no traíamos y ellos se enojaron. (My husband begged them to leave us alone and for them to do it for my daughters. They only looked for money and we didn't have any so they got upset.)

When they finally began to jump the fence Norma was a bit nervous due to her pregnancy. Her fear was to lose the baby while she was trying to climb and jump. The fence was about 3 meters (about nine feet) high. When they crossed, two friends showed up and offered to take her and the daughters ahead while the husband stayed behind. It was about 12 midnight when they crossed, traveling with luck and prayers. They went to the McDonald's right across the border for a while before they were to be taken to a home where immigrants are picked up to be taken elsewhere. When they arrived at the McDonald's they went to the restroom and washed up and combed their hair.

Nos encontrabamos en un lugar donde venden hamburguesas en Nogales Arizona, cuando nosotros nos metimos a peinar para no ver como que veníamos caminando y este entonces ay estamos comiendo allí cuándo un muchacho me dijo, 'no voltees para allá, por que allá está uno de emigración. (We were in a place where they sell hamburgers in Nogales, AZ when we went in to comb our hair so it wouldn't look like we had been walking. We were eating there when a guy told me, 'don't look over there because there is one from immigration.')

They were told they should not look like they just crossed and of course they did whatever the friends told them. She said she was praying all this time.

Soon two immigration agents arrived and Norma and the daughters were told to act normal and not even look and said again. *"No voltees para allá, por que allá está uno de emigración."* (Don't look over there because there is one from immigration.) The agents took other people that were there but left them alone. One of the friends knew the person who would soon pick them up from the house and transport them to Tucson, but this friend was inspired by the two daughters and decided to take them all the way to Tucson himself. He indicated he had two daughters around the same age and if asked to say he was their father and Norma's husband. He risked losing his papers because at that time he still had his permanent resident status. He is now a citizen. When they arrived in Tucson, he said,

“ahora sí puedes respirar. Ya estamos en Tucson.” Hasta el siguiente día logró llegar mi esposo con la tía que venía con nosotros.” (Now you can breath. We are now in Tucson.

Until the next day my husband arrived with the aunt who was coming with us.)

Life in the US

Before they came, migrating people in the Town of Doctor Mora Guanajuato who had previously been in the US would comment on how easy life was in the US. They painted a beautiful picture. They would tell Norma and her husband that once they arrived in the US they could look for work and settle in right away. Once they arrived in the US, Norma was unable to get a job since she was four months pregnant; it was difficult. They began to look for public assistance, for such things as WIC and AHCCCS (Arizona Health Care Cost Containment System). Her husband had a difficult time finding a job. He wanted to return to Mexico but she convinced him to stay since they were already here.

“Me decía, yo ya me voy a regresar.” (He would tell me, I'm going back.) After two months, he landed a job in a plant nursery but the salary was very low. They lived with Norma's family who helped them financially. Norma's brothers and sister would buy diapers for the daughters and other things the children needed. Her husband soon obtained a second job in construction where he earned a little bit more. *“Pues yo creo que era \$5.15, y entonces, pues total que ya después conseguimos liberarnos pues no se nos hizo facil.”* (I think it was \$5.15 and then we were able to become independent but it was not easy.) They continued to live with her family to save up enough money to rent their own place. She indicates her pregnancy was like a miracle. She wasn't showing when they crossed, and about a week later, all of a sudden, she was showing with her pregnancy. She indicates her gratefulness to the US (to be given the opportunity to be in the states) since in Mexico they

would not make it financially. In Mexico many times her husband was unable to find work and when he was invited to work, often he would not be paid or was paid much later.

Norma says in the US at least he was able to work, even though the wages at that time were about \$5.15 an hour. He was then forced to work two jobs.

Many times the children would not see their father since he left early to the first job and would arrive home after 11 at night from the second job. On his days off, he wanted to reclaim his space by going off to drink and dance because he deserved it since he was working two jobs. They began to have marital problems and she realized there was a need for her to look for work to help him out. She told him she was going to look for a job. She soon found a job; she would take care of the daughters during the day, and her husband would care for them in the evenings while she worked. She worked from 8:00 pm to 3:00 am and slept only four hours a night for a long time, "*pues uno hace lo necesario.*" (One does what is necessary.) Soon the daughters started kindergarten. She was at that job until 1999 when her husband convinced her to look for something else even if the salary was lower. They saved up enough money to purchase a car. The daughters got along very well in school. They were actually doing better academically than children from the US. This family recognizes the importance of education for their children being that they themselves are unable to take classes to improve their lifestyle.

In the year 2000 Norma became pregnant again but didn't feel the pressure as before since now she was more familiar with the system and they had a little bit more money. She knew of AHCCCS, which paid for this child who they named Sydney, after Sydney Australia where the 2000 Olympics were held.

After the baby was born, Norma's mother took care of Sydney while Norma worked. Her mother has always been there for them to help them in any way she can. She also helps her emphasize to the daughters how important an education is. She always thinks that if they had stayed in Mexico they wouldn't be able to get the education they are getting in the US. While Norma believes the educational system in Mexico is good, coming up with the resources to pay for it is very difficult. Norma re-emphasizes that while they migrated for economic reasons, they also envisioned a better education at least for their daughters. Often, her daughters have to be reminded of the resources and possibilities they have in this country. Both Norma and her husband encourage them to do well in school; two of the four daughters have attended different camps at The University of Arizona with scholarships. Norma feels her daughters "*tienen buena educación*" (have a good education). They know the importance of a good moral education by respecting their elders and others.

Norma feels there is good and bad in all people. She feels that while they have received ill treatment from Whites, they have also experienced ill treatment from their own. She gives an example of a person from Colombia they know who has the financial resources and looks down on those not so well off. Her husband also talks about a recent incident where he was mistreated by a White person at the place where he worked.

The husband, who was injured on the job, has been on Workman's Compensation and was recently told he could try to return to work. He went back to his job along with three other friends. They were all mistreated and one of the friends indicated he refused to be humiliated and they all left. Because they all left it was seen as if none of them wanted to work.

Norma feels there are very nice people of different races who have always been there for them as well. Her family members have always been there for them.

Mi mamá me cuidaba las niñas y todo el tiempo nos echa la mano, incluso si por ella fuera no nos agarra ni un centavo. Ella desde que llegó de Mexico, pues todo para ayudarnos y siempre hemos contado con mi mamá para todo. (My mother took care of my daughters and always she is there to help us; if it was up to her she would not take a penny from us. Since she arrived from Mexico everything is to help us all the time; we have always counted on my mom for everything.)

Norma worked in a daycare about five years; everything was going well since nobody was aware of Norma's immigration status. She learned a lot at the daycare and now recognizes the importance of healthy cooking for children. Everything went well, even after E-Verify became law. The problem began when the daycare was sold to new owners and the new owners were required to have all the employees re-apply for their jobs. One of the owners who really liked Norma's work ethic wanted Norma to oversee the kitchen and inventory, but the background check came back negative since the social security number she was using was fake. While much of what she has learned has not been classroom education, she tries to pass this information down to her daughters. She teaches her daughters how to cook (make different *guisos*), how to live a healthy lifestyle and many crafts she learned from her mother. The owner of the nursery saw the skills in Norma. She wanted Norma to work under the table (to be paid cash) and the owner wanted to do whatever possible to help her until another employee, who was a relative of one of the other owners, was fired. This employee threatened to turn Norma in to Immigration along with the owners. At that time the owners told Norma that they were looking at a \$25,000 dollar fine for having her there and released her of her duties. When Norma received her final check it was for a larger amount than the number of hours she had for

that pay-period. She went back to the owners and told them the amount was incorrect, that the amount was too much. They assured her it was correct and that extra amount was a bonus for her good work. “*Ésto no me corresponde.*” (This does not belong to me.) “*Pero yo te lo quiero dar por lo que me ayudaste.*” (But I want to give you that amount for all you have helped me.) This employer was grateful to Norma and her work ethic and wanted to give her a bonus.

Norma's sister then gave Norma two houses as cleaning jobs. Norma now had enough work for five to six days a week. She started by asking two original owners of the homes she cleaned if they knew of any other friends or relatives who needed help; things have worked out for her and her husband. Norma and her husband know the value of being frugal and saving money for a rainy day.

A la semana, yo ganaba \$100 dólares y gracias a Dios ahorita gano más. Yo solo me he estado recomendando a las personas y les pregunto que si conocen de otras personas que conozcan que necesitan trabajo. (I used to earn \$100 dollars a week and thank God I now earn more. I have begun to recommend to people myself and asking if they knew of others who needed work done.)

Currently Norma's husband's Workman's Compensation finished and someone is trying to help him get some sort of work he can do with his disability. Because Norma's husband is unable to work in construction which is his field of expertise, Norma has had to budget every cent they get. While she has had to become very creative with their funds, they are surviving and making ends meet. Norma and her daughters have been able to take care of children as needed and made some money on the side or have exchanged services. While resources are scarce they teach their daughters to budget and save their money. Norma feels that nothing they have should be taken for granted, not even a drop of water.

Because this family has encountered various issues and problems, they lack the financial resources for the daughters to become actively involved in different extra curricular activities requiring extra expenses. However they take pride in doing needlework together, celebrating birthdays and holidays with family and friends, watching *telenovelas* and playing soccer with friends and relatives. Norma's daughters, however, do not participate in a soccer league like other family members.

Norma's husband found himself in a legal situation where he was using a fake social security number he obtained from a local car dealer. He was picked up by Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE). ICE is the branch of Homeland Security that investigates crimes and customs violations. It turns out the number issued to him by this local car dealer belonged to a congressman. Norma at this time was forced to learn more about immigration law and labor law. She was forced to also seek assistance in reading the different contracts and paperwork done by the car dealer to be able to resolve the issues. Because of his injury he was not taken back to Mexico but may get permanent resident status. He currently was given a work permit to remain in the US. They hope with time the family is able to obtain the legal residence status through this case. He was detained by ICE for about a month but later released because of his work injuries.

Sí, dice que es como un fondo de las compañías que dan dinero para las personas que en cierta forma están discapacitadas. Que este, y que les ayudan a buscar trabajo de forma cómo ellos puedan hacer. Incluso hoy tenemos cita con ellos a la 1:00 de la tarde pero eso sí le pidió que tiene mi esposo que aprender inglés. Yo digo que yo no soy muy buena para hablar inglés pero en los trabajos sí me he podido desenvolver con poco inglés. Porque la mayoría de las personas que les limpio las casas son americanas. (Yes, she says it's like a fund of the companies that give money for the people that have certain disabilities and they help them look for work. Today we have an appointment at 1:00 in the afternoon. But she did tell my husband that he has to learn English. I say, I'm not very good in speaking English but at work I have been able to develop my skills since all the people I work for are Americans.)

He has worked construction most of the time and feels he has a fairly good understanding of the trade. He designed the porch he is building in the back of the mobile home and takes care of any painting, remodeling or fixing of anything that breaks in the home.

This family's matriarch (Norma's mother) helps all of them with remedies made of herbs and different "*curanderismo*" (Mexican folk healing) remedies. She also uses prayer to help with the healing.

This family celebrates many of the religious holidays and other traditional holidays. Christmas is celebrated with the nativity and with Santa Claus and also "*el 6 de enero el dia de los Reyes Magos*" (The 6th of January, the day of the wise men). Many times that day is when the gifts are exchanged with the children. For Mother's Day they celebrate both Mexican Mother's Day, which is on May 10th, and American Mother's Day, which is the second Sunday in May. The main holiday of these two is Mexican Mother's Day. They also celebrate many of the other religious holidays and events such as Good Friday, baptisms, confirmations, religious weddings and many other religious holidays, including "*posadas*" (the story of when Joseph and Mary were looking for places to lodge). Another very important holiday is Mexican Independence Day which is on September 16. The 15th is also celebrated because that is when the "*grito*" (declaration) of independence/war took place.

El 16 de septiembre eso es independencia Mexicana. Nunca se nos olvida a mi hermano y a mí que un día hizimos tanta comida que ya no sabíamos qué hacer con ella. Preparamos pozole, pambazo y enchiladas. El día siguiente ya no queríamos comer porque comimos tanto. (The 16th of September is Independence Day for Mexico. My brother and I will never forget, one day we made so much food for this day that we did not know what to do with it. We made pozole, pambazo, and enchiladas. The next day we didn't want to eat any more because we ate so much.)

Pambazo is a sandwich filled with potatoes and chorizo, and dipped in red chile sauce.

The Cinco de Mayo is acknowledged but not celebrated the way people celebrate here in the US. This family does not really celebrate July 4th. They do try to go watch the fireworks though: "*nada mas vamos a ver los fireworks y es todo.*" (We just go to see the fireworks and that is all.) They also celebrate Thanksgiving Day. Her family was unaware of the significance of this day but a lady once told her, "*A la tierra que tu fueres, es lo que vieres/eres.*" (To the country which you go to, that is what you see and become.) Norma feels the family should celebrate some of the holidays from here even if they don't know what they celebrate. "*Como nosotros damos gracias todos los días, todo el día, no necesitamos un día al año para dar gracias.*" (Because we give thanks every day, we don't need one day a year to give thanks.)

Norma feels since this is a country of opportunity and because of their illegal status they are unable to fully participate as they should. She feels that given the opportunity to all of those undocumented, they would positively provide to the system and not live in fear of ICE on a daily basis.

Yo pienso que este es un país de oportunidades y si nos dejaran realmente y nos dieran la oportunidad dicen que es un país de oportunidades entre ellos. Nosotros estamos en cognido. Piensan que nosotros no podemos soportar a nada en este país. (I think this is the land of opportunity, if they would really leave us and give us the opportunity, they say among themselves that it's the land of opportunities. This is the land of opportunity. We are trapped. They think that we aren't capable of supporting this nation.)

Norma and her family have found that surviving in this country means learning to be a little like what they find people here to be. But it is also important for them to remain substantially what they are, and to show their children how to be both.

Participant #2 (Nancy Cruz)

Life Before Coming to the US

In Nancy's living room, I explained the process for the interviews. I started the recorder and began by explaining the consent form and her rights. By that time she had picked Nancy Cruz as her pseudonym. I continued to explain about the information I am attempting to gather and the purpose of the study. I also explained where this information would be published.

While the men were jack-hammering the cement in the back, I knew there would be a chance the information recorded would most likely not be clear with the noise; however, as it turned out, very little was undecipherable. These sections were reconfirmed by phone or in person.

Her story began with the financial hardship of the family. "*Sí batallamos mucho y eran muchos problemas económicos. La casa de nosotros era muy humilde y chiquita.*" (Yes we struggled a lot and there were a lot of economic problems. Our house was small and humble.) "*Solamente contabamos con una recamara para dormir todos incluyendo mis papas.*" (We had only one bedroom where we all slept including my parents.)

Nancy proceeded to explain that her father had been migrating to the US for about 38-40 years and he is now a naturalized citizen. She remembers her father would come to California to harvest. "*Se estaba medio año aquí y medio en Mexico. Se venía desde marzo y llegaba para atras como en octubre o noviembre.*" (He would stay a half year here and half in Mexico. He would come in March and return in October or November. He would come to the US for six months and would return to Mexico for six months. Before he left back to the US he would always borrow money to return. "*Cuando él se venía mi mamá se*

quedaba muy endrogada.” (When he would come back to the US my mother would stay in debt.) Any money he sent back from the US would always go to pay the debt. The mother was always struggling to feed the children. She would cook and sell food at the "*tianguis*" (open market, similar to a swap meet in the US) She was old enough to see that the money the father would send the mother was really of no use to the family since it all went to pay the debt accrued to return to the US.

Life was very different then than it is now. There was very little or no television. The majority of the time kids spent outside playing mainly ball. They never had any electronic gadgets kids have today. "*La diversion de nosotros era con pelotas, no con electrónicos.*" (Our entertainment was playing with balls not with electronics.)

Education then was very different in Mexico as well, since parents would not be involved in the children's education. Parents would simply send the kids to school and leave the education to the teachers. "*La educación de nosotros era solos, lo teníamos que hacer, porque los papas no se envolvían para nada.*" (Education was up to us. We had to do everything because our parents did not get involved.) Participant remembers going to school with no breakfast because there was nothing to eat and schools would not provide lunch. "*A veces que íbamos a la escuela no alcanzábamos a desayunar por que no había.*" (Sometimes when we would go to school we wouldn't have breakfast because there was none.) There was no lunch at school because the schools would not provide lunch for the children. Even though their food was limited, they were very healthy and were able to learn in school. Lunch, however, was not part of the educational system in Mexico. The education belonged to the children alone and the parents did not get involved. The homework was always done by the children alone. The majority of what children learned

was what the teachers would say since even the books were limited. “*No habían librerías, no teníamos libros en la escuela.*” (There were no libraries (sic), we didn’t have any books at school.) “*Los recursos para la educación eran muy limitados.*” (The financial resources for education were very limited.)

This participant went to elementary, junior high and one semester of what is equivalent to high school. She remembers their father not really helping them either. She remembers having only one pair of shoes for the year. They each had five changes of clothing, if their shoes did not last through the year the parents were unable to buy more. “*Lo máximo que teníamos eran cinco mudas de ropa.*” (We had max five changes of clothing for school.) She does remember, however, never being cold. Their father every year would take jackets for all the children from the US Nancy remembers thinking the only two choices in life would be to migrate to the US or leave to a city and work.

When she met the man she married, he immediately told her he wanted to migrate to the US. While they discussed marriage, the only way to achieve that would be for him to make money in the U.S. After they married he wanted to bring her to the US and she always remembers wanting to come to the U.S. Nancy remembers getting a job in the town and enrolling in a school to learn to become a commercial secretary, but she quit after one semester since the funding was not there to continue. She always wanted and intended to learn English.

In 1989 they got married and discussed the possibility of coming to the US in more detail. He told her it was very easy crossing through Arizona at that time. They were told that through Arizona people hardly had to walk at all. She then pressured her husband to

leave immediately; she still remembers it was January 5th, then corrected herself—actually January 4— when they left Guanajuato and arrived at the border on the 5th.

Their first destination would be California, and then Oregon. The husband made this decision. They left the town of Doctor Mora by bus to Nogales, Sonora. She remembered arriving in Nogales tired and dirty. It was hot (not sure why since it was January) and she kept asking the husband if they were almost there. Her husband insisted as an undocumented person, one had to have a lot of patience. He would become irritated every time she asked how much longer would they have to be traveling to arrive.

After they arrived in Nogales they had to make a big turn and head to Ciudad Juarez Chihuahua, Mexico. Ciudad Juarez is the city that borders El Paso, Texas.

Experience Crossing the Border

When Nancy, her husband and her husband's cousin arrived in Nogales, Sonora where they intended to cross, they had to turn around and go to Ciudad Juarez, Chihuahua. The reason is unknown. As they arrived in Cd. Juarez they immediately looked for someone to help them cross. The majority of people or guides/*coyotes* were children. They found a child about 10 years old who told them he would help all three of them cross for \$200 pesos, which is equivalent to about \$20 dollars. Nowadays the fee is about \$2000. The child simply said, "*les cobró \$200 pesos por los tres.*" (I'll charge you \$200 pesos for the three of you.) He took them alongside the "*garita*" (booth where border agents monitor or check immigration status as they cross) and within ten minutes they were on the US side and were in the Greyhound bus. Her husband told the two of them to leave and he would wait there to make sure they arrived safely in Tucson Arizona. If they made it there then he would get on the bus and join them. If the border patrol got them, he would be there in El

Paso/Juarez waiting for them or would go to Nogales, Sonora. When they arrived in Tucson, they called a friend of theirs who lived in Phoenix Arizona. The friend immediately got on the bus to join them in Tucson. She still remembers how beautiful she felt Tucson was.

Yo lo veia muy bonito porque ya estaba en Estados Unidos. Ésa era la ilusión, estar aquí. Llegando aquí en el Greyhound, mi amigo ya había estado aquí en Tucson y nos salimos. Pues que vamos a ver Tucson. Para mí era muy bonito. (I saw it really pretty because I was in the US. That was my illusion, to be here. Arriving here at the Greyhound, my friend had already been in Tucson and he asked for us to go look around Tucson. For me, it was really pretty.)

Shortly after arriving in Tucson, the bus would be departing to Phoenix; but it was full, and the bus driver told them that, if they wanted to leave, they would have to go standing up.

“Salió el chofer y nos pregunto que si nos queriamos ir parados y dijimos vámonos, vámonos para donde vamos.” (The bus driver asked if we wanted to go standing up and we said let's go; let's go where we are going.)

When the friend from Phoenix arrived in Tucson, he had already communicated with Nancy's husband to let him know Nancy that the cousin had arrived safely in Tucson. Crossing the border the second time, as they had gone back to Guanajuato, was much more difficult. They now had a child. This time, Nancy's brother and wife crossed with them. The border was tougher because there was more security and more violence.

They crossed through Nogales, Arizona this time and they separated the same way. Nancy, baby, brother and brother's wife crossed while the husband stayed behind. This time they had to swim through a canal and the water was deep. They traveled with less luck, because the border patrol caught them and took them back across the border. They attempted the second time and they were caught a second time. The third time, they made

it all the way to Tucson where they were caught once again and taken back to Mexico; at a later time, they finally made it safely to Tucson.

Life in the US

As previously mentioned, the bus was getting ready to leave to Phoenix, it was full and the driver asked them to get in if they didn't mind traveling standing up. They jumped in and left to Phoenix. When they arrived in Phoenix the friend took them to eat "tacos" at a cart on the street, and says she had never seen one because in Guanajuato they have stands but not carts. The friend also took them to see a huge church. She said, "*se llama Baptist Church*" (It's called the Baptist Church) and the airport Sky Harbor. Nancy's husband arrived in Phoenix where they stayed for about eight days.

Her understanding was that immediately upon arrival, they would be working, but that was not the case at all. Soon the husband told her they would be stopping in California on their way to Oregon; a friend took them to the airport and put them on a plane to San Francisco. If she thought Tucson and Phoenix were beautiful, she knew San Francisco was even more so. They did a little bit of sight-seeing in San Francisco, California.

Nancy had a brother residing in Oakland and her father was in Stockton, California. When they were both contacted, they both became irritated when she suddenly showed up at their doors; furthermore, they told her she had no business in the US, but they still traveled to Oakland where they stayed for a while. She stayed with her brother for a while until the brother decided to go to Alaska for the fishing jobs. "*Mi papá entonces estaba en Stockton. El trabajaba allí de temporada en el espárrago. Entonces cuando mi papá se dió cuenta ni siquiera se interesó.*" (My father was in Stockton then. He worked temporarily there picking asparagus. My father did not even take an interest.) During this time she

became more disappointed in her father since he showed no interest in helping them.

During that time her husband traveled to Salem, Oregon where she later joined him. He communicated frequently with Nancy while Nancy remained in California and would write to her very often.

As the interview continued, Nancy kept mentioning two of the most difficult experiences: 1) getting here/crossing the second time and 2) finding a job while in the US. All this time while in California she was being reassured that she would re-join her husband. Soon the brother she was staying with in California decided to leave for Alaska and Nancy had to pressure her husband to get her to Oregon.

Her brother and cousin purchased a bus ticket for her to re-join her husband. They gave her some quarters in case she had to use the phone and gave her explicit instructions not to get off anywhere. The brother found a passenger in the bus that was going to Salem, Oregon as well and pointed out the passenger to Nancy and told her to keep an eye on that person. He told Nancy to get off where that passenger got off. They also gave her a list of different locations the bus would go through and asked her to mark off each city/town as they passed it. The brother also showed her how to say, "call collect, please," and only to use one quarter at a time, not putting them all in the phone.

Salem, Oregon me gustó mucho. Está muy bonito. Me gustó mucho porque cuando llegué, yo llegué a lluvia y nieve y todo lo miraba más verde. Pasaba un río atrás del departamento donde yo llegué a vivir. (I liked Salem, Oregon very much. It is very pretty. I liked it because I arrived to rain and snow and everything I saw was greener. A river ran behind the apartment where I lived.)

Their intent was to stay in Oregon only two years, save up enough money to go back to Mexico, but she soon found herself pregnant and working instead. Her first job was in an iris nursery where they cleaned and packed the iris bulbs. While she feels the

work was easy, at first it was difficult because her husband would always yell at her. He would tell her, "*muévete, no te quedas parada*." (move, don't just stand there). She of course never received any training or any kind of instructions as to what she was supposed to do. She was trying to watch others to see what they were doing.

After the company found out she was pregnant, she was moved to work with the women and would ride inside the trucks. The owners treated her very well and took care of her. However, she was able to work only until she was seven months pregnant.

They had to ask for rides since they did not have a vehicle during this time. They were able to rent their own apartment and were very happy. Soon her husband's brother passed away and the husband decided to travel back to Guanajuato, Mexico. He was gone a month to two months while she remained in Oregon. She learned more English and learned to use the public transportation system. It was amazing that in the US the doors to the stores would open by themselves, she recalls. Her daughter was born and soon they returned to Mexico. While their intent was to remain there, the daughter became very ill and they had to return to the US since the baby was born in the US

As they made plans to travel back to Oregon, a friend talked them into staying in Tucson. This friend assured them that they would get better wages and more work so they decided to stay. They lived with friends for a while and the husband remained employed. Their friend found a mobile home for them for \$1400 with no central heating and no water heater but it would be theirs and they would fix it up. Because of their immigration status, they were unable to finance big purchases. They had to save as much money as possible to buy what they needed. Once again she had to learn the transportation system and more English; was able to find used items to purchase for their home. She wanted to learn as

much as possible about Americans. They also learned where to find medical assistance and had to learn to ask for things they needed or questions she needed answered. Their second baby was born and he was very ill. While they were reluctant to use public assistance, they felt they had no choice. The doctor would not even see them since they didn't have medical insurance. Everything they owned was used, but it was theirs. Later they saved enough money and purchased a car. With two children, their life became difficult and they were even more limited financially. At that time she remembers having only about \$40 a week to spend on food. She had to make the food last so she mixed different foods and made "*guisos*" (different foods mixed and fried). Mixing different foods together would give them more food to make tacos. In 1994, she remembers work was booming and they were able to move ahead financially, get out of debt and buy many things. Sometimes they had to join *tandas* to save money. While she knows they really don't make any money on the *tandas* when the time came to collect she knows she can count on so much money to make purchases or have funding for an emergency. Nancy feels they really have to know the system (how much things cost, what they are worth, and how to negotiate deals). One has to really know how to manage money to be able to make purchases. Nancy does not really believe in credit cards or debt. Instead they would rather make purchases using cash. Soon their third child was born and it became even more difficult. By this time Nancy's mother had arrived from Mexico and she offered to care for the children while Nancy worked. Her sister insisted on her learning to drive and assured her nobody else would teach her. This was something she had to learn on her own. Before driving, when Nancy had to take public transportation, she remembers telling her daughter to hang from Nancy's pants, while one son was in the stroller and one in her arms.

As her children grew and the daughter started kindergarten, the daughter's teacher asked Nancy to set some goals. Nancy's number one goal then was to learn to drive. Finally she overcame the fear and took the keys to the car, placed the two children in the car and drove to pick up the daughter. While she was terrified and trembling with fear all the way, she arrived and the teacher marked off the goal from Nancy's list. The experience with the teachers was unexpected because the teachers not only taught the students but also took the time to teach things to the parents. Teachers showed parents and students about health and nutritious foods to eat. Many of their foods are fried and not really healthy. Nancy had no clue about getting annual check-ups or dental appointments; all this she learned from her children's teachers. The teachers provided resources and information without Nancy asking for it. She really enjoyed becoming part of the educational system in the US

It was the most amazing feeling for her to be able to contribute to the household. When her husband would ask for money to help buy a television set or take the kids for ice cream or to the park, it was a good feeling for her. Soon she felt confident picking up the phone and telling people over the phone her daughter or sons had a fever or stomach ache; the feeling was even more satisfying.

After a few years, they saved up enough money to purchase a double wide mobile home and had a bad experience with the managers of the mobile home park. The trash from the park was outside their back yard and the manager refused to move it. The area would stink when the temperatures rose. During the summer, there were flies all over the place. The entire mobile home part smelled really bad; it was worse for Nancy since she lived closer to the garbage bins.

Nancy's brother soon talked them into buying their home. While their initial investment to fix it up was great, they continued to replace things; the feeling of ownership was satisfying. They were able to expand their home, make it more modern and fix up the yard. Now they could get a pet for the kids.

Nancy and her husband knew it was a good idea to make the purchase. However, they had to save a lot of money for it and to fix it up. They had to learn the financial system to figure out how much money they would need as a down payment. They also had to figure out more or less how much they would need for taxes and insurance to see if they could afford the home. Nancy's brother purchased his home first and informed the rest on the business transaction. Nancy's brother has a degree in business administration from Guanajuato. He takes a leading role in informing the rest of the family on business transactions. They like to get together with the family and celebrate birthdays and different holidays together. All of Nancy's brothers and sisters live within a few blocks from each other. On the weekends, they get together and make "*carne asada*" (cookout) and invite the family and friends over. They also help each other fix things, build things or just discuss different issues. All of Nancy's brothers are carpenters. When they get together, they like to share stories. Sometimes they just get together and the women do needlework and cook while the men build things, play soccer or just drink beer and play with the boys. They feel the daughters need to learn some of the traditions of their families. The adult women teach the younger ones to cook, sew and give religious teachings. The mothers teach their daughters how to mend or make their own clothes. Nancy's mother often makes dresses for "*quinceañeras*," Nancy feels if the daughters know how to cook from scratch and mend clothes, they will save money when they are on their own. Sometimes they just

get together to watch "*telenovelas*" or a movie, when they have time. They also sometimes like to talk about religious beliefs and the Bible while the men remain outside.

Nancy's family celebrates many religious events; many times they celebrate them in a rented hall instead of their homes. If the event is small, such as a baptism or Holy Communion, they celebrate it at their homes. They've rented a location for Nancy's daughter's *quinceañera*.

The children have been very active in the schools and Nancy has always been there to assist them and the schools by volunteering to help the teachers. Nancy feels the children need to learn to be leaders so they can take on different roles and become involved in their children's education as well. Nancy has volunteered and has joined the children as they participated in school activities and sports. Nancy proudly says that certificates have been presented to her by the teachers for volunteering and helping out. On occasion, teachers have given her leftover food from different activities and functions. "*A mí los maestros me querían mucho porque yo iba seguido. Con el tiempo mis tres hijos les dieron educación de high status.*" (The teachers liked me very much because I used to go to the school often. In time, my three kids received a high quality education.)

The teachers also provided health information to Nancy. Many resources were offered by the school teachers for her and the children. "*Yo nunca escuché que las mamás se fueran a hacer una mamograma y otros estudios. Yo nunca había ido al dentista.*" (I never heard of moms going for a mammogram or other exams. I never even went to a dentist.) There are many opportunities for everyone in this country. The teachers talked to her about staying healthy and eating right. Now she can pass that information to other friends and relatives as well as her children. Nancy feels fortunate to be part of this society

and feels very fortunate for such opportunities as learning how to use the phone, how to drive, how to strap the car seats and how to pay bills.

Entonces te tienes que adoptar al sistema porque no hay nadie que te ayude. La escuela te da mucho soporte para la información que uno necesita de clínicas, dónde es un WIC, cuándo necesitan tus hijos trabajo en los dientes y todo lo demás. (Then you have to adopt the system because there is nobody to help you. The school will give you a lot of support and information as to what you need for clinics, location of WIC offices, when your children need dental work and everything else.)

Nancy has been able to make a lot of progress in the US with all the opportunities to learn new things. She even tried attending GED classes but dropped out because she did not feel confident enough with the English language. She feels her English has to be better in order for her to study the history of this country. For now, Nancy's focus is her children's education. Nancy feels her children's education is very important but feels her culture and traditions are also very important to maintain. The three older children can speak both languages and are code switching. The youngest does know both languages as well but does more code switching than the others. While things have become easier for her knowing how to do different things in a sense she feels it has become more difficult in another sense. *“Es hasta más pesado porque para entonces ya el esposo no ayuda para nada.”* (It's more difficult because by then the husband doesn't help do anything.) She feels that, as she is able to pick up more duties and do more things, her husband does less and cares less. However, the family is very close and her brothers and sister are always there to help her. She has many friends as well and they help each other take care of duties and children. They are able to take care of each others children as needed. They also cook for each other. They exchange services. The men are really good about designing and

taking care of the building and fixing things. They also teach their trades to the younger males.

As they purchased a home, they began to acquire and purchase other electronic items. They needed something to play CDs, so they were able to purchase a camera for pictures and other things to become more modern. *“Te modernizas.”* (You modernize.) *“Nos ha costado mucho esta casa porque le metimos mucha construcción, la adaptamos, la calidamos. Nos costó mucho dinero y mucho trabajo muchas desveladas.”* (This house has been very costly because we’ve done a lot of work to it, a lot of construction; adapting/changing areas to meet the needs and made it high quality. It’s been very costly money-wise and a lot of work and sleepless nights.) They have done all the work themselves, added rooms and a porch, painted the house, installed doors and windows, laid cement. When asked who designed the additions, she commented they both did - she and her husband. Now, they even have to learn how to work all these different gadgets (DVD players, TVs, cameras, computers). The three families all have their computers at home and are teaching the parents how to use them. They have the scanners, fax machines and are able to text and email each other. In their cars, when there is a roadblock, the children and parents text each other to let others know to take other routes.

By 2001 Nancy was able to get a receptionist position with a medical doctor. Any time they needed any medication for the family, the doctor was able to give it to them. Her position there was greeting people, answering telephones and taking messages.

Me desenvolví como persona muy bien y aprendí mucho sobre información de la ciudad. Que dónde hay una farmacia naturalista? Casi me sabia toda la ciudad y no tenia problemas. (I developed as a person and learned a lot of information about the city. Where is there a holistic medicine pharmacy? I knew almost the entire city with no problems.)

The oldest daughter graduated from high school in May 2010 and was accepted by The University of Arizona. The biggest pride will be when their children complete the university. In the meantime, they are in the process of figuring out how they will pay for the daughter's tuition. The daughter was unable to start at the University due to limited financial resources. However, she is attending Pima Community College and hopes to transfer to the UA at some point.

This family is very politically involved and pays close attention to the political system. Nancy also mentioned the issue of immigration reform and Luis Gutierrez's proposal for immigration reform. She also mentioned John McCain and is hoping that immigration reform will occur soon. *“El otro día estuve en una conferencia por teléfono con el congresista de Illinois. ¿Cómo se nombra el congresista de Illinois? Si, Luis Gutierrez.”* (The other day I was on a conference call with a member of congress from Illinois. What is the name of the Congressman from Illinois? Yes, Luis Gutierrez.) She supports Congressman Gutierrez' proposal for undocumented immigrants to pay a fine and learn English. Nancy also supports the Dream Act. While all her children were born in the US, many of her nieces and nephews were born in Mexico and raised in the US. The Dream Act would help them continue their school.

On January 8, 2010, Nancy was stopped by the police for speeding and ICE (Immigration and Customs Enforcement) was called. While she was detained for one day, she was released quickly because of her clean record, her children and because she speaks the English language very well. Her hopes are that she will be able to get a work permit and be allowed to remain in the United States for the sake of her children.

Recently she called me to see if I could help her put a packet together for her court hearing. Her initial hearing took place on September 30, 2010. At this hearing she simply had to show up in front of a judge and show him she was present. She was given another hearing date when she will have a chance to present different information. Her scheduled hearing will take place May 2011.

Her idea is to present letters of recommendation from different people, including employers, friends and acquaintances. She has also expressed an interest in conducting research on the many reasons why they should be allowed to remain in the states. She wants to compile statistics on the different killings resulting from the cartels and "*sicarios*." She also wants to include her children's achievements in school and their extra curricular activities. Because her children have been involved in different community volunteering activities, they want to include that as well. She says, "*Tenemos que enseñarles las diferentes maneras que contribuimos positivamente a este país.*" (We have to show them the different ways in which we contribute positively to this country.)

Nancy feels she has been a very productive citizen, and her only wish is to see her children also become productive citizens. She feels, if given a chance to stay legally in the US, she will be able to contribute and volunteer more.

Participant # 3 (Lorenza Orduña)

Life Before Coming to the US

This participant remembers being very poor and suffering economically. She remembers not having enough food and clothing. "*Bueno pues lo principal para mí es que fuimos muy pobres, sí fuimos muy pobres, y sufrimos mucho para tener comida y ropa.*" (The main thing is that we were very poor, always were very poor and we suffered very

much to have food and clothing.) She remembers that people were not nice to them and she feels it was possibly due to their economic situation. “*Yo creo que por el hecho de ser pobres, la gente no nos trataba bien.*” (I think that for the fact of being poor, people did not treat us well.) “*Mi educación estuvo hasta el sexto grado y estuve en séptimo pero no lo terminé por cuestiones económicas también.*” (My education was through the sixth grade and part of the seventh but never finished due to economic reasons.) Her father worked construction in Mexico and began going out of town to work. After a while he would just stay away and would not come home at all for a long time. Lorenza's mother was very ill after the birth of the last daughter and still had to support them while the father was away. The three younger children never saw her well since her mother was always sick. Lorenza remembers all this because she is the oldest. Lorenza recounts the times when her mother loved to clean the house. She remembers her mother's long hair and her singing. She remembers also after the mother became ill, her body would swell up and she would be in a lot of pain. They did not have the resources to get medical attention. After her illness, her face looked dry and she looked much older. She was also unable to care for the younger children as well even though she wanted to. Her hair now looked really dry and unhealthy. However, even with her illness she made sure they had at least one meal a day. According to Lorenza, her mother was in a lot of pain all the time. Her stomach had swollen and would not go down. The singing and whistling her mother once lived by was gone. The pain was so severe and yet she would not complain. The family did not have the money to send her to a doctor or even purchase over the counter medicine and the father was always gone out of town. It was hard getting enough food for them.



Figure 7: Lorenza's Mother and Father While Mother Was Ill

If they had breakfast (if someone gave Lorenza's mother beans) then they would go without dinner and if they had dinner then they would go without breakfast. Lorenza remembers when they were eating she would say, "*No te acabes todo por que falta tu hermano o falta tu hermana.*" (Don't finish everything because your brother/sister still has to eat.) "*Si comes del plato porque si comes con taco no te vas a llenar y no vas a dejar para tus hermanos.*" (Eat directly from the plate and not on a tortilla because you will not fill up and there will not be enough for your brothers/sisters.) Lorenza by this time was in tears remembering their economic situation but continued to share her story. She remembers the younger ones not having clothes, especially the youngest. The youngest would have to go around with no clothes or shoes. They came to the conclusion that the mother would not eat so that she could leave the little bit of food for the children.

When the older children began to work the mother told Lorenza, "*Acuérdate hija, no importa tanto el dinero. Lo importante es que te den de comer.*" (Remember the pay is not that important, what is important is that they feed you.) Some people would treat them

well but others would pull their hair and kick them or not let them near the home. Lorenza would try to defend her brothers and sisters as much as she could. They would go to homes that had televisions to look in through the window, but people would run them off and close the curtains. It was a hard time in their life and she questioned the absent father.

On Tuesdays in the town of Doctor Mora there is an event at the *plaza* (town square). It is also referred to as a *tianguis*, similar to a swap meet here in the US where Lorenza's brothers and sisters would collect the left-over boxes to sleep on and to cover themselves with since many times they did not have blankets. Many times they all slept together with their mother to keep each other warm. Now it is difficult to think back but she is very proud of her siblings since they are all very hard-working and responsible people who make sure their families have what they need. She still has a brother and a sister in Mexico and is very proud that they also work very hard. Two of her nephews are graduating from middle school soon.

Lorenza feels very proud because she knows education is the best thing a person can obtain. "*Es lo que te lleva a tener una vida mejor.*" (It is leads you to a better life.) If people have a better life, they are able to live healthier and eat better. One of Lorenza's brothers that was in Mexico died and they all try to help the children he left behind. Lorenza's other brothers and sister helped them. Also family members on the side of the mother (or the brother's wife) also help them. Recently her nephew, the son of this brother that passed away called her and told her, "*Tía usted sabe que mi hermana tiene necesidades de señorita. Y yo le hablo para ver si puede comprarle usted sabe ropa interior.*" (Aunt, you know that my sister has necessities now that she is becoming of age. I am calling to see if you can buy her, you know, undergarments.)

Lorenza's education was through the sixth grade. She started the seventh grade but had to drop out because of their economic situation. Lorenza feels continuing school would have been one of her biggest desires. It would be impossible now to try and go back to school. When she was in the seventh grade, she met her husband. She was 13 at the time and he was 16. He did finish middle school but they stopped seeing each other for a while. Then when she was 15 they married and started a family.

Tenia yo 13 años y el tenía 16, entonces él sí terminó la escuela secundaria y nos dejamos de ver un tiempo. Él empezó a venirse para acá en Estados Unidos y yo me quedé en México trabajando. (I was 13 years of age and he was 16. He did finish his school (Junior High) and we stopped seeing each other. He started to come to the US and I stayed back working in Mexico.)

Lorenza and her new husband moved to Queretaro for two years and they later returned to the town of Doctor Mora, Guanajuato. *"Tenia yo 15 años cuando nos casamos, formamos la familia y nos fuimos a Queretaro. Estuvimos viviendo allí dos años."* (I was 15 years of age when we got married, formed a family and went to Queretaro. We lived there two years.) Her husband began to migrate to the US. He would travel to the US and work for six months at a time and return for one or two months. He did this for about ten years. She, in the meantime, had another two children (sons). She now had 3 children, one daughter and two sons.

The husband wrote to her and asked her to send photos of the children for the boss to see the family. About 15 days after the photos arrived, the husband showed up in Doctor Mora and indicated the reason for his return was the oldest of the boys looked very sick. They took him to the doctor and he was medicated. At that time they had a car that they used to ride once in a while and the husband was washing it. One of the husband's sisters arrived at their home and asked why the oldest son was looking so sad and was just staring

at his father. They asked the son why he was so sad and he responded that the father was going to have to leave back to the US and he was going to miss him very much.



Figure 8: Lorenza and Oldest Son (Boy Standing) Looking Sad

The husband at this point asked this participant if she would consider migrating to the US and she told him she was just waiting for the invitation.

Entonces mi esposo le dio mucha tristeza, entró a la casa y me preguntó que si yo estaría dispuesta a venirme con él a los Estados Unidos. Yo le dije que nada más estaba esperando que él me preguntara que si estaba dispuesta. (Then my husband became sad and went into the house and asked me if would be willing to come the United States with him. I told him the only thing I was waiting was for the question if I would be willing.)

When he asked her if she did not mind leaving her family, and her friends, she said no. Her mother had once told her if her husband asked her to leave to do it right away and not think about it. Her mother stated that the most important thing in life is the family and she was to be with her husband and children together.

They sold their car, packed up, and left for the U.S.

Experience Crossing the Border

Her husband at the time was a legal permanent resident and also had brothers in the U.S., one of Lorena's brother-in-laws who was a permanent resident went to Nogales to look for someone to help them cross. At the time her two sons crossed with her. After they looked for a place to cross, they found a hole in the fence where they crossed. They simply lifted the fence and went through. They crossed and walked to the McDonalds in Nogales, Arizona where her brother-in-law awaited with their daughter. He had represented Lorena's daughter as his own daughter when they crossed the border. He indicated they had to begin their journey to Tucson right away. Lorena's worry was her husband. She asked if they should wait for him and he said "no." Her husband had taken the bus to Tucson already. He had his permanent residency status at that point so he didn't have to worry about crossing illegally but went right through the border.

Nada más me acuerdo que nada más habia como un abujero y nada más levantamos la malla, cruzamos y empezamos a caminar asta un McDonalds que está en Nogales, Arizona. (All I remember is that there was a whole and all we did was lifted the fence and we crossed and we began to walk to the McDonalds in Nogales, Arizona.)

Life in the US

Lorena also experienced much hardship after arriving in the U.S. Her assumption was that her husband was very familiar with the city and transactions.

Yo me vine pues pensando que ya el sabia estar en Estados Unidos. Pero no fue así. Como él antes no tenía papeles siempre estuvo viviendo en el monte, con personas que tenían ranchos donde cuidaban caballos y pues él no venia para la ciudad. El no venia para la ciudad así es que tampoco él no conocía la ciudad. (I came thinking that he knew the US. But it wasn't like that. Before, he didn't have his papers so he lived outside the city with people who owned ranches taking care of horses and he didn't come to the city. So, he didn't know the city either.)

However, he had only worked on a ranch before and very seldom traveled to the city. He earned very little money and he did not know the language. He worked very hard as a manual laborer but he was young and was able to do it.



Figure 9: Lorenza's Husband When he First Arrived in the U.S.

She had no idea what he would do with a wife and children. Lorenza figured that he knew how to maneuver the system in the US. She also began to see how bad their economic situation really was. Also, life was not as she had been told many times. People always think life in the US is very easy and money comes easily. She indicated she was very conscientious; if she made it to the US she would look for a job and would succeed.

Fue muy difícil porque empecé yo a ver que la economía no era también como me habían dicho. Empecé a ver la necesidad en que tener que trabajar pero yo venía consciente que si me venía para acá eso iba a pasar. Lo que nunca pensé es qué iba a hacer con mis hijos. (It was very difficult because I began to see the

economic need that it wasn't like people had said. I began to see the necessity to work. But, I came with the idea in mind that I would come here to work but never thought of what I would do with my kids.)

What she never imagined was what she would do with her children while she worked. She asked around to see if someone could take care of them, but people didn't want to or they were unable to because they were working as well. She was forced to leave them by themselves while she worked. The fear was always there of leaving them alone, and she was unable to call during the day because she did not have a phone or a car. While the use of public transportation facilitated her mobility, the resources or time were not there to at least go check on the children during the day. Because she was not that familiar with the public transportation system or the language, she got lost one day. She left the house at 5:00 AM in the morning and returned home at 9:30 PM.

Entonces el día siguiente uno de mis hijos me dijo que si me había ido a viaje porque no me había visto por todo el día hasta dos días después. Me dió mucha tristeza pero son cosas que tenía que hacer. Mi hija tenía diez años y se quedó con sus hermanitos para cuidarlos. (Then the next day, one of my kids asked me if I had gone on a trip because he had not seen me in two days. It saddened me but it's things I had to do. My daughter was ten years of age and would stay with her brothers to take care of them.)

Luckily Lorenza's husband arrived home from work about 6:00 PM. The children were instructed not to ever open the doors or windows to anyone while they were by themselves. The only person able to go in was the father who also had a key to the apartment. She would leave them food made for the day so that they wouldn't have to turn on the stove either. When the children started to go to school since her husband worked from 10:00 AM to 6:00 PM, he was able to get them ready for school. At that time the oldest was ten, the other son was five and the youngest she would take with her to work.

After a while life became more manageable and easier for all of them. The children were able to take the bus in the morning to school and then take the bus back home after school.

Lorenza has always cleaned homes for a living and many times the homes were away from the city - outside city limits. She would take the bus as far as she could and then walk the rest of the way, or the people she worked with would pick her up where the bus dropped her off. Many times when it was raining or really cold, her concern was for her son's wellbeing. She would make him put his head under her sweater to keep his head warm, but it was difficult walking. While one has to work very hard here in the US and many times there are many economic hardships, she expressed her desire to remain here and be with her husband and kids. She feels she will always want to work to move ahead. For example, they lived in the apartment for four years and later were able to purchase a home. They saved and saved until they were able to purchase a mobile home then their home. They have participated in *tandas* to be able to have a little bit of money saved. Lorenza feels their economic well-being has improved by all of them working and because the economic conditions do not compare to those in Mexico or to what they experienced when they first arrived in the US. Lorenza feels very fortunate to be in this country and not be hiding due to their immigration status. They have many more opportunities in this country all the way around.

Entonces yo creo que la economía en mi familia sí a mejorado porque no estamos en las condiciones que estábamos cuando llegamos aquí. Sí hemos trabajado muy duro pero me gusta estar en Estados Unidos. (Then I do believe the economic situation of my family has improved because we are not in the same conditions when we first arrived. We have worked very hard but I like being in the United States.)

When they are able to travel back to Mexico to see the family, they feel very fortunate. They like to visit family and different places they remember when they lived

there. A couple of years ago when they traveled to visit relatives they celebrated their 25th wedding anniversary.



Figure 10: Lorenza and her Husband Celebrating Their 25th Anniversary in the Town of Doctor Mora, Guanajuato

She now has learned the English language and is happy to speak it. She feels the hardest thing in the U.S has been the lack of financial resources at times. She, however, feels fortunate that she has many friends and relatives who have helped her out. She indicates she is very grateful to this country for the opportunities, and the people have been very good to her.

Of her four children, three were born in Mexico and one was born in the US.



Figure 11: The Three Children Born in Mexico, Daughter and Two Sons



Figure 12: Lorenza, Daughter and Two Sons at Mountain Lemmon, Tucson AZ



Figure 13: Youngest Son Born in the U.S. and Lorenza's Husband

Lorenza and one of the sons, Luis Jr., are US citizens and the others have their permanent residence status. One of the happiest moments was when she was naturalized and when she voted in the elections for the first time.

Estoy aprendiendo lo más que puedo de inglés. Estoy trabajando lo más duro que puedo también. Estoy tratando de contribuir a este país en lo que yo pueda. Estoy agradecida con Estados Unidos. La gente aquí me a tratado muy bien y pues podría decir que lo difícil ha sido lo económico pero por lo demás yo creo que estoy bien. (I have learned as much English as possible. I am working the hardest I can work. I am trying to contribute to this country in what ever way I can. I am grateful to the United States. The people have been good to me. I can say the hardest thing has been the economic hardship but for the rest I am well.)



Figure 14: Lorenza and Oldest Son the Day of Their Naturalization

Lorenza is very education-oriented and feels that the educational system needs more support especially financial support. Her children have attended the community college but have not finished. The dream is for her children to attend and finish at The University of Arizona, but it costs too much. The University is out of reach for them, especially because three of her children now have children of their own. Their responsibility is to work and help provide for their children. Her dream is for at least one of them to finish a degree from the University. Similar to Kiyama's findings in her dissertation (2008), educational ideologies and knowledge is prevalent in these families. While there are other obstacles excluding them from continuing higher-education. They realize that higher education is the key to a middle class economic living. It is clear that immigrant families value education based on this study and others studies such as Kiyama's findings.

Sí todos graduaron de la high school. Pero no han podido terminár el colegio por la misma razón. Porque la economía. Los estudios son muy caros y no han podido sostenerse. Y ahorita ya tienen hijos y yo sé que va a ser mas difícil para que terminen. No es imposible pero va a ser más difícil porque ya tienen una responsabilidad que van a tener que cumplir. Entonces ya van a tener que pensar en sus hijos también y si quieren seguir estudiando van a batallar más. (Yes all of them graduated from high school. But they haven't been able to finish college for the same reason; because of the economy. Studies are very expensive and they haven't been able to support themselves. Now they have kids they have to support. It's not impossible but now it will be more difficult because they have more responsibility they have to meet. Now they have to think about their kids too and if they want to continue it's going to be more difficult.)

Lorenza feels it is very important to maintain their culture and language. Because of her economic experience in Mexico, Lorenza is very resourceful and feels she must teach her children how to cook from scratch and not be wasteful with food. When they have leftovers, they make a *guiso* to waste as little food as possible.

Because her husband is also a carpenter, he is able to design and fix many of the things that break. He also designed and extended the porch on their back yard. While both Lorenza and her husband enjoy teaching their children what they know. They prefer if their children are able to finish their school and get a trade where they will not have to work doing physical or manual labor as she and her husband has done.

What they have both learned they have been able to apply to their home. They have been able to add on to their home, tile most of the house, build a porch and re-do their bathrooms. They would like to save money to re-do their kitchen. The economic downturn has really affected them since Lorenza's husband has been underemployed. He has been working as a carpenter in the housing industry.

The oldest of the sons was in the Marines and is very proud of his accomplishments. He feels a sense of *orgullo* (pride) to know he was able to serve the country and give something back.



Figure 15: Oldest Son Serving his Country as a Marine

The family enjoys celebrating many of the holidays they celebrated in Mexico. One of the main celebrations is the 15/16 *de septiembre* (15/16 of September) which is Mexican Independence Day from Spain. She expresses their joy of talking about that day. "*Nos gusta mucho hablar de eso.*" (We enjoy talking about that.) They celebrate all the religious holidays, baptisms, first holy-communion, confirmations, *quinceaños*, weddings and many other *fiestas* both religious and traditional. Lorenza and her husband have become *padrinos* (Godparents) to many children here in the US and in Mexico.



Figure 16: First Holy Communion Celebration

They also celebrate 4th of July and Christmas both in the Mexican way with the nativity and with Santa Claus. They explain every year to the children the significance of this particular holiday. The *Cinco de Mayo* was not celebrated until they came to the US but she feels that Americans do not know what they are celebrating. They call it Independence Day but in reality it's not that at all. It signifies when the French were thrown out of Mexico. Very proudly she says, "The French had already been in the US and the US was unable to throw them out of the Americas until the Mexican military threw them out." *"Este día que no es independencia, mucha gente piensa que es independencia pero es más bien cuando Mexico sacó a los Francés, los empujó para fuera."* (This day is not an independence day. A lot of people think it's an independence day but it's not. This day is when Mexico pushed the French out.) *"Este día lo empezamos a celebrar aquí."* (We started celebrating this day here.) They, however, feel they don't need a special event

to get together; they often get together just to talk, resolve issues, learn something new or drink coffee and discuss crafts or just pray.

As far as people here in the US, Lorenza expresses that White people many times have treated her better than many people who look like her. "*Para mí, me ha ayudado más la gente Americana.*" (For me, American people have helped me out more.) I immediately had to ask her how she defines "American." Her answer was, "*Gente blanca que no habla español. Que viven en otras áreas dónde casi no viven Mexicanos o que no hay Hispanos.*" (White people who do not speak Spanish; that live in other areas where no Mexicans or Hispanics live.) She asked a Chicana for help at an office one time and was told, "*Estoy en mi hora de lonche y no sé hablar el español.*" (I am on my lunch hour and do not know how to speak Spanish.) She told her this in Spanish. On another occasion she was at the bus stop and a male about 30 to 35 years of age told her to go back to where she came from. This was a hard and sad experience because he was what one calls a "*Hispano.*" When she thinks of these two occasions she becomes sad but then immediately thinks of all the good experiences she has had with White people. However, she also feels she has had many good experiences with Hispanics as well.

Gente blanca que no habla nada de español que viven en otras áreas donde casi no viven Mexicanos o que no hay Hispanos son mejor. Y de los Chicanos tengo como dos experiencias que me hicieron sentir muy mal. Una de ellas fue una vez que le pedí ayuda a una muchacha. La escuché hablando español y le pedí ayuda que si me podía traducir unos papeles. Entonces me dijo ella que no podía hablar español porque estaba en su hora de lonche y se le había olvidado. Dijo, 'ahorita estoy en mi hora de lonche y se me olvidó el español y no te quiero ayudar.' Entonces me sentí muy mal y me dió mucha vergüenza porque había más gente allí. Me dí la vuelta y ya me iba cuando llegó otro muchacho pero este muchacho no parecía Chicano y el fue el que me ayudó a leer los papeles. En otra ocasión estaba yo en el camión en el autobus, venía para mi casa cuando me dijo un muchacho tendría entre 30 y 35 años de edad. Me dijo que si qué estaba yo haciendo allí que me fuera para mi país y no le contesté nada. (White people that do not speak Spanish that live in other areas where Mexicans do not live are better.

With Chicanos, I have two experiences that made me feel really bad. On one occasion I asked for help from a woman. I heard her speaking Spanish and I asked for help to translate some papers. She told me she couldn't because she was on her lunch hour and she forgot to speak Spanish. I felt really embarrassed. A guy showed up that didn't even look Hispanic and he helped me. On another occasion I was at the bus stop and a guy about 30 to 35 years of age told me to go back to my country. I didn't tell him anything.)

Lorenza has tried taking many classes to learn many crafts but feels she has not succeeded at any. She loves music and also wanted to take guitar lessons but the thought of being in front of a crowd with a guitar made her laugh and she decided not to do it. She has learned many crafts from her friends and has taken several classes.

Quise aprender a hacer flores, aprender a hacer arte con botones y listones, tambien arte con confección (costura para hacer vestidos) para hacer ropa. Tampoco puedo pero yo siento que no puedo porque no tengo paciencia y mis manos no me ayudan y so es lo que hace que no tenga paciencia que mis dedos empiezan a dormirse y me empiezan a molestar y no puedo hacer los que comenzo. En una ocasión pensé tocar la guitarra pero no me imagino haciendo esas cosas por que no se, me da risa pensar en eso, verme allí tocandola y no se, me gustaria aprender algo pero no se que. (I tried to make flowers, learn art with buttons and ribbons, also art with sewing to make clothes. I wasn't able to. I feel I don't have the patience and my hands don't help me. They begin to fall asleep and begin to bother me. On one occasion I thought I would learn to play the guitar but I can't picture myself doing it. I laugh thinking how I would look up there playing the guitar. I would like to learn something but I don't know what.)

Pues yo creo que el sistema educativo necesita más apoyo. Sobre todo el iniciativa del colegio. Bueno, yo creo que en todos aspectos necesita más apoyo económico. Siempre están peleando por el presupuesto. No me parece justo porque los muchachos no pueden seguir estudiando por falta de dinero. Y cuando ahí préstamos pues no muy fácil los pueden agarrar. Tienen que salirse para trabajar porque los estudios son muy caros y siempre dicen que sigan estudiando pero la verdad no veo apoyo suficiente para que ellos sigan preparandose. (I think the educational system needs more support. Overall the university/college initiative needs more support. Well, I think all levels need more economic support. They are always fighting over the proposals. I don't think it's just that students can't continue studying because of money and the student loans are really difficult to obtain.)

Lorenza's three children have graduated from high school and the youngest is in junior high school. Her children have been very active in different activities in school, especially in the arts. Lorenza feels her involvement with the school system is what has helped her children excel. She currently has the youngest in school and feels the need to go often to the school and help the teachers, attending teaching conferences and just go to see how things are going in the school. She feels it is important for one to show leadership skills and take the lead on school issues. Both Lorenza and her husband have been very active participants with their children. Lorenza has made every attempt to attend their school functions and extra curricular activities.



Figure 17: Lorenza's Oldest Son Performing

Sí todos graduaron de high school. Pero no han podido terminar el colegio por la misma razón, por que la economía.” (Yes, they have all graduated from high school but have not been able to finish college for the same reason; because of the economic reasons.)

This family still uses many home remedies and teas. They use herbs for stomach aches, head aches, colds etc. They sometimes take medications from others but do not feel too comfortable self-medicating. They would rather use natural medicines, oils and teas. "*Sí somos muy apegados a usar remedios caseros.*" (Yes, we are very accustomed to using home remedies.) "*A mí en lo personal, que no me gusta mucho ese auto-medikamento pero sí he tomado medicina que me dan otras personas.*" (To me personally, I don't like to self medicate but I have taken medication people have given me.)

Analysis

I asked these participants three general questions (How their lives were before coming to the US?, What was their experience crossing the border? How are their lives in the US?). Their answers, and the interaction that formed around them, have formed the basis of the case studies. It is now important to ask whether the theoretical framework and concepts I use to analyze their experiences can help us understand them.

My general conclusion is that Portes' concept of selective acculturation is most useful in his analysis. The three participants wish to maintain their culture while accepting many of the host society's cultural traits. The three participants value and appreciate the American educational system and its people. However, their desire is to keep their language and beliefs.

While they have made significant economic progress, they struggle economically since the recent economic downturn. Their husbands who worked in the housing industry are either under-employed or unemployed. Therefore their families have depended on the

sole income of the three participants. During the construction boom, they were able to make large purchases and pay cash but now they are struggling to make ends meet.

Although the three participants have been in this country over 15 years, they do not resemble the host society in terms of economics which Gordon's classical theory of assimilation would have predicted. Their upward mobility has been limited by their ambiguous legal status and by discriminatory laws and practices. Portes and Rumbaut (2001) find that the "economic disadvantage is compounded because whatever human capital Mexican immigrants possess has a lower return than that among more successful groups." (Portes & Rumbaut, 278). They also find that years of residence in the US do not necessarily mean their incomes will be higher.

The three participants' desire is for their children to attend the University, but they feel that University education is beyond their reach for now. Recently, Nancy's daughter who was admitted to The University of Arizona, decided to attend Pima Community College instead because of the tuition and fees. While Arizona recently passed the Arizona Assurance Program guaranteeing children of parents with incomes lower than 40-42K to attend free of charge parents have to be US citizens or residents. Still, they have entered into the institutional fabric of the society through the school system. Gordon calls this "structural assimilation" and states that this is the crucial stage; once this occurs, all the other stages will follow to complete assimilation. Clearly, this has not happened in these cases, even though they are now well into the second generation.

More instructive is the theory of selective acculturation. They continue to celebrate many of the Mexican traditions and holidays. They re-enforce to their children many of their traditional values such as *buena educación* (high moral values), religious beliefs and

strong family ties. They are passing their traditions to their children. One of the main emphases of the three participants is to maintain their language, another indication that the classical theory of assimilation does not seem to apply here.

While Nancy and Lorenza have taken personal and professional development classes, their emphasis is the education of their children. Portes and Rumbaut (2001) did not take into account several key factors that have recently emerged. First, they wrote before the most recent economic downturn which has severely affected immigrants, especially those who are undocumented. Second, massive demographic changes are taking place. The immigrant participants in this study will eventually resemble the host society more physically since there will be more Hispanics. It is predicted that the Hispanic population of the US will soon be the majority. Third, increased anti-immigrant rhetoric has intensified in the past ten years, especially in states like Arizona. Many bills and laws have been enacted that severely impact the lives of immigrants.

Funds of Knowledge

The categories to identify the funds of knowledge were adapted from a table of findings in a study of Puerto Rican households in New York City (Gonzalez, et al., 2005).

Table 9: Participant Funds of Knowledge

Funds of Knowledge	Norma Rios Participant #1	Nancy Cruz Participant #2	Lorenza Orduña Participant # 3
Material and Sci Knowledge	Education for Children	Education	Education/ <i>Educación</i>
	Teach children importance of healthy life style	Health and Nutrition	Healthy life style
	Carpentry	Carpentry	Carpentry
	Encourage learning (cooking, art etc.)	Encourage learning (cooking, art etc.)	Encourage learning (cooking, art etc.)
		Pets (one dog)	Pets (3 dogs)
	Economics	Economics	Economics
	Computer and technology	Computer and technology	Negotiating skills
		Negotiating skills	
Business	Manage money	Manage money	Manage money
	Babysitting for family and friends	Babysitting for family and friends	Babysitting for family and friends
	Assist with chores in exchange for other items	Assist with chores in exchange for other items	Assist with chores in exchange for other items
		Sewing	Crafts
	<i>Tandas/cundinas</i>	<i>Tandas/cundinas</i>	
	Buying and selling	Buying and selling	Fund raising for son to go to Australia, relatives illnesses and granddaughter's trip
	Appraising	Appraising	<i>Tandas/cundinas</i>
	Loans	Loans	Buying and selling
	Market values	Market values	Appraising

	Sales	Sales	Loans
	Taxing system	Taxing system	Market value
			Sales
			Taxing system
Education	Help each with school activities	Assistant to teacher Parent/Teacher conf.	Volunteering at School Parent/Teacher conf.
	Leadership skills	Leadership skills	Leadership skills
	Daughters in University summer camp	Daughter in Nursing training and attending PCC	Taken classes in different crafts. Sons have attended PCC
	School volunteer	Adult education and GED/English classes	Visited and volunteered at school
Household Mgt	Childcare	Childcare	Childcare
	Good budgeting	Good budgeting	Budgeting
	Making <i>guisos</i>	Making <i>guisos</i>	Making <i>guisos</i>
	Home cooking from scratch	Home cooking from scratch	Home cooking from Scratch
	Sewing and mending	Sewing and mending	Sewing and mending
	Maintaining clean home	Maintaining clean home	Maintaining clean home
	Repairing belongings	Repairing belongings	Repairing belongings
Communication	Bilingualism	Bilingualism	Bilingualism
	<i>Buena educación</i>	<i>Buena educación</i>	<i>Buena educación</i>
	Translating and interpretation	Translating and interpretation	Translating and interpretation

	Code switching	Code switching	Code switching
Home Building	Carpentry	Carpentry	Carpentry
	Painting/texturing	Painting/texturing	Painting/texturing
	Building	Building	Building
		Architecture	Architecture
	Design	Door installation	Laying tile
		Laying cement	Laying cement
		Design	Design
Recreation & Hobbies	Soccer	Soccer	Soccer
		Needlework	Needlework
	<i>Telenovelas</i>	<i>Telenovelas</i>	<i>Telenovelas</i>
	Cookouts	Cookouts	Cookouts
	Celebrating Birthdays and Holidays	Celebrating Birthdays and Holidays	Celebrating Birthdays and Holidays
			Fishing
			Picnics
Activism/Politics	Immigration law awareness	Immigration law awareness	Immigration law awareness
	Labor law	School participation	School participation
	Banking law	Immigration policy	Immigration policy
		Contacting congressmen	Contacting congressmen
		Labor law	Labor law

		Banking law	Banking law
Performing Arts		Musical instruments	Musical instruments
		Singing	Singing
			Dancing
Policies/Practices	Baptisms	Baptisms	Baptisms
	Communion	Communion	Communion
	Religious weddings	Religious weddings	Religious weddings
	<i>Quinceañeras</i>	<i>Quinceañeras</i>	<i>Quinceañeras</i>
	Bible studies	Bible studies	Bible studies
	Good moral and ethical behavior	Good moral and ethical behavior	Good moral and ethical behavior
	<i>Buena educación</i>	<i>Buena educación</i>	<i>Buena educación</i>
	Confirmations	Confirmations	Confirmations
Folklore	Oral traditions	Oral traditions	Oral traditions
	Story telling	Story telling	Story telling
	Proverbs	Proverbs	Proverbs
	Praying rosary	Praying rosary	Praying rosary
	Songs	Songs	Songs
	Traditional music	Traditional music	Traditional music
	Traditional foods	Traditional foods	Traditional foods
		Dance	Dance
	<i>Curanderismo</i>	<i>Curanderismo</i>	<i>Curanderismo</i>

Religious Belief and Practices	Praying over people	Praying over people	Praying over people
	Giving \$ to church	Giving \$ to church	Giving \$ to church
	Displaying " <i>santos</i> " on walls	Displaying " <i>santos</i> " on walls	Displaying " <i>santos</i> " on walls
	Nativity for Christmas	Nativity for Christmas	Nativity for Christmas
Technology	Computers	Computers	Computers
	Cell phones	Cell phones	Cell phones
	E-mail	E-mail	E-mail
	Computer games	Computer games	Computer games
	Texting	Texting	Texting
	Scanning	Scanning	Scanning
	Faxing	Faxing	Faxing
	Web	Web	Web
Agriculture		Planting food (chili)	Planting food (chili)
		Fruit trees	Fruit trees
		Other plants and flowers	Other plants and flowers
		Irrigation systems	Irrigation systems
		<i>Pulque</i> processing	<i>Pulque</i> processing
		Cooking with plants (agave <i>barbacoa</i>)	Cooking with plants (agave <i>barbacoa</i>)

The above table is a summary of some of the "funds of knowledge" I found as a result of the interviews. Also, a strong sense of the need for education was often

mentioned. Education was discussed quite frequently among the three participants. Education for themselves and their children is a priority. These mothers have all volunteered in their children's school. They attend the classes to assist the teachers, volunteer at events at the schools (games selling foods/beverages, ceremonies) and also participate in teacher conferences. The three participants teach their children how to manage money and make things last. They are also passing down their cultural traits down to their children. Because of their economic situation, they have taught their children to be resourceful and manage money. They are also very much involved in taking care of children of relatives and friends as needed either for money or exchange in services. The religious practices are very common practices in which they all participate (both males and females). They also instill in their children their religious beliefs and practices. The gatherings are to celebrate birthdays, baptisms, first holy communions, weddings, bible studies, teaching their children good moral and ethical behavior or just getting together for the sake of getting together.



Figure 18: Birthday Celebration

Praying the rosary and proverbs are very much common practices they teach their children. At gatherings, they talk about their stories, play their traditional music by famous singers from Mexico, and they dance. Jose Alfredo Jimenez is from the state of Guanajuato. He was a very famous singer/composer and his music is played often at celebrations. The family gatherings and celebrations include traditional meals. *Mole* which is a sauce made from different toasted seeds, chilies, herbs and spices is very common. Sometimes this is served with chicken and other times with turkey. *Mole* is made from scratch and not from a can or jar. Very seldom do any of these families buy anything already made. All the main meals they prepare are made in the home.

The three participants still use home remedies. A lot of oils, herbs and teas are used for various illnesses.

Usamos los limones asados en el cuello para el dolor de garganta. Las hojas verdes de una planta que se llama toposanta la usamos para ponerla en el estómago para cuando tiene el estómago inflamado que tiene muchos gases también. (We use roasted lemons around the neck for sore throats. We use the green leaves from a plant called "toposanta" when the to stomach is bloated and one has gas.)

Este, yo creo que usamos más las hierbas. El carbonato que viene siendo aquí el 'baking soda' lo usamos mucho para el estómago cuando tiene uno acidez, digestión - el carbonato con limón. (I believe we use plants/herbs more. The baking soda with lemon is used when one has heartburn and indigestion.)

The mother of two of the three participants who is a matriarch fully participates in the well being of many of the families from the state of Guanajuato. She has handed down the traditional medicine practices to the daughters and other women. She also prays over people.

Because the three participants are married to carpenters, the three of them are remodeling their homes or adding something to their homes. Norma's husband is adding a porch to the back of their mobile home and has built some steps for the front and back of the home. Nancy's husband has enclosed part of a carport in to make a room. At the time of the interview the husband and some friends were jack-hammering a slab of cement in the back to expand and add a porch. He also built a storage shed in the back of the yard and has tiled their home. Lorenza's husband has re-tiled the home, moved some walls in the house and has painted the house several times. He also added a porch in the back and enclosed a room. These three families are very familiar with the building industry, construction, architectural, codes and materials needed for most construction jobs. Two of the three participant's husbands are foremen. Foremen are required to be familiar with materials, prices, building codes, reading blueprints, managing crews and deadlines.

The three families are very much aware of the American economic and banking system. They sell each other items they no longer use or need. They are familiar with the cost of things and value of different items. Most of their purchases are paid for using cash.

The recent economic downturn which has direly affected the home industry had made their lives very difficult. The husbands are working limited hours if working at all. Since two of them are undocumented, family members have come together to help them out during these hard economic times.

One of the families whose daughter just graduated from high school was hoping to attend The University of Arizona. However, the high tuition rates and required paperwork has made it very difficult so she has enrolled at Pima Community College. The State of Arizona started a program called Arizona Assurance allowing those students whose family

income is below \$42K to attend the University free of cost provided they maintain a certain grade point average and the parents fill out the federal financial aid forms. Nancy's daughter was unable to take advantage of that program since both parents are undocumented. Even though they have been paying taxes for many years and filing income tax papers, they still do not qualify since they only have an income tax identification number and not a valid social security number.

Two of these families are mixed—born in the US and Mexico; the other has all children from the US. A mixed family is one that has some of the children born in Mexico and some born in the US. Nancy's family has all children born in the US and she is hoping one of them will initiate the paperwork to fix their papers so they can no longer live in fear.

While they all follow the theory of selected acculturation where they have kept some of the cultural characteristics while adopting some from the host society, it is unclear how much is due to the economic downturn. However, it is evident their cultural capital and funds of knowledge have helped them persist in the educational system. Their social capital has helped them adapt to and maneuver a system that is unfamiliar to them.

None of these families exhibit the characteristics of Gordon's classical assimilation model since the recent economic downturn has created a hardship for them. Their economic well being has not been analyzed in the time they have been in the US. In other words, the focus of the study was not specifically how they maneuvered the economic sector of society. These three families have been here at least 15 years. The three participants participate in *tandas/cundinas* in order to save money for different purchases and events. These *tandas/cundinas* help them save money even though they really don't make extra money in participating. The way it works is several people put a certain

amount of money in a pot (weekly or monthly) and at the end of each week/month one person takes the pot of money. According to Vélez-Ibañez (1983), if people were not willing to become involved in these relations and networks *tandas* and *cundinas* would not work. This *confianza* is reciprocal. This system works only if there is *confianza*, or mutual trust. According to Vélez-Ibañez this form of credit originated in China and was extended to Mexico in the late 1800s. This is a practice carried over to the US by Mexicans who have migrated to the US. There are no signed agreements (in most cases) but it is understood that everybody participates. There are different words in the different parts of Mexico that refer to this same practice, according to Vélez-Ibañez. Also, this is not just a revolving form of credit. Many people use it as a form of savings and also to save for particular reasons. This system is used in prisons and can be used for gambling, drinking and in other ways. Once you agree to become part of this group/event, you don't back down until everyone decides to back down together. It is a complex process. While *tandas* is the name used for these practices in the central and southern part of Mexico and *cundinas* is the name used in the northern part of Mexico, the words are used interchangeably. ROSCAs is also used to define this economic engagement of people. While this process is sometimes associated with those of lower economic resources, this is not the case. This process crosses social and economic lines. This is many times a transborder transaction as well, according to Vélez-Ibañez.

The bodies of knowledge these three immigrants bring with them from their hometown in Mexico and their life experience helps them adopt and their host society. Their knowledge also helps them deal with economic and political hardships.

A current article supporting the importance of these *tandas/cundinas* analyzes the importance of such interactions during these hard economic times. Because people do not want to increase their debt, these *tandas/cundinas* are a safe way of having a small savings in times of need. "They are a worldwide phenomenon for poor people whose access to capital is limited. The easiest way to do it is to pool your resources," said Carlos G. Velez-Ibanez, an anthropologist at Arizona State University. These groups are normally run by women and are by invitation only. However, some are organized by men, for example in the prisons and other places. For these *tandas/cundinas* nobody makes or loses any money for the most part. Analyzing these interactions could very well serve as a lesson to many current lending institutions who have embezzled money and have gone under. These organizations are solely based on trust with no contracts involved.

Their family values are also high and they all support immigration reform. Norma says, "*Yo creo que todos los que estamos en este país estamos dispuestos a pagar esta multa y aprender inglés.*" (I believe all of who are in this country are willing to pay a fee and learn English.) Nancy, "*En el 2006 se organizó una marcha nacional para apoyar una reforma migratoria y fuimos y participamos en la marcha.*" (In 2006 a national march was organized to support immigration reform and we participated in the march.) Lorenza's family also participated in the marches for immigration reform. The oldest son in the military was stationed elsewhere and was unable to participate.

Evidence provided by one participant indicates Mexico for the most part is unwelcoming toward their return to their home country due primarily to their age and the fact that many have physical injuries acquired in the US. Norma's husband has provided

documentation from the Mexican government indicating that repatriates are not welcomed in Mexico due to their age and injuries.

Recent legislation in Arizona has resulted in many families having to leave the state. Furthermore, the husband of one of the participants is debating the possible relocation to California to look for work. Specifically, SB 1070 has created much fear in many immigrant families, legal and undocumented. Nancy's husband feels the construction industry and financial hardship has become more difficult. He feels that they have suffered too long and relocating may be necessary. Norma and her family walk around in fear that just by the way they look they will be deported.

Lorenza, whose husband's hours and salary have been cut recently, sought state assistance also as a result of an automobile accident caused by an uninsured American motorist. As she attended a meeting with the Department of Economic Security, the case worker insulted her and others of Hispanic origin that were present. In the participant's words, "She was accused of being lazy and wanting the government to support her." She was also told the only reason they came to the country was to get everything for free. This participant refused to be treated in that manner and asked for the Supervisor's name and contact information. This participant has called the state office and reported her. While their experience has not always been good the three participants want to remain in the US

The three participants have been in the US many years. As previously mentioned, two of the three have mixed families where at least one child was born in Mexico. They feel going back to Mexico is not an option. Their children, even those born in Mexico, do feel this is their home and their country and would not know how to adjust in Mexico. Furthermore, they feel Mexico would not welcome them back. They have lived here too

many years and feel their age would become a barrier. The husband of Norma submitted letters from the Mexican Government indicating they would not be accepting because they are no longer able to work as hard at their age and he now has disabilities that would prohibit him from doing any type of manual work.

To summarize, the families have adapted to their new situation by adopting many of the behaviors, attitudes and values of the host society, but at the same time keeping their essential cultural identity. They refuse to give up who they are. They celebrate many of the Mexican holidays and traditions, but they also celebrate many of the American traditions. They want to learn the English language but refuse to give up their Spanish. They feel the language of a big part of their identity. While the density of the community where they settled have helped them maintain their culture, support each other and their children, they have adopted many of the American traits including the language. Lorenza and one of her sons have become US citizens. They registered to vote and participate in many of the political campaigns. Nancy has had her oldest daughter register to vote and during the last primaries in Tucson; she became very actively involved in collecting signatures, collecting sponsors for the clean campaign and also distributing flyers on different political leaders. She also participated in a conference call with Congressman Luis Gutierrez from Illinois to discuss immigration reform. Norma is confident that as soon as her husband is able to fix his legal status, they will too and will become citizens as soon as they are able. The recent Arizona legislation has them worried. The hostile host society they are experiencing may affect their children. They are afraid to lose their children to a society that is unwelcoming and un-accepting of who they are. While these parents are afraid of losing their children,

they feel the positive re-enforcement and family unity will help them stay connected with them and keep them from down-ward assimilation. As Portes and Rumbaut (2001) report:

Because of their numbers, poverty, and visibility, Mexican immigrants were targets of repeated waves of nativist hostility throughout the twentieth century. These attacks included organized government campaigns aimed at their repatriation or at forcefully preventing their settlement. (277)

The three participants have become involved in the educational system and continue to support education for all the children. Two of the three participants have taken personal and professional classes for themselves. They feel because their economical resources were few in Mexico, the educational opportunities for their children are much greater in the US

Norma: *Yo le digo a mis hijas, 'Pues aprovechar todas las oportunidades que tienes para que les demuestren que les gusta la escuela y hacer la diferencia que nosotros no tuvimos y mas poder ir a la escuela aquí.'* (I tell my daughters, to take advantage of all the opportunities that you have and show them you have an interest in school and make the difference we weren't able to and the best thing to be able to go to school here.)

Nancy: *Mi hija entraba a la high school cuando 2007 ya participaba en deportes y estaba mayorsita y mis hijos participaban mucho de voluntarios en la escuela y deportes.* (My daughter was entering high school in 2007 and she participated in sports and she was older and my sons volunteered a lot at school and were involved in sports.)

Lorenza: *Yo les he dicho a ellos que el día más feliz de mi vida va a ser cuando ellos se graduen del colegio.* (I tell them that the happiest day of my life is when they graduate from college.)

Their experiences impacted their acculturation in that they are receptive to adopting many of the American traits such as the language but because of the closeness of their families due to economic hardships, they are not willing to give up their identity. The funds of knowledge table (starting on page 167) above reveals the numerous funds of knowledge they bring to this society. Their cultural capital has made them become more

involved in the schooling of their children and of relatives. The three participants are also eager to increase their personal and professional development.

Nancy: *Intenté regresar a clases para mi GED pero se me hizo muy difícil porque tenía que aprender el idioma más y las clases de matemática y geografía y se me hizo mucho más difícil.* (I intended to return to school and take classes to finish my GED but it was very difficult because I had to learn the language better and take more math and geography classes and it was very difficult for me.)

Lorenza: *No, si estuve tomando clases. Me gusta arte.* (Yes, I have been taking classes. I like art.)

The three of them can speak English very well, and the three are beginning to code switch. They used such words as daycare, high school, *parquear*, *quiteo*, workman's compensation, payroll, and *chequear*. Lorenza's youngest does a lot of code switching when he speaks. He is able to speak both languages very well too.

Social Capital and Cultural Capital

Norma talks about her social networks from the time she was the town of Doctor Mora, Guanajuato. Because their financial resources were limited, when they didn't have school supplies they would borrow pencils and other items from their friends. Norma also reveals a network of friends and family that have helped them since she arrived in the US. A friend of the family picked up Norma and the two daughters when they crossed the border and met at the McDonald's in Nogales, Arizona. This friend brought them all the way to Tucson. Friends and family in Tucson helped the husband find work and different public assistance programs to help with pregnancy and medical needs. This family's networks and family helped them settle in and find work. Because Norma's husband was unable to find work right away, Norma's family and friends helped with a place to stay, food, and other needs for the two daughters. Norma's brothers and sister helped with money for diapers and other needs. Norma, further states, "*Porque pues, yo todavía tenía*

las 2 niñas chiquitas, necesitaban pañales y era muy poquito lo que pagaban en ese entonces." (But I still had two small girls that needed diapers and it was very little salary paid in those days.) Because Norma's husband had to work two jobs and felt he could go out with friends on his days off, they began to have family problems. Norma realized there was a need for her go out and look for a job. She was able to get a job at a daycare. Norma's mother was working at the daycare and was able to get Norma a job. As Norma was required to produce proof of legal status in the US for the daycare, she was unable to remain working there. However, Norma's sister had a network of people she cleaned homes for and passed one to Norma. Norma was able to self recommend and started asking people for work cleaning homes.

Because two of the daughters are undocumented, one of their big worries is the financial responsibility to continue their education. Friends of this family at school have been able to help them out and recommend them for assistance to attend different camps at The University of Arizona and Pima Community College. The density of this family's social networks allows them to not only maneuver in the system but excel in what they do.

Norma proves to be very resourceful. This family has been able to overcome adverse events and dire economic difficulties. Family and friends are always available to help out in any way, shape or form. Norma is able to feed the family and make their resources last even when it seems as though there is very little available. While Norma does all the cooking herself from scratch she is able to save some money. Traditional foods are a big part of this family. They get together with family members on the weekends and they all pitch in and buy stuff to cook and visit. Her husband used to go out drinking but is unable to now leaving them with a little bit more money to budget.

Because Norma is able to take care of many of their illnesses with home remedies, they don't go to the doctor's office unless it's something critical. All of them are fortunate to have their health. The husband was hurt at work but is in the process of being retrained and has been able to get workman's compensation to help out a bit. Because he was injured at work, the company he worked for has been paying his medical bills.

Norma has the skills and knowledge to be able to mend clothing making it last longer. Norma and her daughters help Norma's mother make *tamales* to sell. Sometimes Norma's mother cooks for different events and Norma helps and the daughters help out.

Norma believes in a strong family and maintains strong family values. "*Estamos acostumbrados a estar juntos.*" (We are all used to being together.) They celebrate all the birthday's together and holidays.

While they value education, their emphasis is that their children "*tengan buena educación*" (have a good education). Education for Hispanics has a broader definition and extends beyond classroom education. "*Educacion*" (education) includes other moral values such as respect for their elders and good moral behavior toward others and themselves.

Nancy Cruz

Because this participant shows extrovert characteristics, the density of her social capital is greater than Norma's. She attended school and worked outside the town where she lived increasing the number of friends and acquaintances she had in her hometown. Her outgoing personality makes her an ideal life of the party person. She is the person to organize many of the family gatherings with her brothers and sister.

As she and her husband crossed the border (at different times), Nancy traveled to Tucson with a relative and a friend of theirs met them in Tucson where this friend was to

take them to Phoenix. After Norma's husband joined them in Phoenix, they were able to go sightseeing and continue their journey to California. In California, Nancy stayed with a brother and cousin while her husband traveled to Oregon to look for work and a place for them to stay.

Within their first year, this couple shows the density of networks extending from Arizona, to California to Oregon.

After this family settled in Tucson they were able to increase their networks here. They had family members and friends who convinced them to settle in Tucson. She became very involved in the school system volunteering and volunteering at different events at school where she befriended many teachers and administrators.

Nancy has been able to obtain assistance from many teachers. For example she talks about teachers giving her food and different items after different events to take home to her family. *"A veces sobraba comida en eventos y me decía que me la llevara."* (Sometimes there was food left over at different events and she would tell me to take it with me.)

Teachers have also provided information for her personal needs. She was given information for different doctors and check-ups she should be getting as a female. In return Nancy has been able to pass this information along to other friends and family members.

Nancy's husband has been able to also make many friends along the way. At the time of the interview there were about five other men outside her home. The men, during the interview, were helping Nancy's husband brake up a slap of cement so they could re-do it and help him build a porch. This family is known for extending a helping hand to others. They exchange labor among friends and relatives. He is a carpenter by trade. He has

friends that are mechanics and others in other trades. They have a tendency to exchange labor frequently. Because of the unstable market, his job has also been unstable further confirming their circle of networks and being able to rely on each other.

Nancy seems to be more flexible than Norma. She is very sociable and extraverted. She has been able to retain her cultural characteristics while adopting more of the host society's traits. She is able to function in any event whether Mexican or American.

She currently works for two retired professors and has learned to cook French as well. These Professors are from Romania and live in a very exclusive neighborhood. Nancy takes them to their different appointments and buys their food. These professors do not speak Spanish forcing Nancy to speak English every day. Previously she worked for a medical doctor's office. She was the receptionist in 2001.

Ese doctor nos ayudó con los niños. Mi trabajo como recepcionista era los teléfonos, las llamadas y recados. Ya hablaba mucho más y mejor el inglés. Me desenvolví como persona muy bien y aprendí mucho sobre información de la ciudad. Aprendí dónde estaba la farmacia naturista. Casi me sabia toda la ciudad. (That doctor helped us with our children. My job as receptionist was the telephones, the calls and messages. By then I spoke more and better English. I developed as a person very well and learned a lot of information such as where the Naturalist Pharmacist was. I almost learned about the entire city.)

Ya cuando terminé con el doctor en el 2004 entré a un restaurante y me fue muy bien y aprendí muchas cosas. Cuando me salí de allí yo quise hacer lo que muchas mujeres hacen. Aquí es muy popular limpear casas y yo quise limpiar casas pero limpiaba una casa cada ocho días. Mi esposo ganaba bien y yo no tenia mucha necesidad económica. (When I finished with the doctor, I started working in a restaurant and it went well. I learned a lot. When I left that job I tried to do what many women do here and that is to clean houses. It went ok, my husband earned good money so I didn't have the economic need.)

Having home-cooked meals for this family is important. Traditional cooking is very much a part of their daily as well. They make *nopalitos* (cactus) with meat, with *chicharrónes* (fried pork rind) or with *papas* (potatoes) and chili. They use their *molcajete*

(grind stone) for their salsas. Beans are a big part of this household and corn tortillas or *tostadas* (corn tortillas either deep fried or hardened in the oven) which are more common in the southern part of Mexico.

Nancy's husband is an avid drinker of *pulque* (fermented agave plant juice). A relative makes it here in the US or is brought from Guanajuato. One of their nephews has started an unofficial business. He travels back and forth between Guanajuato and the US. He takes supplies back and forth for a fee. People that live in the US send items to their relatives and *vice versa*. He charges a certain amount and ensures that the items are delivered at both ends. Because of the recent violence by the "*sicarios*" he may be forced to stop or reduce the trips taken. He goes at least once a month to Guanajuato, takes the goods and returns immediately. Nancy feels the violence will slow down the transborder interactions along with the recent cartel violence.

Lorenza Orduña

Lorenza, similar to Nancy, is an extrovert. She makes friends everywhere she goes. Her networks extend from recent arrivals to the US to very wealthy friends who in times of need lend them money and provide other resources.

Lorenza has always cleaned homes for middle to upper class families. These families have become good friends of this family. Many of Lorenza's friends have given her furniture, clothing and food to make ends meet. A family she has worked for many years has provided financial resources, not as part of the wages, to help Lorenza out with school supplies and tuition needs.

Recently Lorenza's vehicle was totaled by an uninsured motorist. A friend of theirs lent them the money to purchase two vehicles with no contract or signatures. Because

Lorenza's husband is also a carpenter, his work has been unstable. They do not have the resources to purchase vehicles when something like this happens. Having the friends or connections has facilitated their life.

Lorenza was taken to the hospital after this accident. While she does not have medical insurance she was asked to apply for medical assistance but did not qualify. She was asked for their cumulative salary and she told them. However, she failed to mention that her husband is underemployed because of the housing market and her house-cleaning work has also slowed down. When she went back to tell the hospital (after she received her first invoice), the hospital told her it was too late to submit more information and was told she has to pay the bills.

She went to Department of Economic Security to obtain some sort of medical assistance and her experience was really negative. The case worker, after waiting for so many hours and filling out so much paperwork called her up for an interview. In a really loud voice, the woman proceeded to tell Lorenza that the only reason she came to this country was to take advantage of their services. Lorenza became embarrassed and told her she has never applied for any assistance and has always worked. The case worker continued to insult her by telling her they were all just lazy and wanted the system to care for them. Lorenza proceeded to tell her that she is capable of caring for herself and family but needed a little bit of help because of the accident. The case worker became more abusive and yelled at her and continued with the insults. Lorenza was so confused and embarrassed that she left the Department of Economic Security.

Needless to say that Lorenza is paying her medical bills and doing her best to provide for her family.

Lorenza feels blessed to have the friends she has who have always been able to help them out in times of need. Lorenza is always available to help others as well here in the US and in Mexico. This past year, Lorenza's cousin passed away. He had been sick and the family didn't have the money to seek medical attention. At the same time, her aunt, the mother of this cousin became very ill and needed surgery. Lorenza's uncle didn't have the money for funeral arrangements and to pay for the wife's surgery. Lorenza coordinated several yard sales and set up post to sell *carnitas* (fried pork). People here in the US came together to help out with the food items and items to sell for the yard sale. Within a couple of weekends they were able to raise about \$3000 to send to their town of Doctor Mora, Guanajuato.

Lorenza has also kept many of her cultural traits while adopting many American ways. She also cooks many of the traditional meals from her home state. At some functions she makes American meals. Their youngest son celebrated his birthday in August of this year with a cookout of hamburgers and hotdogs. They also had potato chips and potato salad. This is very common among American families.

Because the children from this family have enjoyed singing and dancing in school, Mexican music is a big part of this household. Two of the children danced folkloric dance while attending high school. The child that was born in the US is also a big part of the Mexican culture and also enjoys dancing. While this child speaks both languages very well, he tends to code switch more than the others. He also enjoys the best of both worlds. Since he is the youngest he gets more attention from the parents and the other brothers and sister but is a very mature boy. He participated in the recent political marches alongside Lorenza. This son is very caring and is always looking to see what others need. Last

winter he kept taking different jackets and long sleeve sweatshirts to school. However, he failed to bring them back home until he ran out of long-sleeve clothing. Lorenza asked him to bring his clothes and he kept forgetting. Finally, Lorenza called or went to the school to see if maybe he was losing them and didn't want to tell her. One evening, she told him he had contacted the school and was unable to locate the different items. She asked him and he hesitated. After a while he told her that some of his friends didn't have the money to get jackets and sweatshirts so he was giving his away. He felt he was so fortunate that people would give him more or his parents would buy him more.



Figure 19: Lorenza's Daughter Dancing Folklorico



Figure 20: Oldest Son in Guanajuato Dancing



Figure 21: Lorenza's Second Son (Left) at a School Dance in the U.S.

Lorenza's older son has a Native American wife. As I obtained the photos they were making "Indian fried bread" *tostadas*. This is a yeast type of *tostada* with beans on

the bottom, cheese, salsa and they had added *nopalitos* and in some they had made a *guiso* (sautéed, tomatoes, onion, potatoes, bologna and chili) for the *tostada*. With this *guiso* they combined three very distinct cultures—Mexican, Native American and American. These examples of forms of knowledge (a form of cultural capital) are not stagnant.

The cultural capital of the three participants is continuously evolving and changing as they acquire more American traits. However the three families are very much interested in maintaining some of their cultural characteristic and oftentimes continue to use their cultural capital in school, work and their daily lives. All three feel the language is one of the most important identity traits. While the three want to learn and speak English, they feel retaining their language is more important.

One of the sources of strength is their backgrounds and economic hardships experienced in Mexico. However, the close familial connection and friendships help them continue the strong ties. Once they remember how difficult it was in Mexico they get strength to face the problems "*en este lado*," (on this side). Lorenza says, "*Estoy aprendiendo lo más que puedo de inglés. Estoy tratando de contribuir a este país en lo que yo pueda.*" (I am trying to learn as much English. I am trying to contribute to this country in what ever way I can.) Based on research conducted by Dr. Vélez-Ibañez , making a transborder living "involves a way of emotionally, cognitively, socially, economically, and, most importantly, culturally deciphering and living out the multitude of cultural scripts that transect daily existence because of border influences" (Vélez-Ibañez , 2010). Transborder living touches every life imaginable within "eyesight and earshot" whether one walks into a restaurant, turns on the television set, goes on the internet, opens a newspaper school and other settings (Vélez-Ibañez , 2010).

Lorenza's husband recently lost his mother and is very proud that in time of need they were able to pull their resources so he could go spend time with her. His family lives in the same town of Doctor Mora, Guanajuato. His brothers were taking turn going to help their parents out and sending them money.

Lorenza on the other hand was unable to go spend time with her mother before she died. At that time, they still did not have their legal status and they didn't have the money. Lorenza did send money to help her out.



Figure 22: Lorenza's Mother and Father-in-Law



Figure 23: Lorenza's mother-in-Law with Grand/Great Children

It turns out the enclave of immigrants from the state of Guanajuato has become so dense that they have come together to form a group. The way this group started was by this social network. As people needed assistance, they made it a point to seek the assistance of those with more financial resources. A particular person purchased some land and converted it into a mobile home park. As more and more people from the town of Doctor Mora rented the spaces there, they became more united. As more and more people approached the owner of this property for assistance, he came up with an idea. He began to hold different functions as a fundraising activity to help those with financial need, sick, to transport bodies back to Guanajuato to be buried and to help those in need in Guanajuato. He began telling people if they needed money, they would be allowed to sell food or help out at these events. Soon this owner formed a Board of Directors. The Board of Directors

are all members from Guanajuato. It's a very tight group and do not normally allow outsiders to get any information. Attendance is by invitation only. This group holds many fundraising activities, rallies, *fiestas* and is becoming more politically involved. They obtain information for their members on schools, activities and political information. From what I understand, all the members of the Board are either American Citizens or have their permanent residency status. This group also compiles political information on propositions and they inform their members on what to vote for. The members of this community who are citizens are encouraged to register to vote and volunteer in the political process. They take charge, want to learn and want to be informed.

Theorists such as Vygotsky, Gonzalez, Moll and Amanti feel that culture provides us with the tools that help us think and act including language. "In a nutshell, from birth one is socialized by others into particular cultural practices, including ways of using language(s) and ways of using artifacts that become the "tools for thinking" through which we interact with our sociocultural character from the very beginning," (Gonzalez, Moll and Amanti, 2005). This study chronicles the different social cultural capital and funds of knowledge these three participants use to maintain their well-being while they accept some of the traits of their host society. With the economic downturn, these participants will not economically resemble their host society. However, many Americans are also experiencing much hardship. The difference is that Americans born here have more options since they do not have to hide or fear being deported.

Furthermore Vélez-Ibañez accounts that cultural and social capital (funds of knowledge) are not only received by other acquaintances or networks, they are changed, discarded or produced depending on the circumstance. While we tend to focus on a wage

economy, society fails to see how immigrants exchange funds of knowledge. However, we can also see how immigrants market items and the informal sale of goods and services takes place. There is an informal understanding even if wages are not exchanged that a service or item will be exchanged in return. Norma tells us, "*Mi mamá me cuidaba la niña. Mamá todo el tiempo nos echa la mano incluso si por ella fuera no nos agarraba ni un centavo. Ella desde que llegó de Mexico pues todo para ayudarnos siempre contamos con mi mamá.*" (My mother used to take care of my daughter. Mother always helps us. If it were up to her she wouldn't take a cent from us. Since she arrived from Mexico everything has been to help us. We can always count on her.)

These cases also show how Mexicans use the density of their relationships with family and friends to conduct different types of transactions and interactions. They rely heavily on relatives to help them make large purchases. Sometimes people save all their financial resources to make larger purchases such as homes and cars. Vélez-Ibañez (2010) credits these transactions to mutual trust or *confianza*. In this study all three participants and families have pooled together resources, information and social capital to survive in a sometimes unfriendly system.

In the case of Norma, her family has always been there to help her with her daughters. Norma also moved in with her mother and brothers when her husband was incarcerated for using a false social security number. This social security number was given to them when they purchased a vehicle through a local agency. After a couple of years, the social security number was discovered to belong was a congressman's.

Nancy and her family purchased a home with the assistance of a brother. This brother has a degree in business administration. While he is undocumented, he figured out

a way to purchase his home, a home for his mother and the sister's home. The vehicles Nancy's family has purchased have not been financed. These have been cash transactions.

Lorenza has relied heavily on friends for purchases. Her husband became legalized through the Amnesty Act in 1986. He saved enough money and borrowed to "fix the papers" for his family. Lorenza's employers have helped them out with loans. During the recent automobile accident that caused the loss of their vehicle, one of Lorenza's employers lent them the cash to purchase two vehicles.

An enclave of immigrants from the state of Guanajuato, Mexico has developed in Tucson. This enclave has become so dense they assembled an active group that includes a Board of Directors.

As people from Guanajuato moved to Tucson, they became acquainted with each other. They began to form *compadrazgos* (baptizing each others children, etc.). Many times individuals experienced financial hardships due to the economy, illness and sometimes death. These immigrants sometimes have ill relatives in Mexico who needed medical attention.

One individual through hard work began accumulating property in Tucson and started lending money to people. Soon the demand was too much for him to handle but he still wanted to help. He started asking people if they would be willing to attend a *tiangis* (market) and they could make their food/crafts or other items to sell and make money. The group began doing this even every so often allowing people to make their own money. The group who managed this market saw a need to become politically involved and they formed the Board of Directors. Members of the Board are all citizens. They keep tabs on those that are becoming of age to register to vote and get them through the process. This

group during elections also distributes political propaganda and informs the citizens on the different issues at stake. The Board also becomes involved in the education of their children by encouraging continued education, policy and may look into funding for students to continue. While this group from Guanajuato is a very sophisticated group still needed much more developing, they continue to evolve. Further research must be conducted on this group to document more of the actions and policies. This group encourages strong family networks and continued family connections with other relatives in Mexico.

The families continue to visit and take their children and grandchildren to spend vacation time in Mexico. This is just one example of transborder relations re-enforced and continuous. While these families may travel only once a year to visit relatives in the heart of Mexico, technology continues to facilitate their interactions. There are more and more ways to interact and send money and items back and forth. Money can now be deposited in the states and taken out in Mexico. Western Union has also facilitated the process to increase this interaction. Cell phones are increasingly popular, different phone companies are including anywhere calling. Electronic email has become a way of communicating. It is also clear undocumented immigrants and their children are utilizing technology very well to warn one another where the immigration check-points/areas are.

On the other hand, as modes of interacting/communicating continue to increase and evolve, also ways of money laundering and illegal activity increases. The Department of Homeland Security continues to increase the agency's funding to combat illegal activity and protection of American borders. As seen on their website, endless ways of tracking

and combating illegal immigration on a daily basis are part of the daily work of the Department of Homeland Security.

Portes and Rumbaut (2001) report that the Mexican population in the US has three characteristics that make it unique:

It is the product of an uninterrupted flow lasting more than a century. Mexicans are the only foreign group that has been part of both the classic period of immigration at the beginning of the twentieth century and the present movement. Accordingly, Mexicans are also the only group among today's major immigrant nationalities to have spawned an earlier second and even third generation.

Mexicans come from the only less-developed country sharing a land border with the United States. This geographical contiguity has facilitated both labor recruitment and subsequent mass labor displacements, mediated by social networks. The facility of such movements across a land border accounts for the lower average human capital of Mexican immigrants relative to other groups, who come from even poorer but more distant countries.

Because of their numbers, poverty, and visibility, Mexican immigrants were targets of repeated waves of nativist hostility throughout the twentieth century. These attacks included organized government campaigns aimed at their repatriation or at forcefully preventing their settlement. Mexican immigrants have thus experienced a negative mode of incorporation not only at present but for over 100 years. Demand for Mexican immigrant labor has been equally persistent, but the conditions under which it has been employed have been marked by the social inferiority and political vulnerability created by this negative context. (p. 280)

The Portes and Rumbaut findings are similar to what immigrants of Mexican descent are experiencing in the twenty-first century. With the current economic downturn this group has been targeted once again by American government as well as organized groups. The only other group experience such feelings are people from the Middle East as the result of the bombing of the twin towers in New York almost ten years ago.

Furthermore, according to Portes and Rumbaut, adult Mexican immigrants earn about \$1,910 less a year than other adult immigrants. They further confirm that the human capital of Mexicans has a lower return, and that Mexican American children have lower

self esteem. Their educational expectation by others is much lower. The three participants have high expectations of their children's educational attainment but the economic need keeps their children from excelling. Portes and Rumbaut (2001) indicate:

From a long-term perspective, policies toward Mexican immigration advocated by the two mainstream ideologies discussed previously verge on the suicidal. Demand for Mexican migrant labor continues unabated, and its arrival is guaranteed by various legal loopholes and the strong social networks crated over a century. Once here, however, migrant workers and their children are heavily discriminated against, blamed for their poverty, and subjected either to nativist ire or pressures toward immediate assimilation. The results are not hard to discern in the spectrum of the impoverished barrios of Los Angeles, San Diego, Houston, and other large southwestern cities and in consistent results from our study. The same evidence points to an alternative and more enlightened path applicable to all children of immigrants but with particular urgency to Mexican Americans. (page 280)

Findings also suggest that high educational attainment does not ensure a warm welcome or a higher salary. Portes and Rumbaut found that, for example, a highly educated immigrant from Nicaragua experienced a very hostile reception but Asians with much poorer human capital were well received and were given refugee status almost immediately.

Nancy's daughter was admitted to The University of Arizona, but because of the high tuition and feels, she must attend Pima Community College. Lorenza's son was able to take some classes through Pima Community College but was unable to continue. He was unable to pay further tuition. Lorenza's good friend helped him a couple of semesters. He now has a daughter requiring his priorities to shift. Lorenza's oldest son who was in the military can take classes through the GI Bill but now also has more responsibility with the birth of his son, a recent wedding and another wedding through the church in December in Guanajuato. Lorenza's husband is committed to his wife and they hope to share their love with the rest of their relatives in Guanajuato. Before this big wedding, the family plans on

spending a few days with their new Native American relatives in Northern Arizona.

Lorenza was told that it's traditional in the Native American community for the family of the groom to visit the bride's family for a few days and take food already prepared for them. Lorenza is nervous and has been setting aside money to buy gifts and food items to make.

Norma's oldest daughter is a senior in high school. They are not sure how they will pay the tuition for her to go at least to Pima. They are hoping the father is granted legal status meaning Norma and the daughters will also be given legal status. If that case is not reviewed before the daughter finishes high school they are hope the Dream Act is passed. The Dream Act would allow undocumented children who finish high school to attend Universities or college. In the meantime, some states such as Arizona have passed laws (Proposition 300) classifying undocumented children as out-of state forcing them to pay out-of state tuition which out of their reach.

Recent developments and passage of SB1070 in Arizona has escalated the immigration debate at international levels. What has this bill brought? According to CNN News, it has brought blame, boycotts, loss of economic goods, distrust and an estimated \$29 billion dollars in revenue. If the repatriation of undocumented workers is going to bring more jobs for Americans, why are the unemployment rates still hovering over 9% and in many places up to 14%? CNN reports both legal and undocumented immigrants pay taxes, own businesses, and create jobs. Has this bill stopped illegal immigration, crime and unemployment? On the contrary; not only has it not sealed off the border according to CNN, it has lost jobs, business, tax revenue and residents. "On July 28, 2010, hours before SB 1070 became effective, US District Court Judge Susan Bolton issued a ruling that

blocks the requirement that people carry their papers with them at all times, the provision that makes it illegal for undocumented immigrants to solicit work and, most importantly, the requirements for officers to check a person's status while enforcing other laws, allowing for warrant-less arrests of those believed to have committed *deportable offenses*" (CNN, 2010). The two major complaints against the bill have been filed. Recent news (CNN, 2010) indicate there are at least 20 other complaints that have been filed, including internationally. Mexico and ten other countries have also filed complaints against such bill (CNN, 2010).

Lorenza was recently stopped by the Police. As she asked why she was stopped she was told because she did not have auto insurance. Lorenza questioned how the officer knew of "no insurance" she was told because it was in the computer. Lorenza pulled her proof of insurance, handed it to the officer to show him and then was told she could go. This further chronicles the fact that phenotype and generalization by those who are supposed to protect the public will continue using SB1070 as support. A recent study by Pew Hispanic Center further confirms this fear.

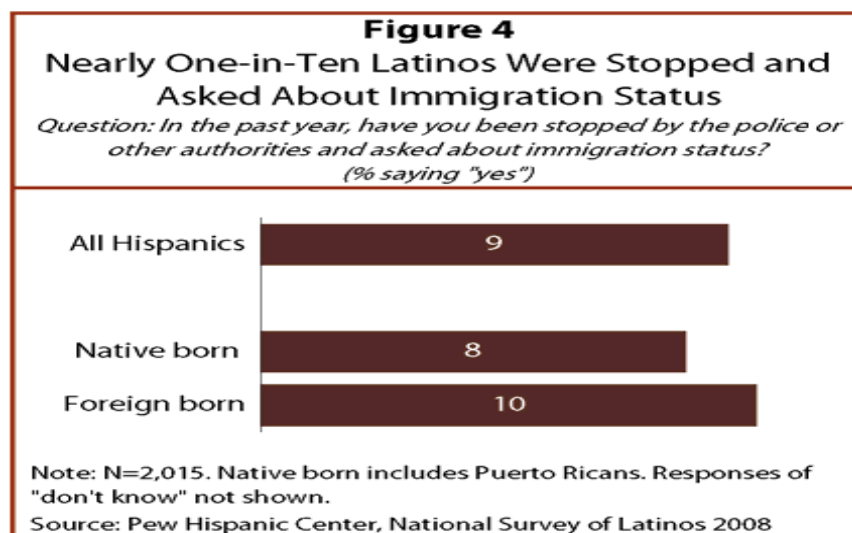


Figure 24: Latinos Stopped (Pew Hispanic Center, April 29, 2010)

The State of Arizona was recently categorized (by 24/7 Wall St) as the third worst state in the union with major financial and educational problems. Many media reports include its activities on immigration as a major factor. Very few of the articles posted reference other issues such as education or the State's financial crisis.

The host society has recently been very unfriendly toward immigrants from Mexico despite all the funds of knowledge, social and cultural capital immigrants bring with them. A recent study by Pew Hispanic Center (2009) further confirms that Americans see that Hispanics are more likely than any other group to be subjected to discrimination. A survey conducted by Pew Hispanic Center finds that almost 25% of Americans say that Hispanics are discriminated against more than any other group.

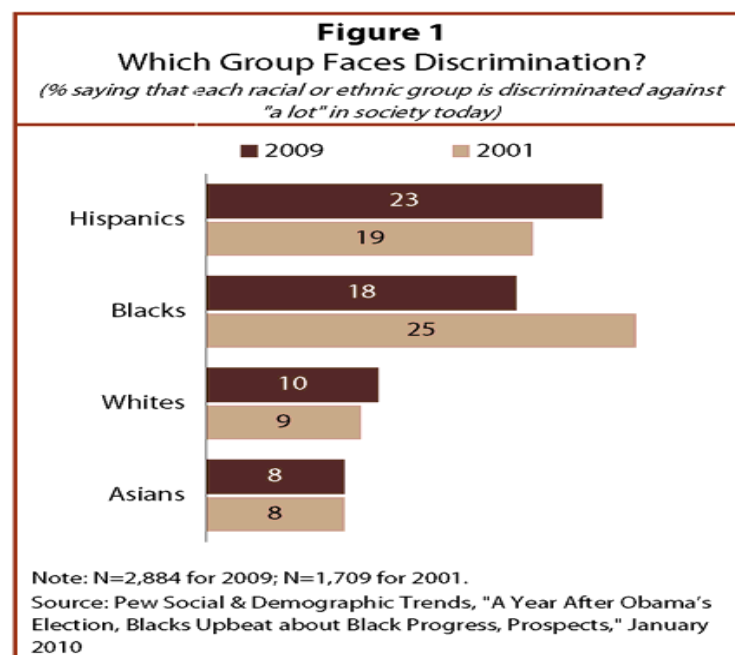


Figure 25: Groups Facing Discrimination (Pew Hispanic Center April 29, 2010)

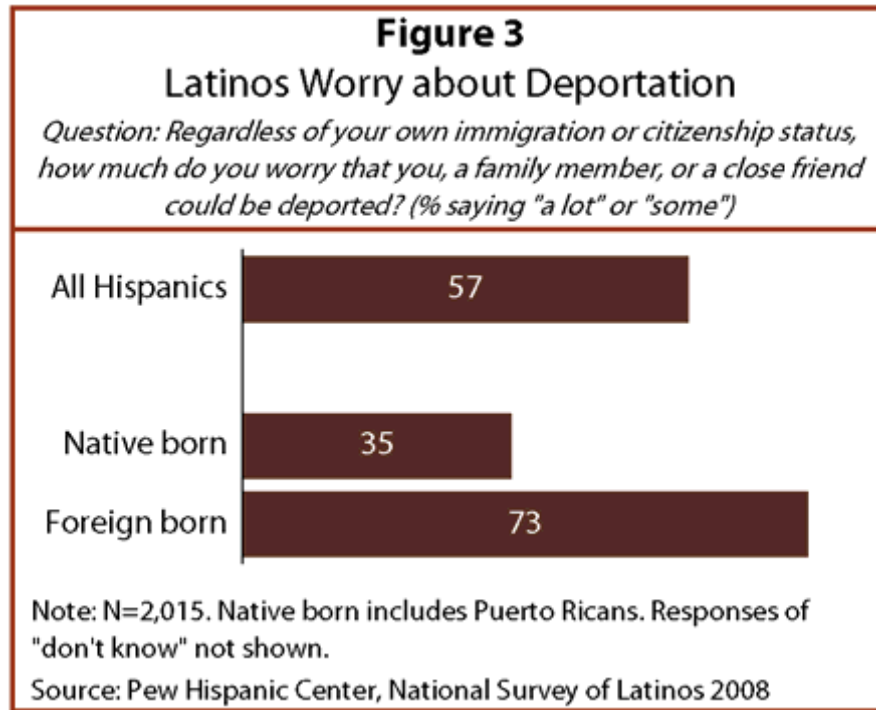


Figure 26: Latinos Worry About Deportation (Pew Hispanic Center, April 29, 2010)

The fear created by Arizona's passage of SB1070 has increased. We see from above study conducted by Pew Hispanic Center that even those that are documented citizens fear or worry that they or someone they know may be deported. This fear is the result of much of the hostile environment that further impacts the path immigrants use to accommodate to their host society.

This study supports the importance of the density of social and cultural capital in the host society. It also reinforces the importance of reaffirming one's cultural identity as a way to cope with the stresses of acculturation, but also as a way to strengthen cultural capital. The participants in this study bring funds of knowledge that should be recognized as assets. Their social and cultural capital allows them to maneuver in the system and thrive during hard economic times.

Contributions of this study

This study has contributed to current research in the following ways.

- It has added cases to current research.
- It has documented some of the main historical events between Mexico and the US that have impacted immigration to the US and transnationalism.
- It reviews important historical events that chronicle the idea of continuous transnationalism between the two countries.
- It supports other research conducted by Drs. Vélez-Ibañez and Moll on the importance of developing a curriculum that promotes and develops the funds of knowledge of Hispanic and immigrant children and the importance of valuing the knowledge these children and adults have and seeing them as assets instead of deficits.
- It documents some of the difficulties of repatriation such as the Mexican Government not easily accepting allowing the return of some expatriots.
- It documents some of the difficulties these immigrants will be faced with if returned to Mexico, such as not being eligible to enter the workforce because of age or disability.
- It describes the value systems that these immigrants bring with them and that give them the resiliency to succeed in a hostile environment.
- It gave detail to the idea of selective assimilation. The three participants aspire to become part of the American society but refuse to give up who they are completely. They want to be able to retain some of their cultural traits.
- It explained that immigrants returning to Mexico are experiencing many types of violence either toward them or just in general. The recent emergence of "*sicario*" groups in Mexico makes it both difficult to remain in the US and also repatriate. If they remain in the US, these groups may demand money from relatives living in Mexico. If they go back, they risk having all their possessions taken away.
- It showed that immigrants not only have social/cultural capital and funds of knowledge, they are passing this on to their children, friends and relatives. These include traditional cooking, remedies, folklore, the use of "*curanderismo*," religion, traditions, music, budgeting, and the importance of their identity.
- It explained the important role of women in transnational interactions. According to Vélez-Ibañez (2010), "Many women, especially, carry

transborder adjustments, adaptations, and innovations to great lengths. The reason is very simple: they carry most of the weight of raising children, keeping hearth and home, and ensuring that relationships are maintained and that social capital is guarded and spent."

- It described how this group of Mexican immigrants developed and expanded their social network, specifically how a group from the state of Guanajuato has formed a group which includes a Board of Directors to help assist people social, economic, religious, educational, and political decisions.

With the recent outbreak of violence in Mexico by the Cartels, another group referred to as "*sicarios*" has been created. This group, often referred to as a terrorist group in Mexico, takes personal possessions from families that have relatives in the US. This group is also taking hostages from families they know have relatives in the US. They ask for a ransom in dollars. While some families have been able to come up with the money needed, the people being held hostage are not always recovered safely.

An acquaintance of Nancy's was recently robbed by this "*sicario*" group. All their personal possessions and money were taken away from them. Furthermore, they were warned if they go to the police, they'll come after them and kill them and their families. This group is targeting tourists that include Mexican tourists. A recent photo from a Mexican newspaper reports seven young men disappeared, one of the seven was north-American.



Figure 27: Violence Against Americans in Mexico

Lorenza, who had been planning a wedding in the town of Doctor Mora in December of 2010 feared (at time of interview) her plans would have to may change. The family is afraid of making the trip in fear of the violence and economic impact of the recent downturn. The family changed the date of the wedding to July of 2011.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS

Analyzing how the lives of the three participants were prior to migrating to the US, their experience crossing the border and their lives in the US, helps to explain how they maneuver through the American system and host society. In analyzing the tape recorded interviews, notes taken and observations, the data collected was coded and analyzed. Findings show that the participant's social and cultural capital has helped them gain material resources. In answering the questions of how their lives were prior to coming to the US, their experience crossing the border and how their lives are now, I was able to measure the density of their social capital that has also helped them survive and live an invisible life while maintaining their identity. While the funds of knowledge they share are many and similar, their lives are different because of their social and economic backgrounds. Because of their minimal economic resources when growing up, their educational persistence extends beyond the typical myth about Hispanics is that of "not caring for education." Their shared values and experiences can be used to develop and change the current social, economic, educational and political system. The three participants encourage education for their children and others. They also support the idea of further educational development for themselves.

This study re-enforces Portes's theory of selective acculturation, supported by the participant's social/cultural capital, and funds of knowledge. This study also supports different studies conducted by other scholars such as Vélez-Ibañez, Moll and Gonzalez. It also documents the funds of knowledge in the above findings table 8 starting on page 167. These funds of knowledge should be seen and acknowledged as valuable resources. The social/cultural capital described below should also be acknowledged as valuable resources.

Implications

The findings of this study, while rich in detail, are limited. It is a case study of three immigrants from one town in central Mexico. Even so, much can be learned from the study. There are dire implications if immigrants are not incorporated into the fabric of US society. Findings suggest that many sectors of society will be affected by the demographic changes of the next years. Understanding the experience of immigrants such as those in this study may help us anticipate some important issues. The implications of the study are of various sorts; below are a few.

Economic

Downturn of the economy and high US unemployment figures have always been problematic for the treatment of immigrants. The historical record shows that when the economy suffers, immigrants suffer. Racism and xenophobia escalate. The coping mechanisms of the women and their families in this study demonstrate the value of social and cultural capital. An education that validates the cultural knowledge of immigrant communities is one that also enhances economic opportunities.

Social

What happens to immigrants who are separated from their families because of the economic downturn? What happens to families who repatriate or are deported to a country that doesn't want them back? The result is broken families, higher crime rates, hunger, health issues, mental issues, deviance, killings, and a system out of control. These are further questions that policy makers and researchers need to explore. Promoting a system that keeps families together, and that encourages the development of social and community networks can be important for a society facing massive demographic shifts.

Educational

Arizona has one of the poorest education systems in the country, and one where immigrant students and English language learners fail in disproportionately high numbers. The result of not having an educated society is likely to be severe. If the educational system does not change to accommodate and value the funds of knowledge of its immigrant population, the implications will result in further drop-outs from school. Education reform is needed.

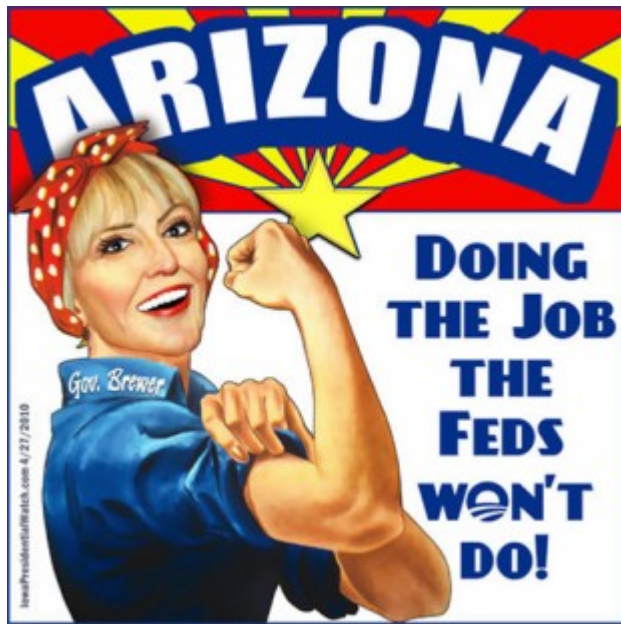
Political

Figure 28: Doing the Job

The passage of SB1070 escalated the xenophobic attacks against immigrants; many other states are looking at passing similar legislation. The State of Arizona has recently concentrated much of its political energy in forcing the federal government to be stronger in its enforcement of immigration laws, specifically in sealing the border with Mexico and

expelling undocumented immigrants. One result has been increasing alienation between the states on each side of the border. Such alienation does not bode well for dealing with the common issues important for both sides - education, environment, labor, and drug traffic.

Social, political and education reform is needed to educate immigrants and children of immigrants to become productive citizens. The development of productive citizens, including those who are the newest parts of this society, ultimately benefits everyone. The cases in this dissertation are a demonstration of that.

Epilogue and Future Research

While these cases are rich in detail and serve to give voice and face to the demographic statistics about which we hear so much, the study could have been better in a few ways. The time for collecting and analyzing the data was a bit compressed for various reasons, including the flexibility of my work schedule. This study would have been richer if the time available would have been increased. Also, the study would have been richer with videotaped interviews to capture the non-verbal communication and other aspects of my interactions with the participants in their homes with spouses and children. Given the immigration status of two of the participants, and the very volatile political context of the state, it was not possible to video tape and protect their identity.

As a result of this study other questions surfaced that remain unanswered for me. While the economic downturn of the US economy was not expected, the need to research its true impact for undocumented immigrants is needed. An important aspect of this is the question of how many immigrants have returned to their home country due to the economic downturn.

Of those immigrants who returned to their home country how, many have mixed families? What coping mechanisms do families with American-born children have to have to allow them to succeed in their new environment? Are they accepted by their host society? Of those returning how many are 1.5 (born in another country and raised in the US) and how are they coping? Does the model of segmented assimilation presented by Portes and Rumbaut work in Mexico as it appears to in the US?

Tracking of the three participants would also be ideal to see how they continue to acculturate and maneuver in the system. It will be interesting for me to see what the results will be for Nancy after her trial takes place. It will also be interesting to see how much information she is able to compile to prepare for this trial. She has asked me for assistance in order to compile this information.

Finding out more information on the Guanajuato group that was formed to assist politically, educationally and socially would also be beneficial since it would reinforce the social and cultural capital theories and would add valuable information to already existing research.

In his book *The Devil's Highway*, Luis Alberto Urrea evokes a number of questions about immigration relevant to this study. Who are the victims in the immigration drama? The immigrants? The governments? The "coyotes"? Whose job is it to control immigration? Is there a happy medium for all? This is a very difficult subject where there are many victims and few no solutions. One thing is evident: the flow of immigrants from Mexico is likely to continue, and not merely because of the economic disparities on the two sides of the border. Reasons for immigration are many and complex. Some, for sure, are economic in nature. But there are many other social, cultural, and personal stories that need to be told if we are to understand more fully this phenomenon. In the meantime there is a need to better educate and prepare these children to take the reigns of leadership. The women at the center of this study have given us some important ideas about how we might do this. While researchers and policy makers debate the issue of immigration, much more research must be conducted to include the true stories of immigrants.

APPENDIX A: INFORMED CONSENT

INFORMED CONSENT (*PERMISO*)

INTRODUCTION (*INTRODUCCIÓN*)

This interview is part of a research project for my doctoral dissertation at The University of Arizona intended to capture your life story as an immigrant. If you decide to proceed with this interview you will be asked to sign this form.

(Ésta entrevista es parte de mis estudios, en particular mis investigaciones para mi tesis doctoral, en la Universidad de Arizona. Si usted decide participar, su firma es necesaria en esta forma)

PURPOSE OF INTERVIEW (*RAZON POR LA ENTREVISTA*)

As I continue to research immigration issues, I intend to capture and analyze the life stories of three immigrant women willing share their experiences as they migrate to the US. Your story will be used as part of this study. *(Como continuación de mis estudios, yo intento capturar historias de individuos emigrantes. Su historia será incluida en mi tesis doctoral)*

PROCEDURES FOR PARTICIPATING (*MÉTODO PARA LA ENTREVISTA*)

This interview will be consists of the following *(La entrevista contiene lo siguiente):*

- A. This site visit will include a face-to-face interview that will include audiotape and video tape where you will be asked a series of questions about your experience. *(La visita incluye una entrevista personal dónde la investigadora pregunta sobre experiencias personales.)*
- B. Interview may take two hours. *(La entrevista llevará más o menos dos horas)*
- C. Follow up to ensure accuracy may include on site or phone call. *(Otra visita o llamada telefónica puede ser necesaria para verificar la información.)*

PARTICIPANT TIME REQUIREMENT (*TIEMPO REQUERIDO*)

Initial interview of about 2 hours *(Dos horas iniciales)*

Subsequent follow up to verify information gathered *(Otra visita o llamada telefónica quizás sea necesaria para clarificar la información obtenida)*

RISKS (*PELIGROS*)

There are no behavioral, physical, mental or psychological risks associated with participation in this study. All your information will be kept confidential a pseudonym will be used at all times. Principal Investigator and Advisor will be the only one with access to your information after it's obtained. An analysis of your story will be included in my dissertation. All steps will be taken to ensure that you will not be harmed in any way.

(Este estudio/entrevista no debe causar ningún daño. La información será confidencial y su nombre real no se usará de ninguna manera. Las únicas personas que relacionarán la información con usted personalmente será la investigadora, Maria Telles y su consejero el

Doctor Richard Ruiz, usted y cualquier persona de su familia que se encuentre presente durante la entrevista. Se va hacer todo lo posible por no causar ningun mal.)

If you find any of the questions or topic upsetting, you can stop the interview at any point and/or refuse to answer any questions. *(Si alguna de las preguntas la molestan, usted tiene el derecho de no contestarlas en cualquier momento o concluir la entrevista)*

COSTS AND BENEFITS TO STUDY PARTICIPANTS (COSTOS Y BENEFICIOS PARA EL PARTICIPANTE)

Aside from time invested in the interview, there are no costs associated to the participant in this study. The benefits will be that your story will be captured as you recall the specific events and will give you a chance to reflect on issues surrounding immigration. *(Aparte del tiempo invertido en la entrevista, no hay ningún costo asociado con esta investigación/entrevista. El beneficio será que su historia será compartida en la tesis doctoral que será publicada. Su historia será un reflejo asociado con diferentes experiencias migratorias.)*

CONFIDENTIALITY (CONFIDELIDAD)

The only people who will know that you participated are the Principal Investigator, Maria Telles and Richard Ruiz. Your answers will not be associated with you. Representatives of regulatory agencies (including The University of Arizona Human Subjects Protection Program) may access study records, but your name will be removed before any information before it is released. *(Toda su información será confidencial. Las únicas personas que asociarán su nombre con la investigación será Maria Telles y Richard Ruiz. Nuestra primera prioridad será no violar sus derechos humanos de ninguna manera.)*

CONSENT TO BE INTERVIEWED (PERMISO PARA LA ENTREVISTA)

_____ I give my permission to participate in this interview. *(Doy permiso para participar en esta entrevista.)*

“MAY I CHANGE MY MIND ABOUT PARTICIPATING?” “(¿PUEDO COMBIAR DE MENTE Y NO PARTICIPAR?)”

Your participation is voluntary. You may decide to not begin or to stop the interview at any time. Your refusing to participate will not have an ill affect. You can discontinue your participation at any point of the interview. *(Su participación es voluntaria. Puede decidir no empezar, o terminar en cualquier minuto la entrevista. Si usted decide no participar el afecto no será negativo. Puede concluir cuando usted quiera o decidir no contestar alguna pregunta que usted no desee contestar.)*

CONTACT INFORMATION (INFORMACION DE COMO TENER CONTACTO)

You contact Maria Telles, Principal Investigator and Ph.D. Candidate, at any point to voice any concerns or complains about the research. Cell phone number is (520) 977-4732 or work number at (520) 621-3220. *(Usted puede llamarme a cualquier minuto si tiene preguntas o si quiere quejar de lo contenido en esta entrevista. Mi numero de celular es (520) 977-4832 o al trabajo (520) 621-3220.*

BY SIGNING THIS FORM, YOU AFFIRM THAT (AL FIRMAR ESTA FORM USTED):

- You do not give up any rights (*No negocio ningun derecho humano*)
- You have read the information contained in this form (*A leído ésta información*)
- The study has been explained to you (*La investigación/intrevista se le ha explicado*)
- Your questions have been answered and (*Sus preguntas se han contestado y*)
- You agree to participate in the interview (*Usted a decidido participar*)

Participant Name (Printed) *Nombre* (Date) *Fecha*

Participant Signature *Firma* (Date) *Fecha*

I certify that I have explained all components of interview to person being interviewed and that she has been informed of the purpose, the procedures and the possible risks and benefits associated with the interview.

(Yo, le e explicado todo lo qué se requiere en ésta entrevista, la rason, proceso, peligros y beneficios asociados con ésta entrevista.)

Name of Principal Investigator Signature Firma (Date)
Fecha
(Nombre de la investigadora principal) (Firma de la investigadora principal)

APPENDIX B: MEXICAN GOVERNMENT DOCUMENTS



ASUNTO: EL QUE SE INDICA
DOCTOR MORA, GTO. A 29 DE SEPTIEMBRE DEL 2009.

A QUIEN CORRESPONDA:

La que suscribe profesora Lucina Muñoz Pacheco en mi carácter de Directora del Sistema Para el Desarrollo Integral de la familia del municipio de Doctor Mora, me dirijo a su Digna persona con la finalidad de manifestar lo siguiente: Que el municipio de Doctor Mora esta asentado en la parte noreste del Estado de Guanajuato, siendo este un municipio pequeño y cuyas principales fuentes de trabajo se ven limitadas ya que la gente se dedica a la agricultura actividad que no es muy redituable, lo anterior lo refiero debido a la situación del mexicano [REDACTED] de 34 treinta cuatro años de edad mismo que es una persona con capacidades diferente, persona que tiene familia con nacionalidad Estadounidense por lo que teme que se vean coartados los derechos de sus menores hijas, mismo que están basados en los derechos de los niños y niñas, declaración que fue aprobada el 20 de noviembre de 1959, por la asamblea general de la ONU. Mismo que en el principio número seis a la letra dice. LOS NIÑOS, PARA EL PLENO Y ARMONIOSO DESARROLLO DE SU PERSONALIDAD, NECESITAN DE AMOR Y COMPRENSION SIEMPRE QUE SEA POSIBLE DEBERA CRECER BAJO EL CUIDADO Y RESPONSABILIDAD DE SUS PADRES SALVO CASOS EXCEPCIONALES, NO DEBERA SEPARSE AL NIÑO DE CORTA EDAD DE SU MADRE. LA SOCIEDAD Y AUTORIDADES, TIENEN LA OBLIGACION DE CUIDAR ESPECIALMENTE A LOS NIÑOS SIN FAMILIA O QUE CAREZCAN DE MEDIOS ADECUADOS DE SUBSISTENCIA. Por lo anterior expuesto le agradezco que al momento de determinar la situación [REDACTED] [REDACTED] tenga a bien considerar lo antes mencionado.

Sin más por el momento,
agradecemos su atención y le enviamos un cordial saludo.

PROFESORA LUCINA MUÑOZ PACHECO
DIRECTORA DEL SISTEMA PARA EL DESARROLLO INTEGRAL DE LA FAMILIA DEL MUNICIPIO DE DOCTOR MORA.





"Un Nuevo Rumbo
para la Nación"

Convergencia

Comité Municipal

Doctor Mora

CARTA DE EXPOSICIÓN DE MOTIVOS

A QUIEN CORRESPONDA:

Doctor David Tomás Galván Parra, presidente electo del municipio de Doctor Mora, Guanajuato, según constancia de mayoría y validez, emitida por parte del Instituto Electoral del Estado de Guanajuato, por medio de este documento me permito manifestar que conforme a la situación que impera en el país, es necesario seguir promoviendo las medidas que permitan que los emigrantes mexicanos radicados en Estados Unidos, sean favorecidos con la protección de la legislación de ese país, ya que la situación que se vive en el nuestro, es complicada; existe escasez de empleo, falta de oportunidades en asistencia social, falta de centro para atención especializada. Razón por la cual considero necesario apoyar a las familias que se han instalado en Estados Unidos de Norteamérica, quienes han forjado una vida en ese lugar, asumiendo roles sociales, económicos, familiares muy arraigados. Por lo tanto, apelo al derecho internacional para seguir promoviendo políticas que beneficien a esa parte de nuestra humanidad.

Atentamente

Doctor David Tomás Galván Parra
Doctor Mora, Guanajuato, 06 de octubre de 2009





A QUIEN CORRESPONDA:

La que suscribe Licenciada en Derecho Lilián Moran Ramírez en mi carácter de Procurador Auxiliar en Materia de Asistencia Social del Sistema Para el Desarrollo Integral de la Familia del municipio de Doctor Mora, me dirijo a su digna persona con la finalidad de manifestar lo siguiente: Que al momento que los hijos de [REDACTED] Llegaran a radicar al Estado de Guanajuato y en particular al municipio de Doctor Mora, Guanajuato se tendría que buscar la forma de que ingresaran a continuar con su educación en las escuelas públicas del municipio y que estos menores tendrían que ubicarlos al año escolar a fin al que están cursando en aquel país, su afectación podría ser que fueran niveladas aun grado mas bajo del que actualmente cursan, en cuanto a los servicios sociales de los cuales dispondrían las menores únicamente se cuenta con la educación primaria y secundaria que es en forma gratuita y algunas preparatorias y universidades de gobierno, además que en cuestión de salud se cuenta con un seguro popular al cual deberán reunir los requisitos que dispone para ingresar al mismo, y tendrían que solicitar una beca de las denominadas "contigo vamos a la escuela", en donde si son beneficiadas se les proporcionaría una beca por la cantidad de \$200.00 doscientos pesos en moneda nacional en forma mensual en lo relativo a la educación Primaria y \$300.00 trescientos pesos en moneda nacional correspondiente a la educación secundaria en forma mensual. En relación a la posibilidad que tendría el señor Alfonso Aguirre para ser empleado en este país al contar con 37 treinta y siete años de edad y ser personas con capacidades diferente le manifiesto que esta situación es relativa por que en este municipio de Doctor Mora, Guanajuato, no se encuentra una fuente de empleo estable pues es de hacer de su conocimientos que las actividades relacionadas en este municipio son únicamente el comercio y agricultura siendo estas las únicas fuentes de empleo.

Sin más por el momento, agradecemos su atención le
enviamos un cordial saludo.

Lilián Moran Ramírez
LIC. LILIAN MORAN RAMIREZ
PROCURADORA AUXILIAR EN MATERIA DE ASISTENCIA SOCIAL DEL SISTEMA
PARA EL DESARROLLO INTEGRAL DE LA FAMILIA DEL MUNICIPIO DE
DOCTOR MORA.





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Comité Municipal

Doctor Mora

Dr. Mora, Gto. Septiembre de 2009.

Juez

P R E S E N T E

Por medio de este me dirijo a usted honorable y muy respetable Sr. Juez, a fin de hacer patente mi ruego, y así mismo enfatizar las razones por las cuales mi hijo [REDACTED] debe ser calificado, como digno habitante de su hermoso y futurista país.

Siendo un joven, partió con la esperanza de obtener calidad de vida, que a base de prestar sus servicios a través del tiempo, en diversas actividades con dedicación, honradez, respeto y esmero. Situación comprobable dado que carece de record, llevando una vida familiar basada en el trabajo y principios morales y religiosos. Siempre cumpliendo con sus obligaciones hacendarias (pagando su tax). No viviendo del gobierno sino contribuyendo al derecho de trabajar.

Es padre de familia, y trabajador de la construcción de muchas de las casas, hoy habitadas por ciudadanos, estas han sido realizadas por él, y por la mano de obra barata de mexicanos, que solo aspiran a ser útiles y empleados.

Hoy mi amado hijo, se encuentra impedido, tras haber sufrido un **"Accidente de Trabajo"**; resbalo con un tubo dejado por la cuadrilla de plomeros causándole una fractura del tobillo, la cual ha requerido 3 cirugías, así como daños psicológicos, físicos, morales y económicos.

Una vez encontrándose disminuido y contando con casi 37 años de edad, [REDACTED] cuenta con la entereza, el valor y la capacidad para prepararse y desenvolverse en otras áreas de trabajo productivo dentro de U.S.A, ya que siendo sincera y realista en México no se cuenta con el apoyo real a minusválidos, siendo estos marginados.

Jardín Principal No. 18 Col. Centro Doctor Mora, Gto. Tel. (419) 265-6426.



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Convergencia

Comité Municipal

Doctor Mora

Así mismo teniendo que enfrentar la limitante que marca la edad, de 30 años para ser empleado, criterios inapropiados que solo sirven favorecer la falta de capacidad para generar suficientes empleos.

Ahora bien, esta familia no cuenta con un lugar para vivir, ya que su *modus vivendus*, lo han realizado en U.S.A. por 14 años.

En lo que se refiere a los más valioso de una familia que son los hijos, o sea mis nietas, sería terrible pensar en los daños psicológicos que sufrirían, en cuanto a relaciones humanas, idioma, clima, cultura, educación, deporte, recreación, medio ambiente, alimentación y hábitat.

La desintegración familiar, es un crimen ya que al romper la célula hablando biológicamente se desmembra el origen mismo del humanismo, dando como resultado a personas marcadas por las ideologías y fronteras territoriales.

Sin embargo en este contexto en un futuro no muy lejano estas personitas brindarán también apoyo a su nación, el sentido de haber crecido en un seno familiar sano, con valores y principios, ya que existe una gran diferencia respecto a los niños criados y educados en guarderías; también contribuirán y espero lleguen a ser votantes con su ayuda.

Bien pues me despido con todo respeto de su muy apreciable y bondadosa persona, esperando contar con su invaluable apoyo.

Quedo de usted como su atenta y segura servidora.

ATENTAMENTE

Virginia Rivera

Representante de la Mujer del Comité Municipal

Dr. Mora, Gto.





A QUIEN CORRESPONDA
"Un Nuevo Rumbo
para la Nación"

Convergencia

Doctor Mora Gto. a 06 de Octubre de 2009

Comité Municipal

Doctor Mora

Por medio de la presente me dirijo a usted para solicitar se evite la deportación del ciudadano [REDACTED] el cual, por la discapacidad física que presenta, cuenta con pocas oportunidades de empleo en México, su país de origen.

Por lo cual pido toda su comprensión y apoyo para que esta persona permanezca en el país en el cual reside actualmente para sostener a su familia y evitar la separación de la misma.

Es importante resaltar que la expatriación del ciudadano [REDACTED] su familia ocasionaría serias complicaciones en la dinámica de vida de sus cuatro hijas debido a la difícil adaptación a un contexto social totalmente diferente al acostumbrado por las mismas ya que han permanecido en Estados Unidos durante 14 años.

Sin mas por el momento y enviando un cordial saludo, se despido de usted





LIC. MARÍA DE LOURDES RÍOS MÉNDEZ

COORDINADORA DEL COMITÉ MUNICIPAL CONVERGENCIA

DOCTOR MORA GTO

Jardin Principal No. 18 Col. Centro Doctor Mora, Gto. Tel. (419) 265-6426.



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Sin mas por el momento y enviando un cordial saludo, se despido de usted



LIC. MARÍA DE LOURDES RÍOS MÉNDEZ

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DOCTOR MORA GTO

Jardin Principal No. 18 Col. Centro Doctor Mora, Gto. Tel. (419) 265-6426.

**A QUIEN CORRESPONDA**

Por medio del presente escrito le damos a conocer que sabemos de la situación de [REDACTED] de 37 años y con 14 años de residir en Estados Unidos. Les informamos que la región donde vive su familia no hay centros especializados para su atención y los lugares encargados para estos casos son excesivamente caros por lo que el [REDACTED] no podría costear ese tipo de terapias. Estamos en una comunidad con un nivel de pobreza muy bajo, aunado a los problemas económicos por los que atraviesa México, por lo tanto es muy difícil que instituciones se hagan cargo de este problema. Por eso les rogamos que continúen dándole el apoyo a esta persona como asta ahora se lo han estado brindando.

Agradecemos de antemano la atención al presente escrito y aprovechamos la oportunidad para hacernos disponibles para cualquier aclaración o duda. A 02 de Octubre de 2009.

ATENTAMENTE
Sra. Araceli Zarazúa Méndez

Directora del Centro Recreativo
Acuático Infantil Médico "CRAIN"

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January 05, 2011

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Yo doy autorización a Maria A. Telles, Candidata para Doctorado, The University of Arizona, para usar fotografías mías en su disertación que se terminará en el año 2011.

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 (04/15/2011)