THE STATE OF THE STATE FOR WASHINGTON LATINOS

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

A Community Partnership Between

The Walla Walla Latino American Forum

And Whitman College, Politics 402

NOVEMBER 30, 2005

THE STATE OF THE STATE FOR WASHINGTON LATINOS
November 30, 2005 -- Overview

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Latinos make up a rapidly growing portion of the population in Washington State, and the state is quickly becoming one of the main areas of geographical concentration for Latinos nationwide. Yet in contrast to Latinos in other states with longer and better-established Latino populations such as California and Texas, Washington Latinos sorely lack effective political representation. Very few Latinos occupy or run for public office in this state, even in locations where Latinos comprise the majority of the local population. Meanwhile, and in a related way, Latino voter registration and turnout are quite low. Arguably, there is a great but as yet unrealized potential for public policy to respond to the profound disparities between the social wellbeing of Latino Washingtonians and that of their non-Latino neighbors.

This report vividly demonstrates that the challenges and inequalities facing Washington Latinos today are multiple, interlaced, and deeply entrenched. As of now, no correspondingly comprehensive political agenda or movement exists that would address these problems in a systematic, broad-based, democratic manner. *The State of the State* is intended as a key step toward mobilizing such a political endeavor by providing an account of social conditions for Washington Latinos that is wide-ranging, though not all-encompassing, in its scope. To the best of our knowledge, this is the first time such a report has been attempted in this state.

In the Fall Semester of 2005, a class of twelve advanced and highly motivated undergraduates at Whitman College, located in Walla Walla, conducted research aimed at the following goals:

• Retrieving and synthesizing existing data on an extensive gamut of social issues affecting Washington Latino communities and all the state's residents;

• Performing personal interviews with ordinary people from among Washington's Latino communities, to reveal the "human face" of statistics and institutions;

• Complementing a data-based picture of statewide conditions and the national context with local case studies, for the most part in Walla Walla;

• In the case of Latino voting, beginning the larger task of producing new data to inform a serious evaluation of whether Latinos' political rights are being adequately respected in this state, or whether significant political reform to expand and enforce voting rights is needed.

Throughout the semester, these students received guidance from a public-spirited group of community professionals located mainly in Walla Walla, most of whom are associated with the Walla Walla Latino-American Forum. This report thus represents the fruit not only of student research but also of community-based learning: a partnership by students and community members to do the "public work" crucial to meaningful and potent democratic citizenship.

Among the highlights of this report are these findings and recommendations:

• **K-12 Education:** Less than half of Latino students in Washington (47%) graduate from high school. Public schools need to expand dramatically their abilities to offer the forms of instruction that best enable students with limited English proficiency to succeed academically and on the WASL, especially given that passing this test will soon be required for a high school diploma.

• **Juvenile Justice:** Poverty and the dynamics of family life lead too many Latino youth to meet their needs for "social capital" through involvement in gangs. Public schools should take major steps toward fostering the social ties between generations that compose "social capital."

• **Early Childhood Education:** Low levels of parental education and high poverty rates generate low preschool enrollment for Latino children. Head Start can positively impact the education of children in both the short and long term, especially when it engages parents.

• **Farm Labor:** Poverty wages, severely inadequate housing, a gap in labor rights, and the lack of legal residency combine to place great stress on farm workers' families. Despite these hardships, women farm workers take profound pride in their work and in their dedication to their families.

• **Service Workers:** Latinos are concentrated in the lower paying and more dangerous jobs in hospitals. A creative solution to the nursing shortage in Washington should involve making nursing education more accessible to Latinos already working in the health industry.

• **Adult Education:** Latinos lack the support necessary for access to community colleges and success in adult education programs. Government should provide greater financial assistance and address the marginalization of Latino culture within community colleges.

• **Health Insurance:** Limited job prospects, poverty, and often the lack of legal residency all help explain the low rates of health insurance coverage by Washington Latinos. Lacking health insurance, along with language and cultural barriers, severely restricts health care access.

• **Health Services:** While Latinos have relatively favorable birth outcomes, they receive disproportionately lower levels of medical care. More research is needed into the specific health needs of Washington Latinos, and more funding and support are needed for community-based clinics serving the Latino population.

• **Housing:** Latinos are disproportionately represented in the lower income brackets, have a worse chance of obtaining home loans, and are at a higher risk for substandard lending. Realtors and public agencies should expand education in Spanish for homebuyers, and government should ensure better enforcement of mobile home park tenants' rights.

• **Domestic Violence:** Latina immigrants face barriers that prevent them from seeking community services for domestic violence survivors, including language barriers, lack of education and job training, and legal status. Better domestic violence training for law enforcement and judges, and more funding of DV outreach services to immigrants, are needed.

• **Political Participation:** In 2004, Walla Walla County Latinos made up 12% of the total voting age population but only 4% of the population that voted; in Yakima County, the figures were 29% and 11%, respectively. Yet Latinos are highly receptive to voter mobilization efforts when they are specifically targeted

• **Voting Rights:** The U.S. Department of Justice recently mandated that Yakima County comply with federal voting rights provisions to ensure the full participation in elections of Spanish speakers. While registration has increased in the wake of the consent decree, Yakima City still rarely has Latino candidates for City Council elections – in a city that is one-third Latino.

Together, these findings form a picture of pervasive social and economic inequality for many Latinos in Washington, generated by the interplay of low educational achievement, labor market segregation in low-wage jobs, inadequate opportunities to improve English abilities, insufficient health insurance coverage and health services, residential marginalization, and political exclusion. The political empowerment of Washington Latinos would be a major step toward finding real solutions to these problems.

WASHINGTON STATE K-12 EDUCATION AND LATINOS;
AN EXAMINATION OF POLICIES AND PRACTICES

Devan Schwartz, Whitman College

Topic: My report examines the relationship between Latinos and the Washington State K-12 education system. The catalyst was the implementation of the *Washington State Assessment of Student Learning* (**WASL**) as a graduation requirement. This implementation influenced my examination of the potential achievement gap between Latino and non-Hispanic white students and the efficacy of programs educating *Limited English Proficient students* (**LEPs**) who are predominantly Spanish-speaking in Washington State.

Methods:

Scholarly Research: My reading focused on nation and state-wide analyses of the successes and failures of different types of K-12 LEP education, support or criticism of the WASL, and the state of Washington's Latino students.

Personal Involvement: In the Walla Walla Public Schools I visited a number of facilities and met with students, teachers, and administrators.

Interviews: Interviews provided a concrete and in-depth exploration into the ways in which the K-12 education system affects Latinos through school and family experiences.

Findings:

Achievement Gap

♦ There is a significant achievement gap between Latinos and non-Hispanic whites, with Latino's educational attainments and test scores typically found to be much lower.

♦ An especially low percentage of Latinos graduate from high school in Washington (47%).

Secondary Language Instruction

♦ The best systems for educating LEP students include significant primary language instruction, a gradual transition to English, and instructors certified to teach LEPs. Latinos typically receive none of the three in Washington State schools.

WASL

♦ Research shows that the state assessment test provides little or no gains in average student achievement, and this is especially true for Latinos.

♦ The WASL uses millions of dollars in funding from the state of Washington.

♦ The test is offered only in English, though Latino students typically score better and feel less overwhelmed by the transition to English when early tests are offered also in Spanish.

Recommendations:

► Latinos should receive more primary language instruction, observe a slower transition to English, and be taught by better-qualified teachers.

► If some of the money used for the WASL was reallocated to schools and teachers there might be better results for Latinos students and it might help to close the achievement gap.

► The WASL, if it remains, should be offered in other languages besides English.

Community Partner: Andrea Valencia, Bilingual Teacher, Green Park Elementary School

ANALYSIS OF THE SOCIAL CAPITAL STOCK OF YOUNG LATINAS/OS AND GANG MEMBERSHIP IN WASHINGTON STATE

Rosalinda Mendoza, Whitman College

Topic

As at the national level, young Latinas/os in Washington State are disproportionately represented in the juvenile justice system: "if you are young, Latino and male [in the United States], your odds of being in juvenile detention are more than twice those of your Anglo counterpart."[1] The focus of this report is to examine what happens before young Latinas/os enter the juvenile justice system, specifically the social agents that encourage gang activity. This research looks at adolescent violence, specifically gang-related crime and its ties to *poverty*, *structure of family life* and *school support systems*.

Methods

In collaboration with my Walla Walla community partner, Mr. Vance Norsworthy (a probation officer at the Walla Walla Juvenile Justice Center), I was able to gather state and county level data for Latino juvenile detainees in Washington State and learn more about the juvenile justice process. In addition, U.S. Census Bureau research, interviews with young Latinas/os, police officers, and school personnel, and scholarly articles relating to young Latinas/os and gang activity highlight the major impact that poverty, family structure, and school support groups have on young Latina/o students and their propensity to join gangs and thus enter the juvenile justice system.

Findings

The poverty and dynamics of family structure of young Latinas/os are some of the factors that create a need of social capital that leads them to delinquent behavior. Social capital "refers to the collective value of all 'social networks' and the inclinations that arise from these networks to do things for each other."[2] A lack of interaction between parents and their children encourages young Latinas/os to search for support outside the home such as in gangs. In addition, the interview material gathered suggests that support groups can add to the social capital stock of young Latinas/os, which would help offset the social capital deficit they already experience.

Recommendations

In order to tackle this lack of resources leading young Latinos to join gangs, there needs to be a larger emphasis on the government provision of support systems targeted to individual needs. Meanwhile, the state government should also allocate more funds for educational and employment training programs that improve the economic situation of low-income Washingtonians (including Latino parents) to alleviate poverty as suggested by the Seattle Jobs Initiative's report.[3] By taking a multilateral action, the Washington government can expect to see improvements not only in the Latino community, but in the state as a whole.

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[1] Ellis Cose, "Race and Redemption," The American Prospect. (2005): 1-2.
[2] Robert D. Putman, "Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community," (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2000).
[3] Seattle Jobs Initiative, "Beyond The Bottom Line: Expanding Economic opportunities for Washington's Working Families 2004," (2004): 26

ASSESSING THE IMPACT OF HEAD START ON LATINO CHILDREN AND THEIR FAMILILES

Danielle Alvarado, Whitman College

Topic: Latino families are more likely to be living below the poverty line and to have the lowest level of education of any other group in the state. Their children enter school with undeveloped basic academic skills, which frustrates their progress and contributes to high drop out rates. For the past forty years Head Start has been the federally funded answer to the academic challenges of disadvantaged children, and it's ability to remain effective is tied to the program's capability to adapt to the needs of the growing Latino community in Washington.

Methods: I researched published information and studies on the benefits of preschool, the Head Start program, and the educational barriers which face minority and poor children. I collected and compared last school year's National Reporting System test scores from several programs throughout the state, to both each other and to averages from Head Start programs across the country. I also conducted a survey of Walla Walla Head Start parents and two local interviews to supplement discussion of Head Start's impact on the academic performance and home learning environment of Latino students.

Findings: Head Start can positively impact the performance of Latino children both in the short and long term. A case study of the programs offered by Walla Walla's Head Start program to parents demonstrates the influence of an educational approach which engages the parents. However, this research also suggests that troubling achievement gaps persist between Latino students and their classmates, despite enrollment in Head Start; I argue that the restricted language capabilities of many Latino families impact the scholastic performance of their children in a variety of ways.

Recommendations:

- Conduct more long term research on the impact of Head Start enrollment
- Reassess current testing procedures and replace them with tests which match the program's stated outcomes
- Improve the capacity for K-12 education to continue the linguistic and socio-emotional development with Head Start begins
- Increase support for teachers, including providing funding for Spanish-language training

THE EXPERIENCE OF LATINO ADULT LEARNERS IN THE STATE OF WASHINGTON

Veronica Willeto, Whitman College

Topic: Chicanos/as are at an economic and educational disadvantage compared to Whites. The response of the state and educational scholars has been to improve the quality of education for Latino children in hopes of closing the gap of inequality for future generations. While this is a necessary approach, adult education is also an important area to improve. The focus of this research is on **Latino adult education at community and technical colleges in Washington State.** Whereas, community and technical colleges are the institutional space for meeting the specific needs that Latino adult learners have, it is necessary to examine how effective they are in this endeavor. The questions being addressed in this study are: *What are the challenges faced by adult learners? What type of support by the community college is available to the students? What type of support is provided by the state? Are adult education programs adequately meeting the needs of Latino/a adults?*

Methods: Reports and data provided by the Washington State Community and Technical Colleges, the Office of Adult Literacy, and the National Literacy Information and Communication System online databases, as well as the Pew Hispanic Center and various Hispanic and education journals, were analyzed. Additionally, a case study was conducted on the Walla Walla Community College. Oral and written interviews with Latino/a adult learners and advisors were obtained. The focus of the research was on three adult education programs commonly provided by Washington's community and technical colleges: Adult Basic Skills (ABE), English as a Second Language (ESL), and General Education Degree (GED). The three areas of concern were the **(1) the economic disadvantage of Latinos, (2) the institution's learning environment, and (3) the quality of the adult education programs.**

Findings: Latinos/as in adult education are <u>still lacking adequate school and governmental support necessary for access to community colleges and success in their adult education programs</u>. Changes in customary practices and institutional policies need to be made to remedy the following issues:

- the insufficient economic assistance provided by the state and institution
- the inadequate study of Latino/a adult learner progress
- the marginalization of Latino culture within the community college institution

Recommendations:

1. Provide more state funding for adult education programs
2. Provide student grants and scholarships that are more accessible
3. Provide a tracking system that is specific to Latino adult learners and the institution's adult education programs to measure the access and success
4. Provide more flexibility in the structure of adult education programs to accommodate circumstances such as child care, transportation, legal status, and cultural values and assets.
5. Provide more education to staff, administrators, faculty, and students on cultural sensitivity

Community Partners: *Cynthia Suede*, Washington State University representative, and *Dr. Victor Chacon*, director of Multicultural Services, at Walla Walla Community College.

PICKING THE FRUIT OF KNOWLEDGE: WASHINGTON APPLE FARMWORKERS, WORK, FAMILY, AND POLITICS.

Paulina Oceguera, Whitman College

Topic: For this study, I am looking at female farm workers in the apple industry in Washington State and their narratives on their experiences. My research question is what are the conditions affecting Latino farm workers, particularly in Washington's apple industry, and what can be done to alleviate such problems. Along these lines, how are these female workers' perceptions of their experiences (***subjective identity***) shaped by their conditions (***objective problems***)?

Methods: The way in which I went about collecting research was through literature, databases, personal observation, and interviews. Literary analysis was an important guide for my research. In order to find quantitative data, I explored both private and governmental databases. Lastly, I gathered information on local conditions by visiting the Walla Walla Farm Labor Homes and by interviewing two apple workers from Walla Walla and Yakima, Washington.

Findings: In my research, I found that these Latina farm workers face three categories of problems which are common for other farm workers.

1. ***Wages and Working Conditions***: Farm workers suffer from low *wages* causing a high percentage of *poverty* for them, which is perpetuated by their *lack of legal status*.
2. ***Family Living Conditions***: The *household composition* affects family structure because of the responsibility given to the woman. In addition, the *migratory nature* of the work leads to a higher frequency of family separation, which is perpetuated by the inadequate *housing* that these workers inhabit.
3. ***Legal and Political Status***: I found that the apple industry is *dependent on immigrant labor* made available through the absence of worker protection, which is in turn caused by *labor regulations* and workers' *lack of education and language barrier*. Nonetheless, I found that these women construct their identity based on their *pride* as a farm worker, their *place as women* in the family, and their struggle against *second-class citizenship*.

Recommendations: In order to improve living situations, it is imperative to provide legal circumstances to self-empower individuals so that they may advocate change in their social conditions.

1. ***Direct Government Action***: One attainable goal is to pressure state legislatures to pass bills that benefit farm workers, specifically Senate Bill 5240 and Senate Bill 5823. Both of these bills alleviate low wage problems.
2. ***Unions and Self-Empowerment***: Unions have been effective tools for enacting change in farm workers' conditions throughout the years. Therefore, the involvement of workers in such efforts would benefit their living standards.

Community Partners: I would like to acknowledge the help of my Community Partners, Jan Foster of Walla Walla Community College and Ben Hooper of Columbia Legal Services in Kennewick. They helped me guide my research by providing basic information about farm work and the conditions affecting workers. They also helped me in the editing process.

THE WASHINGTON STATE NURSING SHORTAGE AND THE "INVISIBLE" HOSPITAL WORKFORCE

Eleanor Clagett, Whitman College

- **Topic:** My given topic was Latino employment in the **service industry** in Washington State. Through contacts my professor has with organizers for Service Employees International Union, I learned about the unionization efforts of hospital workers at Yakima Regional Medical Center, and this led me to focus on the experiences of Latinos working in **hospitals** and the **health care industry**. I learned that 30 percent of the employees working at Yakima Regional are Latino, and that they are mostly concentrated in the more traditional forms of service labor in the hospital (custodial, food service, housekeeping, etc.) as opposed to health care professions. However, the main focus of attention on hospital employment right now is the **nursing shortage** currently facing Washington State. My report asks, then, how are Latino workers affected by the nursing shortage? More importantly, how do the factors causing a nursing shortage affect Latino workers, and what options do Latinos have to respond to these factors?

- **Methods:** I used the internet and the databases in Whitman College's Penrose Library to gather data and scholarly articles. I also conducted two interviews: one with a technician at St. Mary Medical Center in Walla Walla, and one with a former Certified Nurse's Assistant for Yakima Regional Medical Center, who is now that hospital's representative to the Service Employees International Union, Local 1199.

- **Findings:** The nursing shortage in Washington is being caused by nurses' dissatisfaction with the way that hospitals are industrializing and pushing for **streamlining** and cost efficiency. The **poor work environmen**t caused by this affects all employees of the hospital, especially Latinos, who I found to be concentrated in the lower level occupations of the hospital.

- **Recommendations:** Washington is currently faced with two complementary problems: we lack nurses, and Latinos are underrepresented in professional health care occupations. By increasing accessibility of **education** for Latinos, through academic programs or union involvement, more Latinos could pursue careers in nursing and other professional medical occupations, **pointing us on the way to solutions to both problems**.

- **Community Partner:** The interviews I did were arranged for me by my two partners in the community, Andrea Gass, of St. Mary Medical Center, Walla Walla, and Jenny Reed-Heaton, of Service Employees International Union. Local 1199.

ACCESS TO HEALTH INSURANCE AND HEALTH CARE FOR LATINOS IN WASHINGTON STATE

Ben Secord, Whitman College

Topic: My research is looking at the access to health insurance and health care for Latinos in Washington State. Generally, my research aims to provide an overview of the extent to which the health needs of the Latino community in Washington are being met. Specifically, I examine the rates of health insurance coverage within the Latino community and some possible causal factors that might help to explain these rates. In addition, I aim to present a general picture of the access to health care services within the Latino community in Washington.

Methods: The following information comes from studies and reports compiled in recent years by a number of different scholars, medical professionals and health-oriented organizations. The Henry J. Kaiser Foundation, the U.S. Census Bureau, and the Washington State Department of Health have been particularly helpful in this regard. I have also conducted two interviews with local community members and have used their testimonies to supplement the findings in the report.

Findings: Latinos are more likely than any racial/ethnic group in the U.S. to lack health insurance. These high uninsured rates can be explained (at least in part) by the inter-related factors of ***employment status***, ***poverty***, and ***legal status***. ***Lack of insurance*** presents one of the major barriers to accessing medical care. Due to the high costs of medical services, those without insurance often forgo medical care. However, as important as having health insurance is to receiving quality care, it isn't the only determining factor. ***Cultural issues*** and the ***language barrier*** also play a role in determining one's access to health care. The interviews I conducted highlight the limitations of some insurance plans and demonstrate the existence of discrimination within the Latino community.

Recommendations: Addressing the lack of health insurance among Latinos is essential to improving their access to care. The state could require all employers to provide their workers with health insurance and could increase availability of state-run Medicaid and Medicare programs. Insurance plans, whether privately or publicly provided, must adequately and efficiently meet the needs of the people they serve. In addition, a better effort must be made by private and public health institutions to provide comprehensive Spanish services for Spanish-speaking Latinos. Health institutions must also actively recruit Latino health professionals as they are underrepresented in all medical fields.

Community Partners: Another important source of information has come from a local partnership with two medical professionals Dr. Christopher Hall and Benita Aguilar. They have provided me with valuable information regarding the intricacies of issues relating to health insurance coverage and have been helpful in explaining local health issues facing the Latino community.

THE STATE OF PUBLIC HEALTH OF WASHINGTON LATINOS

Himani Wickramanayake, Whitman College

Executive Summary, November 28, 2005

Topic: The purpose of this project is to compile information regarding the health profile of Washington Latinos and assess the way nonprofit clinics for low-income patients address these needs.

Methods: I gathered information from a number of published sources, including the US Department of Health and Human Services and the Washington State Board of Health, to establish information on health trends of Latinos in the United States and in Washington State in particular. I also found published statistics and studies regarding primary care safety net facilities – nonprofit organizations providing health care to those with minimal or no insurance. This information was supplemented by research I conducted into the SOS Clinic and the Quincy Community Health Center, two nonprofit clinics in Washington with different sources of funding and different available services. In addition, I conducted interviews with several people regarding their experiences, as Latinos, with the public health system of Washington.

Findings:

- Health Statistics – There are many diseases from which Latinos in Washington suffer disproportionately, such as Diabetes, AIDS, cervical cancer, asthma, and tuberculosis. There are some conditions, however, that Latinos in Washington are less likely to have, namely low birthweight births or infant and neonatal mortality. The Latino population has unique medical need that need to be understood in order to be treated properly.
- Healthcare Access – Latinos receive disproportionately low health care. This does not explain all the health trends found in Washington Latinos, but it is certainly a significant factor.
- The Safety Net – Facilities that treat patients regardless of their ability to pay play a vital role in meeting the healthcare needs of many Latinos in Washington. But because they do not always provide continuous care, some of the diseases most affecting Latinos, like diabetes, are not adequately treated.

Recommendations:

- More research needs to be done to better understand the unique health needs of the Latino population.
- More funding needs to be given to safety net providers to adequately care for their patients, many of whom are Latino, in a way that addresses their specific needs.

Community Partner: Margaret Caicedo provided me with valuable information, contacts, and guidance during the course of this project.

PERSPECTIVES ON HOUSING IN WASHINGTON STATE: CONDITIONS IN WALLA WALLA

Alan Blickenstaff, Whitman College

Topic. The purpose of this research was to analyze the housing conditions and process in Washington State from the perspective of the Latino community in Walla Walla.

Method. Quantitative data was drawn from governmental databases, mainly from the U.S. Census Bureau and Home Mortgage Disclosure Act (HMDA). Specific market conditions in Walla Walla were garnered from on-line databases from realtors in the area which show available houses. Additionally, a case study was conducted centering around two mobile home parks in Walla Walla. The case study consisted of short conversations and one longer interview of tenants in the parks.

Findings. Basic findings of my research are as follows:

- Current market conditions around home ownership in Walla Walla are stacked against lower income purchasers, with the very few houses available for under $100,000. Implications are tremendous for the Latino community when trends are taken into account: Latinos are disproportionately represented in the lower income brackets, have a statistically worse chance of obtaining loans, and typically are at a higher risk for substandard lending.
- Education about the process of buying a home can be a major determinant in success in the home ownership market. A study of the available information on Walla Walla realtor websites showed a pervasive lack of information in Spanish.
- Discrepancies in the living conditions, cost of living, and presence of problems between two mobile home parks across the street from one another (one primarily white, the other mainly Latino) indicate that the housing problems cannot be explained by simple economics.
- Despite efforts by the Office of Manufactured Housing to document problems in mobile home parks, confusion about the reporting process and fear of landlords lead to underreporting.
- Government data is insufficient to analyze the current conditions of Latinos in housing.

Recommendations. Basic policy recommendations are as follows:

- Home buying and other housing information needs to be offered in Spanish as well as English. Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 guarantees that an institution cannot discriminate based upon national origins, which would include native languages.
- The Mobile Home Landlord Tenant Act must be strengthened, and the underreporting of problems must be taken into account when analyzing House Bill 1640 which called for the documentation of problems.
- Governmental data must be more inclusive and should contain information about specific loan applicants and cities (even if smaller that 50,000 people which is a typical cut-off). This expansion of data would allow analysis of loan acceptance and home ownership discrepancies which is impossible given the current lack of data.
- More in-depth studies about the conditions for Latinos in the housing market, particularly mobile homes, must be conducted.

Community Partner. I was helped in my research by Ruben Garcia, a local real estate agent, and Ben Hooper of Columbia Legal Services.

AN ANALYSIS OF THE BARRIERS LATINA IMMIGRANTS FACE IN WASHINGTON'S DOMESTIC VIOLENCE RESPONSE NETWORK

Angela Walker, Whitman College

Topic: There remains a dearth of policies that address the pervasive problem of Latina immigrants suffering from domestic violence. How can Washington state improve its domestic violence response network for Latina immigrants?

Methods: In order to carry out a comprehensive report the voices of survivors must be included on top of the reports and findings I used from state agencies, social service agencies, and non-governmental organizations. I first cover and analyze theory and literature on domestic violence within the Latino immigrant community before analyzing the barriers specifically within Washington state's domestic violence response network. I then address the themes and concerns detailed in the interviews before finally outlining recommendations to improve Washington's domestic violence response network.

Findings: While the Hispanic rate of spousal violence is 54 percent greater than that of non-Hispanic whites, both the Benton/Franklin county and Walla Walla domestic violence shelters have more non-Hispanic white clients than Hispanic clients. It is thus apparent that Latinas are facing barriers that are preventing them from seeking services in the community. From the literature and from the interviews I found that Latina immigrants are often forced to be dependent upon the male in the household due to language barriers, lack of education and job training, legal status, and an absence of a strong familial support system in the surrounding community. Abusers use mechanisms of power and control including isolation, emotional abuse, economic abuse, sexual abuse, using children, threats, using citizenship or residency privilege, and intimidation. All of these factors serve to isolate the women. There is a deficiency of domestic violence training for law enforcement and judges, and outreach from domestic violence services remains slim largely due to insufficient funding.

Recommendations: We need to move the issue of domestic violence within the Latino immigrant community from the private sphere to the public so that the problem can be politicized and then targeted for specific policy analysis. The barriers that Latina immigrants face require that Washington state increase funding for outreach and educational services for all parts of the domestic violence network, including law enforcement agencies, domestic violence services, schools, and the judicial system. The network of resources in Spanish needs to increase so that monolingual Latina immigrants can become aware of their human and civil rights and the resources available in the surrounding community in order to make safe judgments regarding how to best protect themselves and their children.

Community Partner: Soren Rottman, Directing Attorney at Northwest Immigrant Rights Project (NWIRP), and Shamaine Daniels, Volunteer Attorney for NWIRP have helped provide the insight and resources necessary to conduct this research. Rottman put me in contact with domestic violence survivor Silvia in Pasco and Daniels put me in touch with Lorena Ault, Bilingual Bicultural Advocate for Domestic Violence and Sexual Assault Victims, Education and Prevention Specialist at Walla Walla's YWCA.

VOTER TURNOUT AMONG LATINOS IN THE STATE OF WASHINGTON

Austin Rainwater, Whitman College

Topic: This paper focuses on voter registration and turnout among Latinos in Washington State as well as voter mobilization for Latinos. The question guiding the research is this: Among Latinos in Washington State, Yakima, and Walla Walla, who is voting, how, and why? The research has focused on gathering data on the population of the United States, Washington State, Walla Walla County, and Yakima County. The research has also examined literature regarding voting behavior, turnout, and mobilization for Latinos.

Methods: For the data, the U.S. Census, Walla Walla County Courthouse voting records, and Yakima County Courthouse voting records were relied on heavily. For literature research, Latino advocacy organizations, political abstracts, and newspaper articles were relied on.

Findings:

- Latinos are the largest racial minority group living in the United States and also highly under-represented, politically. Only 18.36 % of all Hispanics living in the United States voted in 2004, whereas 42.82% of the total population living in the United States voted in 2004.
- Nearly 10% of Washington State's population is Latino. In the case studies, it was found that although Walla Walla County Latinos made up 12% of the total population, Latino only made up 4% of the voting population in 2004. Similarly, although Yakima County Latinos made up 29% of the total population, Latinos made up only 11% of the total voting population.
- Low turnout rates among Latinos are a result of many factors, among which are citizenship, education, income, age, and language barriers.
- There is strong evidence indicating that Latinos are highly receptive to mobilization efforts when they are specifically targeted. Further, asking someone to vote, even if they are among the *least* likely to do so, has significant positive effects on their likelihood of turning out on Election Day.

Recommendations: A better process for working immigrants to become citizens is key to the civic health of the Latino community in Washington and the United States. The Voting Rights Act continues to provide vital areas of protection for Latinos and avenues to address voting discrimination. If the VRA is not extended in 2007, it would be a great loss to Latinos, as well as a political loss for those that did not vote to renew it.

Community Partners: Kathy Fisher and Delia P. Chavez of the Yakima County Auditor's office took a great deal of time in helping us with our project and providing us with the information we needed.

VOTING RIGHTS OF LATINOS IN YAKIMA AND ENFORCEMENT BY THE STATE

Lázaro Carrión, Whitman College

Topic: This research primarily focuses on Latino representation in city council positions in the Yakima County. This study looked to find answers to questions such as: **Why are there low numbers of Latino registered voters? Why is there low Latino turnout? Are enough Latino candidates running for office? How do local Latino community members explain the current conditions of the Latino electorate?**

Methods: The data in this report was gathered through thorough research on the U.S. Census data website. In addition, the Yakima County Auditor's office was visited in order to collect a copy of the voter registration rolls and voter turnout results for numerous elections. However, since this research was primarily looking at Latino representation, only the 1999 Yakima City Council election was selected because it was the last time a Latino ran for a city council position in Yakima City. In 7 of the 14 cities in the Yakima County, there are a substantial number of Latinos in the city council, however, Yakima City has more Latinos than those cities combined and yet does not have a Latino serving in the city council. For this reason, Yakima City is primarily discussed in this research. Moreover, several interviews were conducted in local Walla Walla Latino communities. These interviews were designed to gather further insight on the general understanding local Latino community members have on the election system, opinions on why Latinos tend not to vote and their views on why low Latino representation continues to be a problem.

Findings:

- Yakima County entered into a consent decree in whit it agreed to follow the guidelines established jointly by the Department of Justice in an effort to fully comply with section 203 of the Voting Rights Act (primarily providing materials and services in Spanish that will facilitate full participation in elections of Spanish speakers).
- The Bilingual Program resulting from the consent decree has improved and increased Latino registration and voter turnout.
- Yakima City lacks Latino candidates in local city council elections.
- Latinos in Yakima city are approximately a third of the population, yet comprise approximately a tenth of the total registered voters.

Recommendations: First, voter mobilization efforts targeting Latinos need to improve in order to better mobilize Latinos least likely to vote. Second, Latino communities must effectively promote and encourage Latinos to run for office in order to attain the representation they desire.

Community Partner: This research was carried out through the assistance and guidance of my community partner Joaquin Avila, Assistant Professor at Seattle University School of Law.

WASHINGTON STATE K-12 EDUCATION AND LATINOS; AN EXAMINATION OF POLICIES AND PRACTICES

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Politics 402
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November 18, 2005

WASHINGTON STATE K-12 EDUCATION AND LATINOS;
An Examination of Policies and Practices

INTRODUCTION

Over the past semester I have engaged in research related to the K-12 education system in Washington State. The research especially focuses on Latinos and the ways in which certain policies and practices specifically affect this growing demographic. Specific areas I examined were the quality of education received by Limited English Proficient Students (LEP[1]), various programs and methods of teaching that have proven effective or ineffective for these students, the interplay of the recently imposed Washington Assessment of Student Learning (WASL) and actual gains in student achievement and involvement, and which of the previously stated factors might affect the achievement gap between Latinos and non-Hispanic whites and the already dismal graduation rate of Washington State's Latino students.

I sought to find what the ideal education is for Latinos and LEPs, how the current educational offerings in the state either correlate or contrast with these, and what might be done differently so as to right the course of the state's K-12 educational practices. My research was informed by scholarly literature, data from a variety of sources, and my own experiential findings through interviews, discussions, and observations of the efficacy and inefficiency of the local schools of the Walla Walla School District. Integral to my report was my Community Partner Andrea Valencia, Bilingual Kindergarten teacher at Green Park Elementary. Valencia shed great light onto the difficult place that Latinos have in society and, especially, in education, herself educated in the area and now seeking to improve the quality of education. She was able to make important synthetic connections between various areas of research as well as providing the contact information of other knowledgeable community members whose advice and counseling very much informed my project.

The main findings of my project arrived in a two-fold manner: 1) Criticisms of current educational practices, the quality of instruction, and the misappropriation of funds in light of the state's financial accountability program, and 2) Prescriptive models of ways in which Washington State's K-12 educational system and the academic experience of Latinos might be improved through tangible changes which, at times, follow the very rhetoric of the Washington State Public Schools. I believe that the analysis of both of these aspects reflect the urgency for the improvement of Washington's educational system with a special emphasis on how to close the achievement gap between Latino and non-Hispanic white students while attempting to improve the state's dwindling Latino graduation rate. I found that current practices of the state for LEP students are oftentimes ineffective and ignore exhaustive research on which types of programs are effective. My report argues that the WASL is not an effective means of improving actual student achievement, hurts graduation rates, and still costs the taxpayers millions of dollars. Two

[1] I adhere in this report to the prevalent terminology Limited English Proficient (LEP) though others have begun to increasingly use the term "English Language Learners" (ELL).

different states are used as touchstones—California with its anti-bilingual Proposition 227 that has negatively impacted its LEP education represents pitfalls Washington State would be wise to avoid, and in Texas where there are a number of schools moving toward greater and more comprehensive educational systems for its LEPs that Washington might be wise to follow. There is a great body of research dedicated to educating Spanish-speaking LEPs in a way that can help close the achievement gap for Latino students. It will be very important in the future if Washington State responds to or ignores this research of which my report is just a small sampling.

METHODS AND LITERATURE

I began my research with articles broadly discussing K-12 education, Latinos, standardized testing in their abstract forms and then focused in on the WASL as well as information on graduation rates in light of a potentially significant achievement gap between Latino and non-Hispanic white students. The website of the Washington State public schools certainly informed my project and I was able to mine a great deal from organizations such as the Washington School Research Center, the Linguistic Minority Research Center in California, the University of Washington Center on Reinventing Public Education, and the Manhattan Institute for Policy Research. I also pursued sources recommended by Cynthia Selde, coordinator for the Washington State University learning center, Whitman College librarian Lee Keene, and Bilingual Coordinator of the Walla Walla public schools Cindy Gregoire amongst others.

My research in the local community of Walla Walla which mainly consisted of conversations, interviews, and personal observations provided a perspective on the K-12 education of Latinos that is very connected with the rest of the state. The Walla Walla School District's LEP students are 95.2% Spanish-speaking, making it the ninth-highest concentration in the state.[2] Additional contacts in Walla Walla included Assistant Superintendents Rich Carter and Linda Boggs, district migrant home visitor Melito Ramirez, as well as the principals of Sharpstein Elementary, Green Park Elementary and Pioneer Middle School and various instructors involved in the LEP instruction at the elementary and middle school levels. These contacts provided me with a sense of the schools' current relationship with bilingual education and the WASL, how they are responding to much of the same research I've investigated, and where the city-wide bilingual education is immediately and eventually headed. On a patron tour of the public schools I observed Sharpstein Elementary and Pioneer Middle School and I also sat in on a meeting between parents, teachers, and administrators at Green Park discussing the possibility of extending a Transitional Bilingual Program through 5th grade. A similar experimental model of dual-language immersion which continues through 5th has already been adopted and is in-effect at Sharpstein starting with this year's first-graders.[3]

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[2]Bylsma, Pete and Lisa Ireland and Helen Malagon. *Educating Limited-English-Proficient Students in Washington State; Annual Report of the State Transitional Bilingual Instruction Program*. Office of Superintendent of Public Instruction. January 2002. 27.

[3] Unfortunately there is no data related to the success of Sharpstein's program because it began just this year.

Melito Ramirez connected me to the members of my formal interview—a Latino family whose three daughters of various ages attend Walla Walla schools and have gone through the experience of being LEPs. The middle daughter is in 10th grade and will take the WASL assessment test this coming spring as a new graduation requirement thus making their story especially salient for my project.

All of the information I gathered pushed me in the direction of my project's central questions: 1) What is the context and content of the achievement gap between Latino and non-Hispanic white students? 2) How are Washington's LEP students, who are predominantly Latinos, educated K-12? 3) What is the ideal education for LEP students and how is this paralleled or contrasted by the practices of Washington's public schools? 4) The WASL: How does it affect Latinos and, specifically, might it impact already low graduation rates? Should it be a graduation requirement as it is now imposed? Is all of the money currently being spent on the WASL assessment test merited or are there better possible allocations?

THE ACHIEVEMENT GAP

My first inquiry is the achievement gap between Latino and non-Hispanic white students. The historical context and current impetus for analysis derives from the growing number of Latinos in Washington State. As the number of Latinos increases in the state, a gap in the achievement levels of students from its largest racial minority might be seen as especially troubling and an issue demanding our concern. A report from the Center on Reinventing Public Education (CRPE) and the Washington State Academic Achievement and Accountability Commission (WSAAAC) measures the depth of this gap using the practical information provided by scores on the WASL examination.[4] The method of the report was to focus not only on the percentage of students meeting the required passing standards, but of scale scores and students' proximity to the cut-off. The findings are described as "medium to large gaps" between nonwhite and white/Asian students.[5] This article, along with many other available sources, points to a formidable achievement gap between Latinos and non-Hispanic whites. In light of this gap I think it is important both to attempt an explanation and then, if we are to take seriously our duties as members of a united society, try to ameliorate the achievement gap.

The same report by the CRPE and WSAAAC using national research attempts to account for the achievement gap between nonwhites and whites in the Washington State public schools by pointing to a few hypothetical causes. The main factors cited are the following: 1) *Poverty and Related Factors*—"numerous studies have documented a strong relationship between family income and student achievement; a relationship that is

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[4] The report referred to in this section is the following: Huggins, Elise and Mary Beth Celio. *Closing the Achievement Gap in Washington State: Holding Schools Accountable for Equity.* Center on Reinventing Public Education and the Washington State Academic Achievement and Accountability Commission. November 2002.

[5] Huggins, i.

closely tied to race."[6] The study then recognizes, although this is an important factor, that with students of comparable incomes Latino students still across-the-board had lower educational attainment than non-Hispanic whites. 2) *Educational Resources*—"the level of educational resources impacts student performance. This effect is particularly strong for low-income students and students of color. There are vast inequities in the distribution of educational resources, which result in disparities in student performance."[7] The study recognizes that schools with high percentages of minorities typically have less educational resources than comparable-sized schools with less minorities. 3) *Funding*—"Districts with the highest enrollments of low-income students and students of color had less money to spend per student than districts with the lowest enrollments."[8] The authors point to the ways that less allocated funds imply less educational resources available to students and, therefore, students with lower overall educational attainments. Another claim made is that the majority of research on this subject takes place district by district or state by state whereas "*within* a given district, schools with particularly disadvantaged students are likely to have fewer resources."[9] In reference specifically to Washington State, districts with the highest poverty rates have $99 fewer state and local dollars to spend per student compared with the lowest-poverty districts; a difference that translates into a total of $2,475 for a typical classroom of 25 students.[10] 4) *Teacher Talent*—The article finds that student achievement is affected directly by the quality of instruction (if teachers are well-qualified and fully certified in their subjects). This forms a dubious relationship with certain data compiled by the Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction (OSPI). OSPI notes that in Washington State schools, "fewer than half of all teachers of LEP students have an ESL endorsement".[11]

My most important findings in reference to this recognizable achievement gap in students' overall educational attainments are that specific factors can be pointed at to help explain it. Simultaneously all of these factors seem to be working specifically and structurally against Latinos in Washington State. In light of this, it is not at all surprising that another related study by the WSRC dedicated to examining the efficacy of various educational models for Washington State public schools recognizes that "Hispanic students in Washington State have scored below the state average every year of the WASL, and the gap remains wide."[12] The same article notes that "for schools with high percentages of Hispanic students we were unable to identify schools for study that we could classify as "highly successful"."[13] We might glean from this the description of a significant achievement gap for Latinos to overcome. Therefore, my next natural inquiry

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[6] Huggins, 26.
[7] Huggins, 27-28.
[8] Huggins, 28.
[9] Huggins, 28. Also see "The other Gap: Poor students Receive Fewer Dollars," *Education Trust Data Bulletin*, March 6, 2001.
[10] Brennan, Jeanna. *The Funding Gap: Low-Income and Minority Students Receive Fewer Dollars.* Washington DC: The Education Trust, 2002.
[11] Bylsma, 1.
[12] Baker, Duane and Martin Abbott and Heather Stroh. *Effective Practices for Hispanic Students in Washington State: Lessons Learned from Texas Schools.* Research Report, Washington School Research Center, July 2003. 2.
[13] Baker, 3.

is the manner in which Latinos are educated. Where there are successes and where there are failures?

Washington State is a state with quickly growing numbers of LEPs, a high concentration of whom are Spanish-speaking.[14] In Washington the numbers of LEPs served by public schools has risen above 70,000. Of those LEPs more than 60% are Spanish-speaking.[15] One might easily see how Latinos are specifically affected by LEP education and its efficacy. So it is important to examine which types of programs are currently being utilized in the education of LEPs.

WASHINGTON STATE LEP EDUCATION

OSPI describes the type of LEP education Latinos receive as a *Transitional Bilingual Instruction Program* (TBIP). The annual OSPI report on bilingual education acknowledges that the education is primarily a responsibility of the state and local governments. Extra state funding has its origins in Washington's Transitional Bilingual Instruction Act of 1979 (amended in 1984) now referred to as Title I funding. The expressed purpose of Title I funding is to develop competence in English language skills for LEP students. This is reflected in Washington's TBIP program which uses the LEP's native language as a bridge to English where a gradual increase in English-usage signals a subsequent decrease of the LEPs native language. OSPI cites the data that "although the program is for "bilingual instruction," relatively few students in the program actually receive much formal instruction in their primary language."[16] Currently program funding is intended only for K-12 students who have a primary language other than English *and* whose English language skills must be sufficiently deficient. In this light, it seems that Washington's TBIP is intended not to educate bilingually, rather to transition LEPs as quickly as possible over to the predominant usage of English. The TBIP is prescribed by OSPI to "provide temporary services for up to three years until LEP students can develop adequate English language skills."[17] In light of this report I echo that Washington State commonly attempts within three years of entrance into the TBIP program to transition LEPs to the predominant use of English.

We might now look at Washington's K-12 education of Spanish-speaking LEPs in light of their ideal education as discovered by various scholars and researchers to examine whether Washington is providing or withholding the most effective types of education.

THE IDEAL LEP EDUCATION

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[14] As mentioned earlier in my discussion of the Latino achievement gap, there is less funding for minority students in Washington State and now the education of LEP students is especially important as it focuses so strongly on an issue that directly affects Latinos much stronger than any other demographic.
[15] Bylsma, 20, 23.
[16] Bylsma, 4.
[17] Bylsma, 2.

There is a wealth of scholarly research examining the ideal education for K-12 LEP students. My research was informed especially by the findings of the Washington School Research Center (WSRC), The Linguistic Minority Research Institute (LMRI), and the National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education (NCBE). In reference specifically to Washington State's Latinos my research examines the successful and unsuccessful programs currently at work in the nation for LEP students and how those of Washington's public schools might continue or change their current practices in light of these findings. Two other states, California and Texas, are examined in reference to certain failures in California schools and certain successes in Texas schools.

First, it is important to draw out the ideal education of LEP students. In a research report by the WSRC the programs of schools from certain other states that successfully close the achievement gap between Latinos and non-Hispanic whites are analyzed. Predominantly, the successful model for LEP instruction is one that includes Bilingual Classes and Primary Language Instruction.[18] Successful schools following this model demonstrated the constant and consistent improvement of student's academic language abilities. When students from these programs are gradually, if ever, transitioned to exclusive English-language instruction (as opposed to continued Bilingual programs) there is only a nominal achievement gap between LEPs and native-English speakers as opposed to the medium to large gaps of Washington state.[19] This data is echoed in the research of the NCBE who tracked the achievement levels (of all academic areas, not just English usage) of more than 700,000 students in geographically-distinct areas over the duration of LEP students' K-12 education.[20] The NCBE found in this exhaustive study that "many English learners receive instructional programs that are too short-term in focus or fail to provide consistent cognitive development in students' first language, or allow students to fall behind their English-speaking peers in other school subjects while they are learning English, or are not cognitively and academically challenging, or are poorly implemented."[21] One of the relevant points here that might warrant some clarification is the idea of programs that focus too much on short-term results. In the NCBE report, Thomas and Collier find a model showing certain types of LEP education that show early gains but later betray the LEPs. Examples of this are the swift transition of a student to the predominant use of English before the students are properly prepared which later can lead to students who are not academically proficient in either their primary language or in English.

Another question is how fast students should be transitioned to English? How long does it take for students to effectively learn a second language in an academic setting? I believe that these questions address important elements of LEP student learning and achievement in a fundamental and long-term way. A study conducted by the LMRI examining numerous school districts in the United States as well as in Canada and prior

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[18] Fouts, Jeffrey and Martin Abbott and Duane Baker. *Effective Practices for Hispanic Students in Washington State*. Research Report, Washington School Research Center, Summer 2003. 19.
[19] See page 4 of this report.
[20] Thomas, Wayne P. and Virginia Collier. *School Effectiveness for Language Minority Students*. NCBE Resource Collection Series. George Mason University. 1997.
[21] Thomas, 15.

research on the subject attempted to ascertain the length of time required for proper second-language acquisition. The findings of the study were that "oral proficiency takes 3 to 5 years to develop, and academic English proficiency can take 4 to 7 years."[22] So, in other words, if an LEP students enters kindergarten with no english-language ability they should not be completely transitioned until sometime between 4th and 7th grades. Contrast this with Washington State's currently implemented TBIP which seeks to transition all students by 3rd grade.[23] The LMRI report even acknowledges research stating that it might consistently take 10 years for LEPs to properly transition to English.[24] I find here an obvious discrepancy between what has been researched and is considered to be effective and what is actually in practice in Washington State. Here the analysis of unsuccessful programs in California and successful programs in Texas might demonstrate this research and concretely root certain theoretical elements of the research which were presented in this section. [25]

California Schools

An article by Patricia Gandara of the LMRI examines California's Public Schools and mistakes that have been made in the K-12 education for LEPs. Gandara writes in light of the passing of California's anti-bilingual Proposition 227 in 1998. The idea behind Prop. 227 was to enact a system that transitioned LEPs very quickly to English and stopped allocating funds for a variety of programs that were expensive and, the rhetoric of the Proposition argues, ineffective. Gandara notes that "the mandated pedagogical strategy was to place English learners for a period not normally to exceed one year in "sheltered English immersion" classes."[26] In the public schools of California, LEPs are encouraged to quickly reach certain levels of achievement as required by statewide tests. This is a strategy that might seem hard to argue with, if these gains remain throughout the student's schooling. Instead, the researchers found "a consistent pattern of erosion of strong literacy practices in favor of "bottom line" instruction aimed at yielding short-term gains on statewide tests in English."[27] Gandara finds that instructors are so steadfastly attempting perceived gains for the LEP students that later these educational strategies betray the students and they are left without fully-developed linguistic abilities either in English or Spanish. This data fits together with that of Thomas and Collier as both studies observe early gains for LEPs educated as quickly as possible in predominantly English, but later great losses and a possible irreparability when the student's linguistic abilities are fully developed neither in English or Spanish.

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[22] Hakuta, Kenji and Yuko Goto Butler and Daria Witt. *How Long Does it Take English Learners to Attain Proficiency?* University of California Linguistic Minority Research Institute. January 2000. Abstract.
[23] See page 6 of this report.
[24] Hakuta, 1.
[25] California and Texas are effective models for Washington State because their LEPs are highly concentrated under the designations of Spanish-speaking and Latino (as in Washington) and also have overall high levels of LEPs so that the programs provide large numbers of test-subjects available for research.
[26] Gándara , Patricia. *Learning English in California: Guideposts for the nation*. Latinos in the 21st Century: Mapping the Research Agenda. Ed. Suarez-Orozco & M. Paez. Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 2000. 344.
[27] Gándara, 346.

This significant gap makes it difficult to do well in school or in any field upon graduating or dropping out from high school. In contrast to these failures, we might glean a more positive perspective if we are to look at the models of successful schools in Texas.

Texas Schools

It is now instructive to analyze the programs employed in certain successful Texas schools that the Washington School Research Center deemed similar to schools in Washington.[28] In terms of the Second Language Instruction of the Texas schools, there is a multilateral approach to LEP education that greatly contrasts the more unilateral approach in California and Washington schools. "Schools have implemented a variety of different programs to support students with limited English proficiency including, half-day programs, leveled ESL classes, classroom primary language instruction, and ESL support in regular classrooms."[29] One of the important differences worth noting here is how many different types of programs are offered. After all, are not LEP students diverse in their abilities and backgrounds? The WSRC case study illustrates a progressive and multi-faceted response to the multi-faceted issue of LEP education. Another important element in Texas is the quality of instruction—"since many teachers are ESL certified they are able to supplement whatever assistance students receive through special programs."[30] I don't find it at all surprising that highly-educated teachers with numerous educational strategies are able to better educate their students than under-educated teachers without proper educational materials nor institutional support. This might seem obvious, but I think it is very important for school districts to emphasize the quality of teachers they hire as well as the continuing education opportunities available to those teachers.

In the successful schools of Texas, by the time LEP students reach middle school they are gradually transitioned to English, providing less bilingual instruction in lieu of ESL. I argue that this model responds both to the predominant cultural paradigm of English as the language of power and to research related to when students should be transitioned to English in the ideal academic setting. Another important factor is that LEP students are always taught the same curriculum as native-English speakers, regardless of which language it is taught in, thus developing their proficiency in academic language. During the earliest state assessment testing, Spanish LEPs are exempt from the tests in English, but must take a Spanish-language version.[31] This might be one way to still emphasize assessment testing while not immediately transitioning LEP students to English.

According to both the NCBE and the WSRC, amongst other research, the most successful models for the education of LEP students include a significant level of bilingual instruction and/or primary language instruction. Contrastingly, schools that are

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[28] Similarities for comparison in this study included schools' percentages of LEPs and poverty levels as judged by the percentage of students with free or reduced lunch status.
[29] Baker, 19.
[30] Baker, 19.
[31] Baker, 20.

unsuccessful in their LEP education show an absence of these types of programs and Washington State schools typically offer few programs in bilingual instruction and primary language instruction.[32] The next issue at hand is what we can learn from the graduation rates of Latinos in Washington State.

GRADUATION RATES

Whether students are graduating from high school or not is one important measure of personal and instructional success. I believe this is an especially inquiry for Latino students in Washington State based on growing numbers and their interaction with LEP education. One difficulty is ascertaining reliable data as there is sometimes great discrepancy in the data of various sources.

An OSPI report on the graduation and dropout rates of Washington State students found an overall graduation rate of nearly 82% and a Latino graduation rate of nearly 72 %.[33] These rates do not seem strikingly low, but it is worth questioning whether this given data is reliable. The Manhattan Institute for Policy Research (MIPR) took on a comprehensive study of Washington State graduation rates using funding from the Bill and Melinda Gates foundation. Their findings were quite divergent from those of OSPI although they were researching the same students from the same schools in the same year. The MIPR study found that "only 67% of all Washington State public school students from the class of 2001 graduated from high school…this is significantly lower than the 82% graduation rate suggested by official Washington State statistics."[34] Following further data gathered by the MIPR study, they find that the Latino graduation rate is only 47%--less than half of Latino students are graduating. But what are we to make of this discrepancy between data sets? The MIPR report argues that the method of OSPI research "simply involves counting the total number of students who officially dropped out of school across grades 9 through 12 in a given year divided by the total number of students enrolled in 9th grade the same year."[35] One important distinction is that OSPI did not include students whose whereabouts are unknown as having dropped out whereas the MIPR study subtracted the number of graduating students from the total number of students who were enrolled. I argue that the MIPR data is more conclusive, recognizing that the OSPI report is limited by its method, saying: " the rate underestimates the actual percentage [of dropouts] because it does not include some students who were listed as 'unknown' but probably dropped out of school at some point."[36] In light of this data, I argue that the graduation rates in Washington State are alarmingly low, especially for Latinos, and fall well below the national goal established by the Department of Education of 90%. When students are not graduating from high school they are left with few options for continuing education and the attainment of good jobs that allow societal upward mobility. This is especially true for minority

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[32] See Page 6 of this report.
[33] Bylsma, Pete and Lisa Ireland. *Graduation and Dropout Statistics for Washington's Counties, Districts and Schools*. Office of Superintendent of Public Instruction. June 2003. 11, 12.
[34] Greene, Jay P. *High School Graduation Rates is Washington States*. Manhattan Institute for Policy Research. November 2002. Executive Summary.
[35] Greene, 2.
[36] Greene, 3.

demographics such as Latinos. I think that, based on Washington's low graduation rates, it will be informative to examine why students drop out from public schools.

STUDENTS OFTEN DROP OUT WHEN THEY ARE NOT SUCCESSFUL

Research on how best to improve high school graduation rates resoundingly has found that early student success is the strongest predictor for later success and this affects graduation rates—students are much more likely to drop out when they've had academic struggles at school or have been held back at least once.[37] When students do poorly in school at any point they are less likely to graduate and, therefore, the success of early education (especially for LEP students who have the most difficulty) might be judged as extremely important. We must be aware of the NCBE observation that "the vast majority of English learners fail in the long term to close the initial achievement gap in all subjects with age-comparable native-English speakers" and that "the key to high school completion is students' consistent gains in all subject areas with each year of school sustained over the long term."[38]

THE WASHINGTON STATE ASSESSMENT OF STUDENT LEARNING (WASL)

The WASL assessment test is now implemented as one of the graduation requirements for high school graduation for students of all Washington State public schools. Students must pass the 10th grade test in reading, writing, and math and this year's 10th grade class will be the first to experience this as a graduation requirement. Students also take the WASL for practice and indicators of current success in 4th and 7th grade. 10th grade students are given four total chances to pass the test and, if they still do not pass, will not be allowed to graduate. There are certainly advantages to assessment testing—states, schools and districts can receive valuable information about the student achievement and about where successes or failures are taking place. But there can also be many disadvantages to such testing and I sought to investigate whether or not the money spent yields a correlative improvement in student achievement.

The State has a new financial program, the Government Management Accountability and Performance (GMAP) which is overseen by Washington State Governor Christine Gregoire and is important in shaping the prescriptive elements of my research. The program requires each funding area (including education) to present tangible, quantitative results that are defensible for the funding of government programs. This is put in place to determine "whether citizens are receiving value for their tax dollars."[39] As callous as it might seem to view education as a mere investment, this is the way the state must view it for decision-making on how best to allocate funds and I believe that it is in light of this financial program that we might judge certain educational elements of which the implementation of the WASL test is an extremely salient one.

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[37] Gonzalez, R. *Peer Committee Report for Improving High School Graduation Rates*. The Peer Program of the Houston Independent School District. 2003.
[38] Thomas, 9, 15.
[39] Washington State Governor's Priorities. <http://www.governor.wa.gov/gmap/> 4 November 2005.

There is exhaustive research which shows that the WASL testing receives a very substantial allocation of tax dollars for what might be considered by common standards to be nominal increases in student achievement. One such study by the Washington State University Learning Center states that "there is no effect, that is, no positive impact on yearly student achievement as a consequence of the longitudinal administration of the Washington State Assessment of Student Learning (WASL)."[40] The study examined the educational success of students over a number of years as well as of the state as a whole. The same study asserts that this is not at all uncommon—18 measured states with high-stakes testing implementation, 17 of the states reported that student learning remained at the same level as it was before.[41]

In an article written for the Spokane *Spokesman-Review* Donald Orlich fleshes out the problems of the WASL's efficacy and problems related to its funding and how the state assessment testing and its egalitarian facade fails our students. Orlich refers to findings from the 2003 WASL.

> "The vast majority of children from low-income families, as measured by eligibility for free or reduced lunch, did not meet the standard. That is, they failed. Up to 96 percent of children classified as being in "special education" did not meet the standard. They failed. Hispanic children tend not to meet the standard. Migrant children at all levels tended to fail all WASL areas being tested."[42]

Though the WASL testing is supposed to be a fair and honest assessment of student achievement, it seems as though the cards are unfairly stacked against minority demographics. Beyond this, the very test itself seems to have great flaws. Orlich cites research by the Washington Education Association which found a number of problems inherent to the test: 1) There is a 28.9% chance that a child's test has been incorrectly scored. Oftentimes there are mistakes made in the grading. 2) It is not until students answers are read that the correct answers are determined. The test itself is overly subjective. 3) All the student tests are shredded and therefore no independent source might later check their scoring. In this way, a student could be kept from graduating because of incorrect scoring and there is no recourse that might be taken by the student, the school, or the parents.[43] This might seem like a somewhat absurd scenario, and I agree wholeheartedly with this assessment.

Orlich argues that Washington's public education system is also made financially vulnerable by the WASL: "with passage of the federal No Child Left Behind Act of 2001, 95 percent of all children in all categories—special education, non-English speakers and the like—must pass 95 percent of all WASL tests or either the federal

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[40] Orlich, Donald C. *An Examination of the longitudinal effect of the Washington Assessment of Student Learning (WASL) on Student Achievement.* Education Policy Analysis Archives, 11 (18). June 2003. 8.
[41] Orlich, 8.
[42] Orlich, Donald C. *WASL examinations flunk on many levels*. Spokesman-Review, 8 September 2003.
[43] Orlich, *WASL*.

government or private contractors will confiscate local communities' public schools."[44] This threatening proposition for public schools asks whether actual student achievement and progress is still the main point of education? This issue emerged when I spoke to the Principal of Green Park elementary. He was faced with the possibility of extending the schools partial language immersion program from 3rd to 5th grade but cited the difficulty in light of funding issues and governmental pressures. He said that schools that under-perform on the WASL get a one-year grace period and the next year, if they haven't improved, start losing their funding. This means that teachers are pressured to transition LEPs to English as quickly as possible so they might score well on the 4th grade WASL even though this might later erode their academic language proficiency. The WASL truly deserves our great scrutiny. "Washington State policy makers must re-examine the intent of the WASL and the empirical data sets that analyze it to determine its educational worthiness and continued fiscal support."[45] A testimony delivered by Miebeth Bustillo-Booth, Public Policy Director for the Washington Education Association to the House Education Committee is also quite poignant.

> "The WASL cannot continue to serve as at once a magnifying glass, a hammer, a carrot, a blow horn, a stop gate, and a train without negative consequences. If we were to oblige the train metaphor, the WASL as it is currently conceived will leave with many train cars empty, leaving many of our children, particularly those who are historically disadvantaged, behind. I doubt seriously this is what we intend."[46]

Bustillo-Booth is arguing that the WASL is being implemented unilaterally with the expectation that it will not only point out problems, but also solve them, receiving great influence in Washington State to determine who is allowed to be successful and which students, especially Latinos, might be structurally prevented from achieving success.

It is now important to draw this criticism of the WASL testing back to a tangible element, and that is the funding. Are we giving too much money to the WASL when various studied have cited a lack of actual rewards for schools and students? Might we not be better off spending taxpayer money elsewhere? Orlich elucidates this discussion in a particularly effective manner:

> "School reform in Washington and 49 other states has been reduced to a single high-stakes test. Nearly $1 billion has been spent on reform by the Washington Legislature [in the last year]. The WASL—for Washington Assessment of Student Learning—costs over $100 million…with none of that funding supporting teachers' classrooms, student services, school programs, instructional materials, new books or teacher education."[47]

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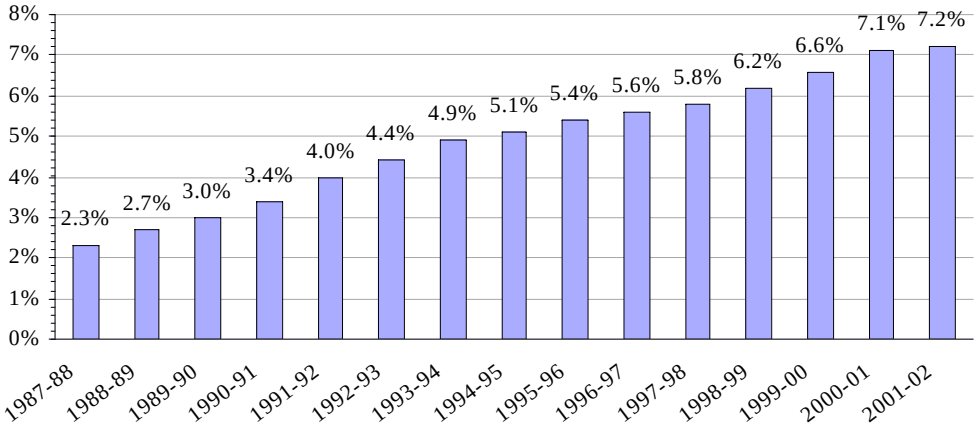
[44] Orlich, *WASL*.
[45] Orlich, 8.
[46] Bustillo-Booth, Miebeth. Testimony before the House Education Committee, September 20, 2004. http://www.washingtonea.org/static_content/ed_reform/testimony/Hse9_20_04.htm (2 November 2005).
[47] Orlich, *WASL*.

Could some of this funding be re-appropriated to the training and hiring of teachers qualified in ESL, Primary Language Instruction in foreign languages, and Bilingual Education that could serve to aid the Latino students in Washington State as well as the state as a whole? The next section explains the quantitative data found over the course of my research.

DATA PRESENTATION

FIGURE 1.0
The Percentage increase in LEP Students Statewide in Washington State

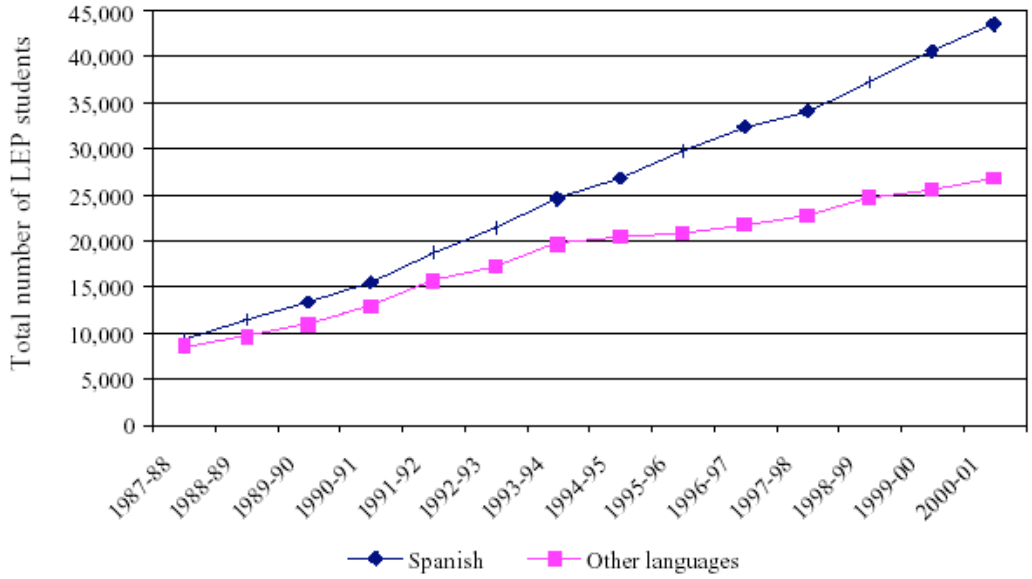


[48]

This graph highlights the basic fact that the state's numbers of LEPs are going up and, therefore, the importance of programs related to this demographic are of increasing importance. There are more LEPs every year in Washington, therefore the addressing of the achievement gap and of determining the ideal educational system is constantly of greater importance and is not an issue that will go away any time soon unless some type of broad-based action is taken that actually helps to solve the problem.

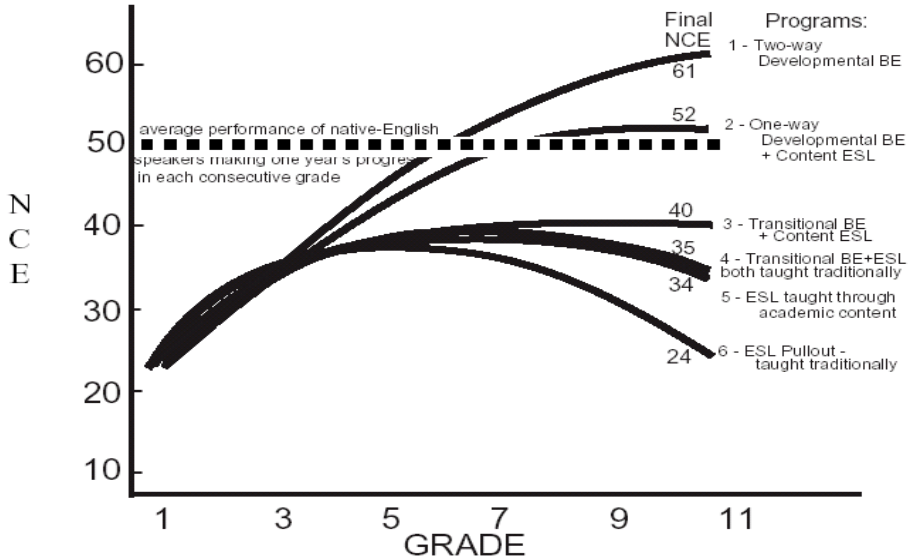
FIGURE 2.0
Growth of Spanish Speaking LEPs in Washington State[49]

[48] Bylsma, 16.
[49] Bylsma, 24.



This graph highlights the growing number of LEP students in Washington State as well as the percentage increase in those who are Spanish-speaking and Latino.

FIGURE 3.0
Education Attainments of LEP Students in Various Programs[50]

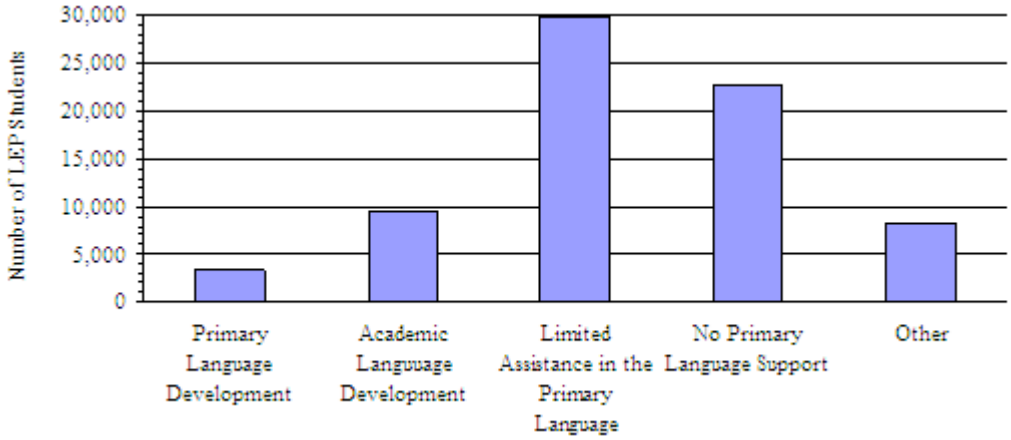


This study analyzed the student performance under various educational models of over 700, 000 students across the country. The checkered line is native English-speaker performance. Notice how all the models begin close together, but the only consistent gains are found in the trajectory of developmental bilingual education programs which

[50] Thomas, 53.

provide primary language instruction. This contrasts with the programs of Washington State that provide little or no such instruction and can be found below the checkered line.

FIGURE 4.0
LEP INSTRUCTIONAL FOCUS IN WASHINGTON STATE [51]



This graph shows which programs LEPs in Washington State experience in their education. Note that there is a predominant type lack of any significant Primary Language Instruction which is a very important element in the proper development of LEP students.[52]

FIGURE 5.0
WASHINGTON STATE GRADUATION RATES BY RACE[53]

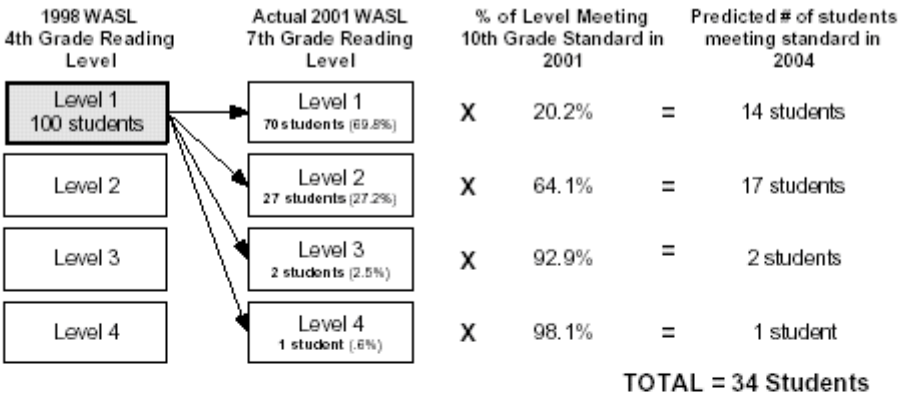
Asian-American	77%
Native American	47%
Latino	47%
African-American	53%
White	70%
Total	**67%**

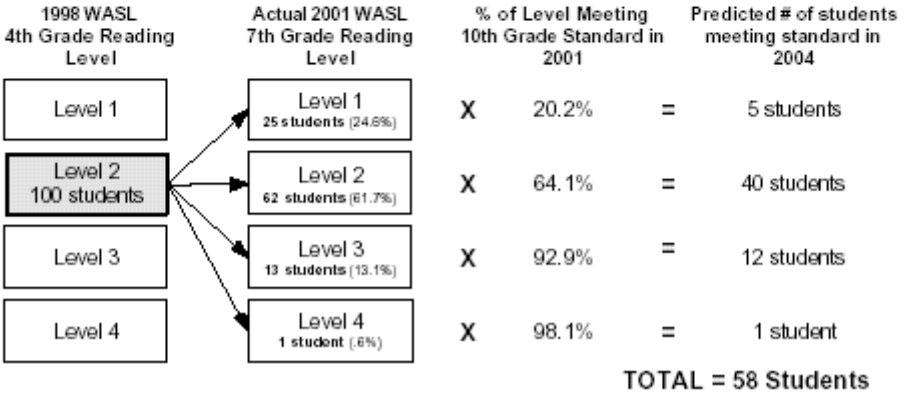
This table shows the graduation rates in Washington States emphasizing not only how low the percentage is state-wide, but how minorities are especially prone to low graduation rates. This is especially true of Latinos. In respect to the WASL, one can see that if graduation rates were to take even a slight hit from those students who do not pass

[51] Bylsma, 12.
[52] See page 7 of this report.
[53] Greene, Jay P. *High School Graduation Rates is Washington States*. Manhattan Institute for Policy Research. November 2002. 1.

the test, then well under half of Latinos who entered Washington State's public schools would leave with a high school diploma.

FIGURE 6.0
IMPROVEMENT OF WASL SCORES FOR LEVEL 1 STUDENTS[54]





This model emphasizes the importance of students' early childhood education in their development and as a predictor for later success. For students who didn't pass the WASL in 4th grade, only 46% (92/200) will pass by the time they reach 10th grade. This shows not only how difficult it is for students to increase academic achievement, but that their first educational experiences (for many Latinos LEP education) very much shape the rest of their academic careers.

FIGURE 7.0
A Visual Representation of Washington's Latino Achievement Gap[55]

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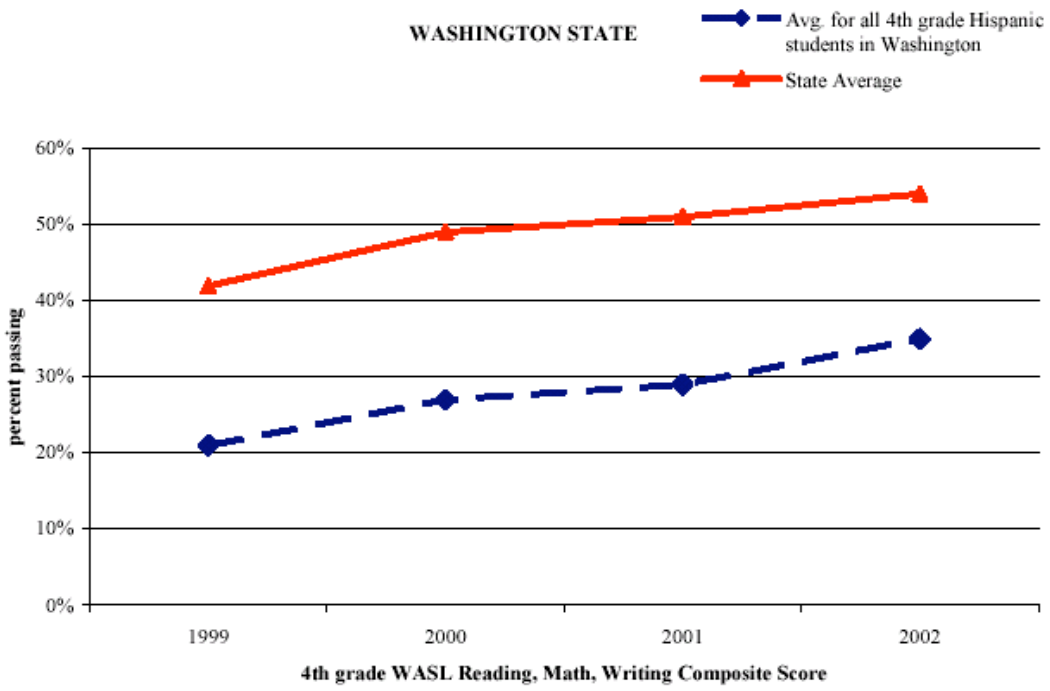
[54] Fouts, Jeffrey and Martin Abbot and Duane Baker. *The Power of Early Success: A Longitudinal Study of Student Performance on the Washington Assessment of Student Learning, 1998-2001*. Research Report, Washington School Research Center. 2002. 7.



This graph shows visually one of the many examples of an achievement gap between Latino students and state averages. With so much space between the two lines, the gap seems undeniable. Taken with the earlier data about how important early childhood education development is for later education we might see how Latinos are being failed by their educational systems from the very outset.

INTERVIEW DISCUSSION

For my interview, I used as my contact Melito Ramirez who interacts daily with the families of many Latino students in the Walla Walla public schools. The particular family I interviewed lived in College Place and shared a family history very connected to the nature of my project. The family moved from Mexico, the parents speaking little English, and one of their three daughters will take the WASL next spring as part of the updated Washington State high school graduation requirements. I thought they would be able to provide very important inside information on the WASL, Latino treatment in the schools, as well as personal anecdotes about various facets of their education that might shed additional light on the topics I was pursuing. The interview lasted about two hours including greetings, the setting up of equipment, and an informal discussion over coffee once the recording equipment was turned off. The interview took place both in English and Spanish: the daughters spoke English and the mother and father Spanish. I translated the questions and the transcript myself. The interview took place in the living room of

[55] Fouts, *Effective Practices*, 3.

their family home with all three daughters, both parents, and myself in attendance. The interview was recorded using a cassette tape recorder.

The mother, Margarita, spoke to me about language and family influence:

> "We have always emphasized that school is very important and that learning English is very important. English is the language of power and it is important that my children learn it or else they won't be able to move up in the world and work how they want to work. We have always tried to make sure also that our daughters are brought up knowing how to properly speak in English and Spanish."

This casts light on a very important issue with Latinos in Washington State which is the almost complete lack of Primary Language Instruction and, therefore, an erosion of their primary language. I was inspired to hear the daughters mention how their parents, who spoke very little English, always gave time to their kids and did their best to make sure that their Spanish was fluent and error-free. As one of the daughters, a high school senior named Rosa mentioned, the educational system in Walla Walla is just now starting to provide any substantial Primary Language Instruction:

> "They've just now started a program at Wa-High [Walla Walla High School] called Spanish for Native Speakers. It's a pretty hard class. Like, they used to have classes just for people to learn how to speak Spanish. Now they have this class. They're just now learning that they're pulling kids out of Spanish too early and making them speak English. Then they never learn to speak good Spanish—know where accents go and what syllables you stress and how to spell certain words. Yeah, but it's just getting started and not that many people are in the class."

Rosa also mentioned a definite sense of anxiety for herself and other Latinos in relation to the WASL testing even though they gave me the impression that they would be very well-prepared to pass the test. The mother who works with young children at one of the farm labor camps explained some of the WASL's difficulties:

> "In general it is a pretty hard test. Especially for Spanish speakers. They might know how to do a lot of things but only in Spanish and the test is in English. They've met with the parents and explained in Spanish what the test is all about which is helpful. But the test is still only in English. Some students have just come from Mexico as immigrants and they're not gonna pass the test, they're just not…when students are very intelligent but they fail because they don't understand the test, that is just horrible."

This reflects a definite theme throughout the interview that there is a strong distinction between intelligence and English language ability. The daughters experienced the schools trying to hold them back to remedial classes when they were younger based on their level of English when they had returned from school in Mexico. Some subjects taught in Mexico, especially Math and Science, were considered by the interviewees to be more instructive and challenging, and they felt advanced in those subjects. But they also mentioned that the staff and administrators at their school looked only at their language abilities and assumed they were slow in every other subject. This is clear evidence of school's ignorance to actual academic ability versus English-language proficiency. Remember how the successful schools in Texas taught the same curriculum

in two languages and offered the early assessment tests also in Spanish.[56] This brings up the issue of whether or not the WASL should be offered in Spanish. The members of the interview definitely thought it should. Rosa said "that would give everyone a chance. Everyone who is smart could do well." She later touched on the connection between the WASL and student dropout rates. This is a secondary effect related to the primary effect of poor WASL scores preventing a student from graduating high school. When asked if the WASL might make more students drop out, Rosa responded:

> "Probably. Some students really want to finish high school, but if they don't think they'll be able to graduate they'll just quit without talking to anyone about it. They're afraid that if they try hard it won't be good enough and that they're not smart enough, why even try?"

Rosa narrates a very defeatist attitude that I hope the WASL isn't spreading, but it does seem a plausible potential effect. The majority of the population is probably aware that better educational and employment opportunities exist with a high school diploma, but if a student thinks they'll repeatedly fail the WASL and not be allowed to graduate, why would they postpone the inevitable and not just get a job wherever they get hired on?

In light of eventualities such as these I appreciated the active role the parents took in the students lives. Rosa shared one especially touching story. On her birthday her father asked her to get dressed in dirty clothes. She thought he was joking so she put on her normal clothes:

> "Then he drives us out to the fields where he works and we spend the whole day picking cherries and other fruits, getting dirty and sweaty. Then he tells me that I'm not going to grow up to pick fruit and that I have to try in school or else this is what I'll be doing my whole life. My parents have always helped out a lot. Even though they don't speak much English they make sure that when we are speaking English we are speaking English and when we're speaking Spanish we're speaking Spanish. No Spanglish. My dad makes sure that our Spanish is good and that we know all the accents and everything. This way all of us can speak two languages and we'll have an advantage that they never had."

For my last question I asked the family what the biggest problem is in the local schools. It seemed like there was a real issue with the way Latinos are unfairly treated and unfairly tested:

> Elena: "I don't like how you take tests and they tell you if you're good or bad. And when we come from Mexico even if we're smart we get held back because of English when we're good at other subjects. Kids start like a year back and then get angry because they feel dumb and that's when they start getting in trouble."
>
> Margarita: "It's bad how Mexicans and Whites are looked at differently in school. And you have Mexicans trying to act White and forgetting who they are. The families are not always helping them and the schools do nothing. The schools say that it's good to be white and everything else is bad."

In summation, the interview on one level provided me with some concordance with research I'd already pursued and opinions I'd already heard. On another level, they provided a new perspective for me with emotionally-charged language and the discussion

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[56] See page 9 of this report.

of the interplay between schooling in Mexico and America. The family expressed concerns about the WASL that seem to make sense and their discussion of a need for more and better bilingual education truly resonated with my project.

SYNTHETIC DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

I would now like to summarize the main findings and prescriptions of my report and then finish with two different educational models currently at work in two different elementary schools in Walla Walla. First, there is an achievement gap between Latinos and non-Hispanic white students and it is important to begin closing this gap. For LEP students in Washington State (the majority Latino) secondary language instruction programs are especially important and the majority of current programs are ineffective in improving student achievement as various research credited by even the office of the State Superintendent. The WASL state assessment test is now a graduation requirement for all students but might not provide any gains in student achievement and might not even gauge that achievement in a consistent and effective manner. If the test were to be implemented in Spanish until a certain age (as is the case in successful schools in Texas), this might help to close the gap and help prevent the devaluation of native languages that an over-emphasis on English can create.

We as a state are greatly emphasizing assessment testing and educational programs that could be greatly improved if they were better informed by and better reflecting the canon of research that is readily available. Of the millions in funding that education in Washington receives, not enough is allocated for programs, teachers, and materials that might actually improve the educational system for every student, especially for the minorities, LEPs and the economically-depressed whose average educational attainment is shockingly low. I argue that the educational goals for the state should emphasize the improvement of the quality of its education such that it graduates as many competent students as possible who are prepared to continue on with further education or a successful career.

In light of the academic literature and the information I have discovered, I find that the state of Washington to a certain extent fails its students. This is especially true of the expanding Latino demographic. This is not a holistic standpoint without exception, but by-and-large I find it to be true. If we are to look at each member of our society as someone who deserves the same basic rights of education, then we have a long way to go. There are steps in place for improvement, but it takes the concerted efforts of students, teachers, administrators, parents, cities, districts, the state, and even the national government itself.

I believe that it is important for the Latinos of Washington State to enhance their own power and let their voices be heard. For the voices, opinions, and concerns of the Latinos will strongly shape the future of this state and of this nation.

APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1) Are you from Walla Walla, College Place area originally?

2) What kind of education have you received?

3) What about the education of your daughters?

4) Tomas, what do you do for work?

5) And you speak only Spanish, no English?

6) Margarita, what is your opinion of your daughter's education?

7) And the quality of the education in Walla Walla?

8) And the Spanish classes are mainly for the white students, right? For them to learn to speak some Spanish and not for native speakers?

9) What do you know about the WASL test? What do you think about it?

10) Do you think the test would be better if it were also offered in Spanish?

11) Do you think the WASL test might make students more likely to drop out?

12) Has your family had any negative experiences in school related to being Latino?

13) Do you think your school has prepared you for graduation, what to do once you graduate? What your options are?

14) You have to take the WASL test to graduate this next spring. Are you nervous about that?

15) What about students that just arrive, say from Mexico, and don't speak much English and are supposed to pass the WASL in 4th grade. Do you think they're teaching them English too fast?

16) Do you think it's a problem when English is stressed so much in school and the parents don't help out very much because they don't speak English and don't think they can help?

17) What is the biggest problem in the local schools?

APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT

Interview 10/20/05 8:30 p.m.
College Place, WA

Members of the Interview:
1) Margarita (Mother) --M
2) Rosa (Daughter) 12th grade--R
3) Tomas (Father)—T
4) Elena (Daughter) 10th grade-E
5) Devan Schwartz (Interviewer)--I

I: Are you from Walla Walla, College Place area originally?

M: We have lived here for 16 years. My family is from Mexico and I am from Mexico. My daughters have been to Mexico for part of their education.

I: What kind of education have you received?

M: I went to school until 8th grade and my husband until 6th grade. I went back to school and now I help teach children in Spanish at the migrant camp.

I: What about the education of your daughters?

M: Veronica (first daughter) went to 1st, 3rd and 6th grade in Mexico. Marina (second daughter) went there for 1st and 4th. Monica (third daughter) went for first grade in Mexico. They travel down there to a private catholic school for half the year in those years. The rest of the time they went to school in Walla Walla.

I: Tomas, what do you do for work?

T: I work in the fields. I pick fruit and work with my hands.

I: And you speak only Spanish, no English?

T: Very little. Just a little.

I: Margarita, what is your opinion of your daughter's education?

M: We have always emphasized that school is very important and that learning English is very important. English is the language of power and it is important that my children learn it or else they won't be able to move up in the world and work how they want to work. We have always tried to make sure also that our daughters are brought up knowing how to properly speak in English and Spanish.

I: And the quality of the education in Walla Walla?

M: The quality? It's not that good. For example, math and science and Spanish classes are not that good. When my daughters studied in Mexico these subjects were better there. But they make it hard for Spanish speakers to advance in math and science just because their English skills are not as good. They're held back.

I: And the Spanish classes are mainly for the white students, right? For them to learn to speak some Spanish and not for native speakers?

R: They've just now started a program at Wa-High (Walla Walla High School) called Spanish for Native Speakers. It's a pretty hard class. Like, they used to have classes just for people to learn how to speak Spanish. Now they have this class. They're just now learning that they're pulling kids out of Spanish too early and making them speak English. Then they never learn to speak good Spanish—know where accents go and what syllables you stress and how to spell certain words. Yeah, but it's just getting started and not that many people are in the class.

M: Usually when immigrants get here from Mexico the schools think they don't know anything and put them right away into remedial classes. But just because they don't know English doesn't mean they don't know how to do math and science. They're held back like they're slow just because of their English. And sometimes there's no one to help them. There's no one in the library that speaks English to help find books.

I: What do you know about the WASL test? What do you think about it?

M: In general it is a pretty hard test. Especially for Spanish speakers. They might know how to do a lot of things but only in Spanish and the test is in English. They've met with the parents and explained in Spanish what the test is all about which is helpful. But the test is still only in English. Some students have just come from Mexico as immigrants and they're not gonna pass the test, they're just not. On the other side, the test is good. It makes students work hard and know when they're doing well. For students that are behind it lets them know when they need to improve. But when students are very intelligent but they fail because they don't understand the test, that is just horrible.

R: I don't think the test is that good. I know kids that do really well in school but then fail the WASL. They're so intimidated they won't try their best or are scared by it. It can be scary when you don't understand what all the words mean.

I: Do you think the test would be better if it were also offered in Spanish?

M: That would be good. That would make it more fair for the students who are smart but don't speak English that well.

R: Yes, that would give everyone a chance. Everyone who is smart could do well.

I: Do you think the WASL test might make students more likely to drop out?

R: Probably. Some students really want to finish high school, but if they don't think they'll be able to graduate they'll just quit without talking to anyone about it. They're afraid that if they try hard it won't be good enough and that they're not smart enough, so why even try?

I: Has your family had any negative experiences in school related to being Latino?

M: Yes, of course.

T: There always is. That's the way it is.

R: Like, at our school's graduation, if you've been on honor roll or you attended the most days you get an award. But none of the Latinos with high GPAs went up there because they didn't feel like it. It's really sad. And then just the usual stuff. Kids saying "Oh look, those are the immigrants over there" or "Those are the stupid Mexicans" or "All their parents work in the fields." There was this one time where a girl writing for the school paper wrote this article. Maybe you heard about it. It was kind of a big deal. She wrote how all the Mexicans in America should be picked up in buses and taken back to Mexico. It was really stupid and she didn't even write most of it herself. She stole the idea from some writer guy I think. But the school paper actually published it. People got really upset about that and wanted to fight her. Some girls went up to her in the bathroom and were like "we're gonna beat you up". So for a few days she had a bodyguard and stuff and everyone was like "there's the white girl and her bodyguard". And unfortunately the textbooks a lot of times only talk about America. It's like 'Here's America' but then you don't hear about Mexico or anywhere else. It makes it seem like America is the only country that matters but people care about where they're from and other countries besides America. We don't listen to what anyone else has to say.

I: Do you think your school has prepared you for graduation, what to do once you graduate? What your options are?

R: Sometimes there's announcements about scholarships if you have a certain GPA and stuff like that. But, I mean, sometimes people don't even go because they don't understand the announcements since they're in English or just don't want to deal with it. Now they're trying to make them Bilingual. But a lot of students who don't speak Spanish don't like it cause it takes twice as long.

I*: (To Elena) You have to take the WASL test to graduate this next spring. Are you nervous about that?*

E: Yeah, a little bit. The teachers prepare us for the test a lot. Not like right now, but only right before the tests. The math and science aren't that hard because our school is Mexico is harder than in Walla Walla, but the reading and writing sections are hard because they're so much English. It's hard for a lot of Mexicans. So, yeah, I am getting nervous.

I: What about students that just arrive, say from Mexico, and don't speak much English and are supposed to pass the WASL in 4th grade. Do you think they're teaching them English too fast?

R: I don't think you can teach English too fast. It's really important to start learning the language and it's easy when you're a kid. But they're teaching English to kids that don't even speak Spanish that well and when they get older they're not smart and they will never be smart since they can't speak either language properly.

I: Do you think it's a problem when English is stressed so much in school and the parents don't help out very much because they don't speak English and don't think they can help?

M: Sometimes parents don't read to their children and don't spend time with their children just because their English isn't very good. My English isn't very good but I still think it's important to spend as much time with my daughters as possible.

R: There needs to be more bilingual classes so kids don't feel like outcasts when they're at school and they speak Spanish. Their parents won't talk to them in Spanish and the teachers don't speak Spanish. We need people that speak Spanish for translating and more classes taught in English *and* Spanish. It's hard in school if you feel like an outcast. My parents always made sure that we worked hard so *our* kids wouldn't ever feel like that.

M: There was one time with my husband and Veronica on her birthday.

R: Oh, yes. So it was my birthday and my Dad wakes me up and says to put on some old clothes. And I told him that I don't have any old clothes because I've always liked clothes. And he says to wear something that can get dirty. I think he's playing a joke so I put on my normal clothes. Then he drives us out to the fields where he works and we spend the whole day picking cherries and other fruits, getting dirty and sweaty. Then he tells me that I'm not going to grow up to pick fruit and that I have to try in school or else this is what I'll be doing my whole life. My parents have always helped out a lot. Even though they don't speak much English they make sure that when we are speaking English we are speaking English and when we're speaking Spanish we're speaking Spanish. No Spanglish. My dad makes sure that our Spanish is good and that we know all the accents and everything. This way all of us can speak two languages and we'll have an advantage that they never had.

I: What is the biggest problem in the local schools?

R: There need to be more classes taught bilingually. I was advanced when I got to Walla Walla but I kept getting put into remedial and ESL classes. Oh, and the WASL should be in Spanish also.

E: I don’t like how you take tests and they tell you if you’re good or bad. And when we come from Mexico even if we’re smart we get held back because of English when we’re good at other subjects. Kids start like a year back and then get angry because they feel dumb and that’s when they start getting in trouble.

M: It’s bad how Mexicans and Whites are looked at differently in school. And you have Mexicans trying to act White and forgetting who they are. The families are not always helping them and the schools do nothing. The schools say that it’s good to be white and everything else is bad.

T: When my daughters come home crying, asking why they’re different, asking why they don’t fit in. Or asking why they aren’t smart when they’re smarter than most everybody. That’s the worst thing and it’s a shame that our schools make this happen.

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16. State Graduation and Drop Out Statistics. OSPI Research. <Http://www.k12.wa.us/DataAdmin/pubdocs/GradDropout/DG2001-02.pdf> 2 November 2005.

17. Thomas, Wayne P. and Virginia Collier. *School Effectiveness for Language Minority Students*. NCBE Resource Collection Series. George Mason University. 1997. 9, 15.

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Introduction

As at the national level, young Latinas/os in Washington State are disproportionately over-represented in the juvenile justice system: "if you are young, Latino and male [in the United States], your odds of being in juvenile detention are more than twice those of your Anglo counterpart."[1] Such over-representation in detention facilities suggests that racism is still not eliminated from the juvenile justice system. A study performed by Dr. George Bridges where he reviewed Washington State's juvenile cases "found that juvenile court officials' subjective assessments of youth shaped case outcomes."[2] For the most part, research on the over-representation of minorities in the juvenile justice system deals with juveniles that are already active in crime and focuses on the decision-making of the juvenile justice centers. The focus of this investigation is to examine what happens before young Latinas/os enter the juvenile justice system, specifically the social agents that encourage gang activity. According to a survey done by the National Youth Gang Center (NYGS), 49 percent of all gang members in the United States are of Latino origin.[3] Research also shows that youth are more criminally active during active gang membership.[4] This indicates that young Latinas/os are more likely to join gangs thus becoming engaged in delinquency. Such criminal behavior then leads to young Latinos entering the juvenile detention centers.

Consequently, this research concentrates on the gang activity in the Walla Walla and Yakima counties and looks at the various factors that induce young Latinas/os to join gangs and engage in crimes. Such gang activity does not occur in isolation but rather the social conditions of these young Latinos are what induce them to become part of gangs. This study looks at poverty/income level and structure of family life as part of the factors that may push young Latinos into gangs. I hypothesize that as these factors cause young Latinos to join gangs, the lack of school support groups further contributes to the participation of Latinos in gangs. For the purpose of this research, I define school support groups as any form of support or resource that contributes to the social capital stock among young Latinas/os such as a positive attitude from the school administration towards Latinas/os, and the availability of teachers as mentors or migrant counselors. The greater the social capital stock such as the "relationships [that] shapes opportunities for interpersonal interaction…[which] can facilitate or inhibit access to resources and action for mutual benefit," the less likely that young Latinos will become delinquent.[5] This report explores whether there is a correlation between the support provided by structural settings at schools (teacher mentorship, migrant counseling, etc) for Latinos and the rate at which Latinos enter the juvenile detention system.

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[1] Ellis Cose, "Race and Redemption," The American Prospect. (2005): 1-2.
[2] Office of Juvenile Justice, "2003 Juvenile Justice Report," (2003): 46.
[3] National Youth Gang Center, "What is the racial and ethic composition of youth gangs?" 19 Oct. 2005. <http://www.iir.com/nygc/faq.htm>.
[4] Office of Juvenile Justice (2003): 108.
[5] Thomas L. McNulty and Paul E. Bellair, "Explaining racial and ethnic differences in adolescent violence: Structural disadvantage, family well-being, and social capital," Justice Quarterly, Vol. 20. (2003): 1-31, 7

In collaboration with my Walla Walla community partner, Mr. Vance Norsworthy, (a probation officer at the Walla Walla Juvenile Justice Center) I was able to gather state and county level data for Latino juvenile detainees in Washington State and learn more in detail about the juvenile justice process. In addition, interviews, Washington state government sources, and previous scholarly articles relating to young Latinas/os and gang activity highlight the major impact that poverty and structure of family life has on young Latina/o students and their propensity to join gangs and thus enter the juvenile justice system. The two factors researched turned out to be closely interconnected. Poverty among Latinos stems from a structurally embedded demand for their exploitable labor as explained in detail in Eleanor's and Paulina's chapter. In addition, the fact that a single parent heads about one third of Latino homes and a large percentage of Latino parents are hardly present at home due to low wage, and demanding jobs demonstrates that a lack of resources further contributes to the poverty level.[6] These two risk factors do not work independently; instead they reinforce each other to maintain the current situation of Latino juveniles in Washington State. Therefore, in order to tackle this lack of resources that leads young Latinos to join gangs, there needs to be a larger emphasis on providing support systems by the government to fill the missing gap which would help the students according to their needs. Meanwhile, the state government should also allocate more funds for educational and employment training programs that improve the economic situation of low-income Washingtonians including Latinas/os to alleviate poverty as suggested by the Seattle Jobs Initiative's report.[7] In taking a multilateral action, the Washington government can expect to see improvements not only the Latino community but in the state as a whole.

Methods

In order to better understand what risk factors encourage Latino gang involvement, this study concentrates on the poverty level and family structure of young Latinas/os in the State of Washington with a focus on Latino juvenile detainees and gang members. The propensity for young Latinas/os to join gangs tends to occur when "conventional socializing agents, such as families and schools are largely ineffective and alienating" which leads to street socialization.[8] Studies done by Krivo and Peterson, and Peeples and Loeber have found that minorities including Latinas/os "exhibit higher rates of violence than do whites because they are more likely to reside in community contexts with high levels of poverty, unemployment, family disruption and residential instability."[9]

Poverty is a cause frequently associated with youth joining gangs and engaging in criminal activity. Such a connection is seen in the emergence of Chicano gangs in Los Angeles. Diego Vigil's argument that overall neighborhood quality has an important

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[6] U.S. Census Bureau, "U.S. Hispanic Population: 2000," March 2000. <http://www.census.gov/population/www/socdemo/hispanic/ho00.html>. (5 November 2005).
[7] Seattle Jobs Initiative, "Beyond The Bottom Line: Expanding Economic opportunities for Washington's Working Families 2004," (2004): 26
[8] National Youth Gang Center 2.
[9] McNulty and Bellair, 7.

impact on gangs, also explains that among young Mexicans in Los Angeles, "the more isolated and poverty-stricken the barrio, the more 'boundedness' and the more likely the children there have severe problems that lead inexorably to prolonged and deep street socialization."[10] Youth who live in low socioeconomic status neighborhoods are more likely to engage in delinquent behavior.[11] Also, recent research explains that Hispanic youth referred to the juvenile justice system are disproportionately poor.[12] The historical account of gangs in Los Angeles and previous research illustrate the significant impact that poverty has on young Latinas/os' propensity to join gangs that then leads them to the juvenile justice system. Therefore, my investigation looks closely at the poverty level of young Latinas/os in the State of Washington to better understand the high percentage of Latinas/os in the juvenile justice system.

Another aspect that this research examines is **the dynamics of family structure (**or lack thereof) and how that contributes to the high percentage of Latinos in gangs, and hence the high representation of Latinas/os in Washington's juvenile detention facilities. Previous studies have found that "youth who are less closely supervised, have poor communication with their parents, and are less involved in family activities are at risk for associating with delinquent peers, also raising the risk of delinquency and violence."[13] Since youth who do not have a close relationship with their parents will often cultivate relationships outside of the home such as with their peers. Also, "Latinos, and members of other racial-ethnic groups are less likely than whites to live in two-biological-parent homes."[14] Since Latino families are more likely than Non-Hispanic White families to be headed by a single parent, this suggests that there is a higher likelihood for Latino children to lack supervision and spend less time with her/his parent, especially when poverty is already present.[15] This can help explain the higher tendency for Latinas/os to commit crimes compared to their white peers. In addition, the majority of occupations held by Latinas/os in the United States are in Sales (e.g. cashier), Service (e.g. janitorial work, food preparation, etc), and Transportation (e.g. truck drivers), which tend to have constraints on their daily schedule that limit the amount of time parents in those jobs can spend with their children. For example, people who work in janitorial occupations such as cleaning schools or hotels have odd work schedules where they often work in the evenings or late at night.[16] It is precisely in the evenings after kids have been released from school that they need supervision most, which is when many Latino parents are working. Please refer to Eleanor's chapter about Latinos in the service industry for more details about the demanding work schedule. Also, Paulina Ocegeura's chapter on farm labor describes the job conditions that impact family life. "Some youth may…become

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[10] Diego Vigil, "Community Dynamics and Rise of Street Gangs," (2002): 104.
[11] Jennifer M. Beyers and Rolf Loeber, "What Predicts Adolescent Violence in Better-Off Neighborhoods?" Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology, October 2001.
[12] Lisa J. Bond-Maupin and James R. Maupin, "Juvenile justice decision making in a rural Hispanic community," Journal of Criminal Justice. Vol. 26. (1998): 373-384
[13]Beyers and Loeber, (2001).
[14]McNulty and Bellair, 25.
[15] U.S. Census Bureau, (2000).
[16] "Janitors," Career Perspectives in Virginia, 8 Aug. 2005. < http://66.102.7.104/custom?q=cache:lEgHqd5HhmAJ:www3.ccps.virginia.edu/career_prospects/briefs/E-J/Janitors.shtml+hours+of+janitors&hl=en&ie=UTF-8>. (14 Nov. 2005).

attached to a gang due to alienation from more conventional (e.g. family and school) linkages to society."[17] The lack of interaction between parents and their children or the lack of social capital encourages young Latinas/os to search for support outside the home such as in gangs.

The poverty and structure of family life of young Latinas/os are some of the factors that create the lack of social capital that leads them to delinquent behavior. Social capital "refers to the collective value of all 'social networks' and the inclinations that arise from these networks to do things for each other."[18] These social networks are necessary because "children who are connected to adults whom they respect and admire are more likely to abide by adults' expectation and consider the reactions of others when contemplating delinquent behavior and hence are less likely to engage in it."[19] Significant poverty, single parent homes, and low-paying and demanding jobs, make Latino parents unable to supervise their children, much less interact with them. If such attention and social ties were possible, it would add to the social capital stock of the child thus preventing gang involvement.

McNulty and Bellair's research about racial and ethnic differences in adolescent violence stresses the importance of social capital that could prevent youth from criminal behavior. Nonetheless, the large emphasis on parental interaction as social capital in their research does not take into account the role of teachers and mentors in youths' lives. Also, McNulty and Bellair's study assumes that parents are capable of spending time with their child, when in reality for many Latinos this is not the case. The poverty prevalent among Latinas/os leads to parents being unable to be present at the home because they need to work. As a result, Latino parents are unable to facilitate social control, and thus a lack of social capital results. Furthermore, many low-income Latino parents are unable to offer other alternatives for social capital to make up for the missing parental interaction with their children as a wealthy parent might. Parents in higher economic status can use their market power to their advantage and therefore provide extracurricular activities or get someone to take care of their children which would make up for the social capital or lack of interactions that may result from the parent's job schedule. Nevertheless, the inability of Latino parents to create social ties with their children that would otherwise decrease delinquent behavior is a gap that can be filled in by school support groups such as mentors and teachers.

As this research looks at adolescent violence, specifically gang-related crime and its ties to poverty and family structure, the lack of school support systems is also significant. This research demonstrates that support groups can add to the social capital stock of young Latinas/os that would help offset the social capital deficit they already experience. A recent report looking at the structural characteristics of high schools in the United States found that "Hispanic teens are more likely than any other racial or ethnic

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[17] D. A. Lopez and Patricia O'Donnell Brummett, "Gang Membership and Acculturation: ARSMA-II and Choloization." Crime and Delinquency. Vol. 29. (2001): 627-642, 628.
[18] Robert D. Putman, "Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community," (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2000).
[19] McNulty and Bellair, 7.

group to attend public high schools that have the dual characteristics of extreme size and poverty."[20] Moreover, "about 37 percent of Latinos attend the 10 percent of schools with the highest student-teacher ratios…[compared to] 14 percent of black students and 13 percent of whites attend those schools, which have a student-teacher ratio greater than 22-to-1 compared with the national average of 16-to-1."[21] This implies that young Latinas/os are less likely to foster social relations with teachers because there are too many students to allow close interaction with one teacher. This decreases the chances of teachers being able to help build the social capital stock of the Latino youth. In addition, federal budget cuts for programs whose main purpose is to provide support for students from disadvantaged backgrounds such as TRIO further contribute to the lack of support groups in schools. Also, not only does the lack of funding for school support programs further contribute to Latino youth involvement in gangs by not keeping them in school but also the "deficit-based expectations about Latina/o students' culture, language, values, and ability to learn [by counselors] often impose structural barriers that inhibit college level preparation and academic success."[22] Since support groups in schools are able to supply social capital that could potentially discourage Latinas/os from joining gangs, this research examines the school support groups in Washington State.

Data Collection

The majority of the quantitative data gathered for this research came from national and state government reports, private organizations and interviews with police officers in the Walla Walla and Yakima counties. A helpful source used for this study was the 2003 and 2004 "Juvenile Justice Report" prepared by the Office of Juvenile Justice in Washington that I accessed from Mr. Vanceworthy. This report includes detailed information about the composition of juvenile detainees in Washington State including a brief analysis of Washington's youth in regards to poverty and gangs. The report, however, did not break down much of the information by ethnicity and often omitted Latinas/os from their analysis. This report also briefly describes the different programs provided by the state government to address the overrepresentation of minorities in Washington's juvenile justice centers. Also, the "Sourcebook of Criminal Justice Statistics 2002" compiled by the Bureau of Justice Statistics aided this study in comparing statistics from Washington state to the rest of the nation. These two government resources provided adequate information about the Latinas/os in the juvenile justice system. Also, the U.S. Census Bureau website contained supportive data about Latino family households as well as the occupations they hold which gave me a better idea of the structure of the family life.

Government reports and social networking enabled me to gather more quantitative data for this research. After looking at the "Juvenile Justice Report" and interviewing the detention manager of the Yakima County Juvenile Justice Center, I became aware of the

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[20] Pew Hispanic Center Press Release, "Latinos More Likely Than Blacks, Whites To Attend the Largest Public High Schools," Press Hispanic Center Newsroom, 1 Nov. 2005 <httt://pewhispanic.org/newsroom/releases/release.php?ReleaseID=36>. 14 Nov. 2005.

[21] Pew Hispanic Center Press Release, (2005).

[22] Daniel Solorzano, "Educational Inequities and Latina/o Undergraduate in the United States: A Critical Race Analysis of their Educational Progress," Journal of Hispanic Higher Education, Vol. 1. (2002): 272-294, 283.

Annie E. Casey Foundation, which focuses on helping disadvantaged children and families. One of the many programs the Foundation has established, is the Juvenile Detention Alternatives Initiative (JDAI) which focuses on reducing the overrepresentation of minorities in detention centers and develops alternative approaches to improve conditions.[23] It was through this foundation that the report, "Kids Count: Latino Children, State-Level Measures of Child Well-being from the 2000 Census" was published. From this I was able to find information on the poverty level, and family structure of Latino youth in the State of Washington.

For the most part the quantitative data I gathered were detailed and useful for this project. Nonetheless, in many of the data tables only the actual numbers of arrests or population were given but they were not presented as percentages. Therefore, for the purpose of comparing statistics, I had to calculate percentages given the available data. Much of the statistical data that could have been extremely helpful for this report were not used because it did not separate categories by ethnicity. When I attempted to assess the percentage of Latino students at the poverty or low-income level by looking at the number of Latinos in free and reduced lunch, the Washington State Office of Superintendent of Public Instruction did not have that information, even though it does present the percentage of Latino population in the various school districts. This is also seen in Washington's "Juvenile Justice Report" in its analysis of youth gangs where it does not mention specifically the percentage of Latinos in gangs in Washington. Another interesting finding in this research is that many government sources do not separate the term "Hispanics" or "Latinos" from the term "White." The Office of Juvenile Justice for the "2003 Juvenile Justice Report" includes Latina/os in any of the "races." In the "Sourcebook of Criminal Justice Statistics," the tables are designed in this same way. It appears that ethnicity is used only for certain data. It is interesting to note that government agencies do not separate Latinas/os into a separate group from other races when the statistics involve arrests, but when it comes to stating the juvenile population the percentage of Hispanic origin was given. Such a method of gathering data is also seen outside of Washington State. A report published by the University of Michigan found that 14 juvenile justice agencies in 14 different states often counted Latino youth as "White."[24] The implications of this omission in Washington's Juvenile Justice Report are significant, especially since Latinos constitute the largest minority in the state of Washington.[25] Most likely Hispanics constitute a large portion of the percentage by *White* juvenile arrests. This overstates the proportion of White juveniles and understates the proportion of Latino juveniles in Washington detention centers. The way the data are selectively gathered by many government agencies, in which, ethnicity is not separated from race or simply not mentioned, impairs the State of Washington and researchers to respond adequately to Latino youth's needs.

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[23] "Juvenile Detention Alternatives Initiative (JDAI)," Annie E. Casey Foundation, 2005. < http://www.aecf.org/initiatives/jdai/>. (20 Oct. 2005).
[24]Building Block for Youth, "Donde esta la justicia?: A call to action on behalf of Latino and Latina youth in the U.S. justice system," (2005): 4.
[25] Office of Juvenile Justice, "2004 Juvenile Justice Report," (2004): 65.

Case Studies

The data gathered to research the local conditions in Walla Walla with community people relating to the two factors (poverty, and structure of family life) came primarily from personal interviews. The Juvenile Justice Report also provided information on the Walla Walla Juvenile Justice Center and the number of Latinas/os detained annually at the center.

This study also focuses on Yakima County because of its high Hispanic juvenile detention population. Even though Walla Walla County has a much lower Hispanic juvenile detention rate than Yakima's, Walla Walla will serve as a good comparison. Comparing what the Walla Walla Juvenile Justice Center and Walla Walla Police Gang Unit do differently than those of Yakima might explain why there is a much lower disparity between Hispanic and non Hispanics in the juvenile justice center. As well as comparing the structural setting of schools, I investigate the various programs that these two counties offer for students that help add to the social capital stock of students such as Latinas/os.

Interviews

The "2003 Juvenile Justice Report" shows that the risk of joining a gang "rose most sharply at age 15--the age at which most students make the transition to high school."[26] Therefore, the interviewees were around this age group to examine closely the prevalence of the research factors (poverty level, and structure of family life), the events occurring at this stage that might be pushing him or her to become involved in gangs and the role of school support groups. The three different Latino youth associated with gangs that were interviewed were 12, 15 and 19 years old. These interviewees were either in middle school or at the beginning of their high school year. Of the three interviewees, the 19-year-old interviewee is not currently part of the gang subculture although she was in middle school.

Mr. Norsworthy introduced me to one of the three interviewees associated with gangs. The 12-year-old boy is currently under probation in Walla Walla. This interview with the young boy was conducted at his home in the presence of his younger siblings and mother, who is a single parent. Therefore a mixture of Spanish and English was used throughout the interview. The interview lasted about an hour and a half and was recorded with a tape recorder**,** through which I was able to make an interview transcript.

Through Professor Apostolidis, I was able to meet and interview Mr. Andrew Gomsrud, a middle school teacher of Paine Secondary Alternative Education Center in Walla Walla. The National Youth Gang Center found that one of the community conditions which facilitate youth joining a gang is that "adolescents must have a great deal of free time that is not consumed by other prosocial roles."[27] This implies that Latino students' dropout rate has an impact on young Latinos' predisposition to become involved in gangs. When a student drops out, they have more free time that might allow them to have an increased chance of involvement in criminal activity. In addition, most

[26] Office of Juvenile Justice (2003): 109.
[27] National Youth Gang Center (2005): 2.

gang crime tends to be done by youth who no longer attend schools.[28] Mr. Gomsrud mentioned that a very small number of students that are referred to the alternative school program graduate from high school because of the lack of support and funding from the administration. The majority of these students referred to this alternative program are Latinas/os. Mr. Gomsrud interview highlights the role of school groups in further contributing to Latino youth gang involvement by not keeping them in school. The way that support groups at school can partially maintain Latino students in school and deter them from gangs is to provide the social capital that many young Latinas/os lack at their homes which stems from poverty and an absence of structure in their family life. Previous studies "found that Hispanics were more likely to join gangs when schools failed to meet their social, emotional and education needs." [29] Mr. Gomsrud's position as a teacher at the alternative school provides great insight about Walla Walla schools' structural setting/supportive group and their influence on the dropout rate among Latinos. The interview with Mr. Gomsrud lasted about an hour and took place at the Whitman campus. I took written notes for this interview.

The other two interviewees that were or are gang associated are from Yakima. One of these interviewees is a previous acquaintance from high school. For the reason mentioned earlier, I chose to interview her because of her age group at the time she was associated with gangs and to hear the narratives of a young Latina, who is now a college student but was once affiliated with gangs during middle school. Her interview informs us of what factors overcame the "cumulative effects of inadequate educational reparation and schooling conditions of Latinas/os at the elementary levels."[30] Her past experience as a gangster and now a student at a four-year private liberal arts college shed light on the importance of school support groups. The interview lasted about two hours and the languages used were both Spanish and English. I interviewed her at the Whitman campus.

I also interviewed a high school student in Yakima who is currently associated with many gangster friends. He fits the age group that I am interested in researching and I was able to see how poverty/income level and structure of family life influences his gang involvement. Also, after I found out about the gang-prevention program called the Yakima Police Athletic League (PAL), I wanted to interview a young Latina/o who is part of the program to see how it serves as social capital. The young boy interviewed currently participates in the PAL program. The PAL program offers tutoring and extracurricular activities in an attempt to deter at risk youth (e.g. kids that live in low-socioeconomic neighborhoods) from joining gangs. This program functions as a support group outside of school and offers another example of the various kinds of social capital building that can help prevent Latinos from becoming criminally active and hence entering the juvenile justice system. His interview illustrates the effect of the PAL program as a support group that might serve as an important source of social capital.

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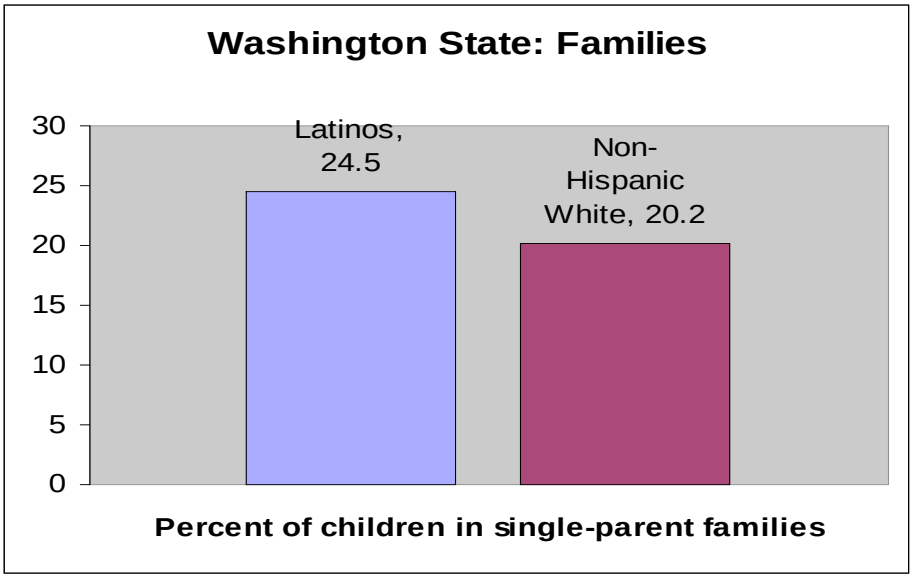
[28] Thomas Jr. Winfree, Frances P. Bernat and Finn-Aage Esbensen. "Hispanic and Anglo gang membership in two southwestern cities." The Social Science Journal. Vol. 28. (2001): 112
[29] Winfree, Frances, and Esbensen, 107.
[30] Daniel Solorzano, 277.

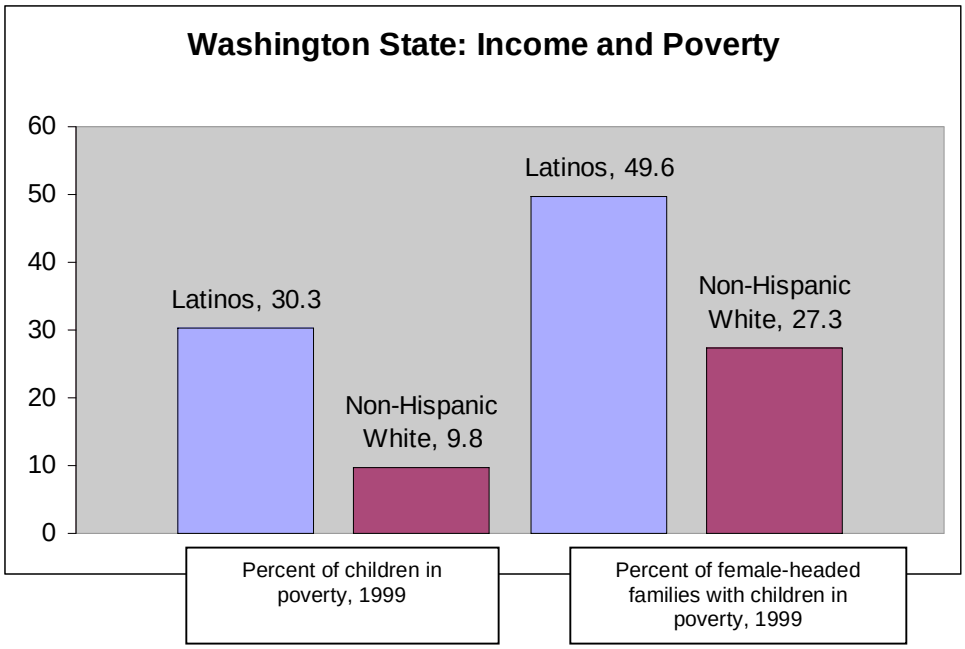
Data Presentation

Graph 1



Source: The Annie E. Casey Foundation, Kids Count 2003, "Latino Children: State-level Measures of Child Well-Being From the 2000 Census," 2003

Graph 2



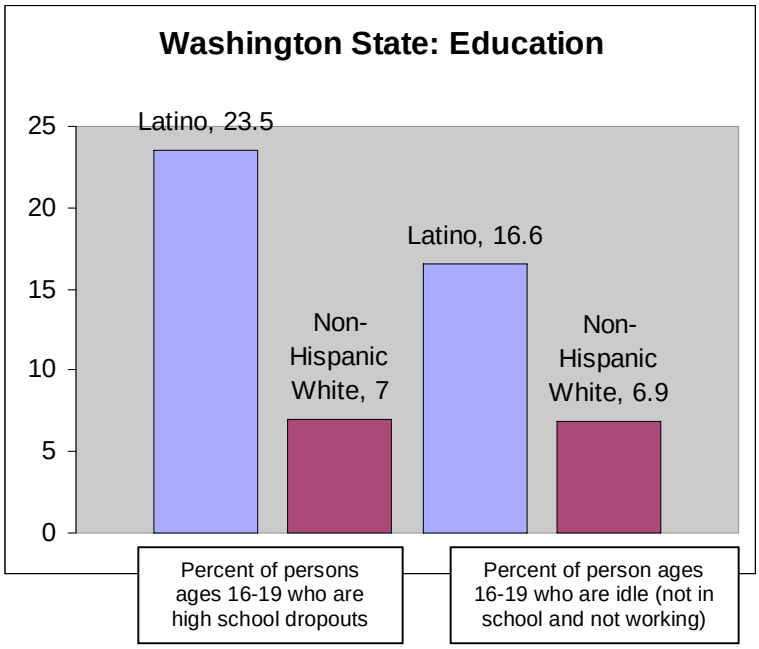
Source: The Annie E. Casey Foundation, Kids Count 2003, "Latino Children: State-level Measures of Child Well-Being From the 2000 Census," 2003

Graph 2: Even though the percentage of young Latinas/os in single-parent families is not substantially higher than that of Non-Hispanic White children, the percent of Latino

female-headed families with children in poverty is 22.3% higher than Non-Hispanic Whites.

Graph 2 shows that the level of poverty faced by Latino youth (under 18 years old) is three times greater than for Non-Hispanic White youth in the State of Washington. According to previous research, these graphs imply that young Latinas/os are more susceptible to gang violence than Whites due to the social conditions Latinas/os face such as poverty. The data illustrates the presence of poverty among Latino children in the state of Washington thus increasing their chances of entering a gang and the juvenile justice system.

Graph 3

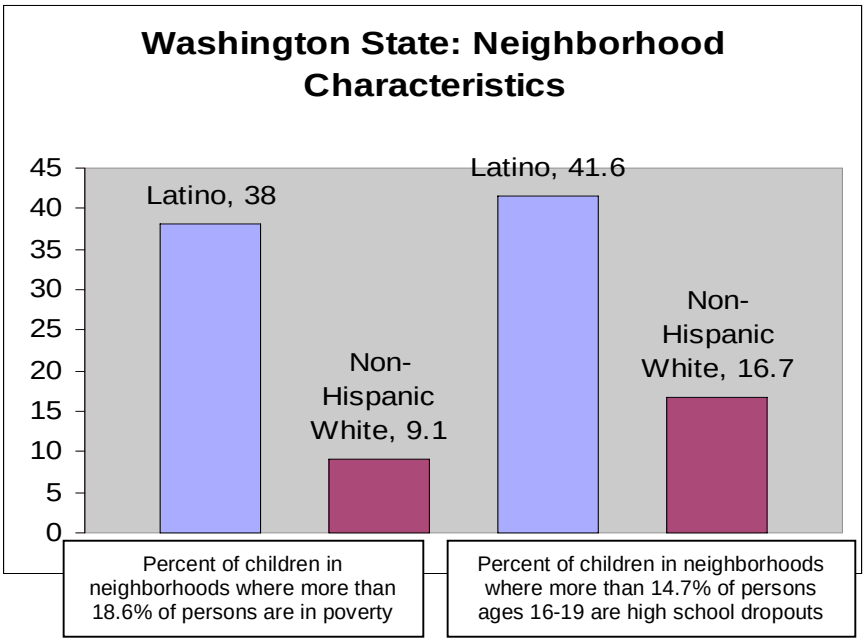


Source: The Annie E. Casey Foundation, Kids Count 2003, "Latino Children: State-level Measures of Child Well-Being From the 2000 Census," 2003

In general a larger percentage of young Latinas/os are more likely to be out of school. Out of the 23.5% Latino youth that drop out, 16.6% do not work, which suggests that 6.9% of young Latinas/os enter the workforce compared to 0.1% of Non-Hispanic White youth. The discrepancy between young Latinas/os and Non-Hispanic Whites can possibly be attributed to the fact that Latino children are more likely to come from low-income families than Non-Hispanic White children and therefore need to contribute to the household. Also, the 6.9% of young Latinas/os that drop out and work are probably less likely to join gangs than the 16.6% of Latino juveniles who are idle. As mentioned earlier, this is due to kids being out of school with lots of time to spare compared to those that entered the work force and thus will likely become involved in gang activity.[31]

[31] National Youth Gang Center (2005).

Graph 4



Source: The Annie E. Casey Foundation, Kids Count 2003, "Latino Children: State-level Measures of Child Well-Being From the 2000 Census," 2003

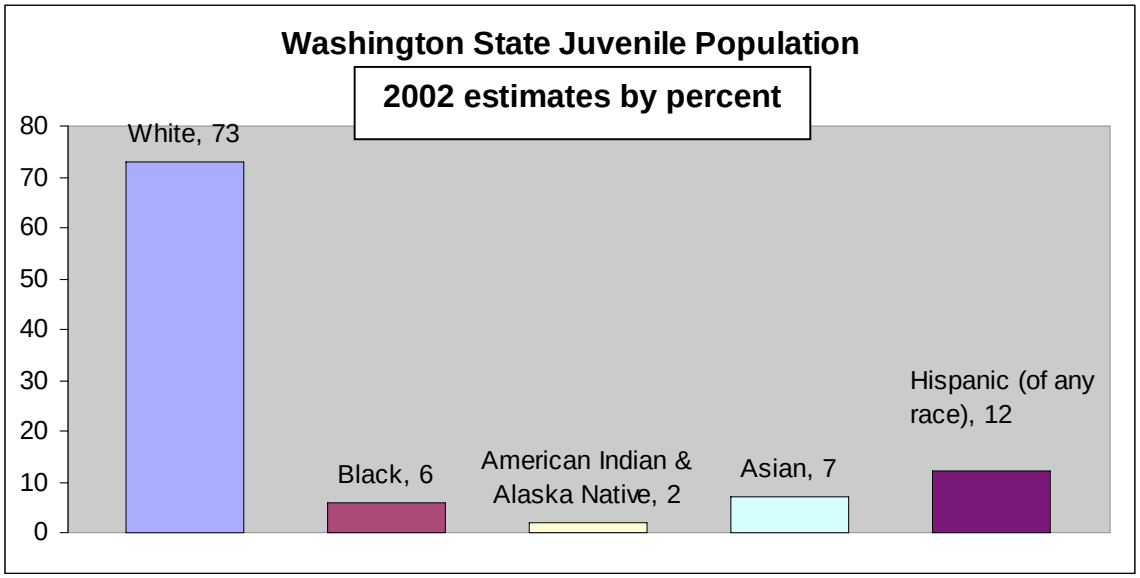
Graph 4 shows that not only are Latino children more likely to live in poverty (Graph 2) than whites, they also live in neighborhoods that suffer from poverty. The poor neighborhoods in which a large portion of Latino children resides once again reflect a deficit in resources such as the need for youth centers to offer social capital. This is similar to the inferior L.A. barrios where many Chicano gangs emerged. Vigil's analysis of street gangs in L.A. states that due to the lack of resources faced by the barrios, which could have imposed social control, many Mexican youth became delinquents.[32] Other research has also shown that "community disadvantage and instability," like the neighborhoods Latino youth live in, "diminish the prevalence and interdependence of social networks that facilitate the social control of children," which could deter them from violence.[33] The bar graph on the left further illustrates the presence of poverty among Latino children in the State of Washington thus increasing their chances of entering gangs and the juvenile justice system.

Graph 4 also shows that Latino children are more likely to be surrounded by high school dropouts. "Among youth gang members the high school drop-out rate is significantly higher than among non gang members" in the state of Washington.[34] This implies that Latino children are more likely to live in neighborhoods with gang members. In addition, a study done by Winfree, Bernat and Esbensen concluded that gang membership is linked with having delinquent peers.[35] Therefore these data hint that because young Latinoas/os

[32] Vigil, 101.
[33] McNulty and Bellair, 5.
[34] National Youth Gang Center, "Washington: Gang-Related Legislation," 2005. <http://www.iir.com/nygc/gang-legis/washington.htm>, (19 Oct. 2005).
[35] Winfree, Frances, and Esbensen, 111.

are more likely to live among dropouts who tend to be gangsters, this increases the probability that Latinas/os will join gangs. Of course we want research looking closely at the relationship between children living in neighborhoods with a large population that are dropouts and the propensity of those children joining gangs to verify the relationship directly.

Graph 5

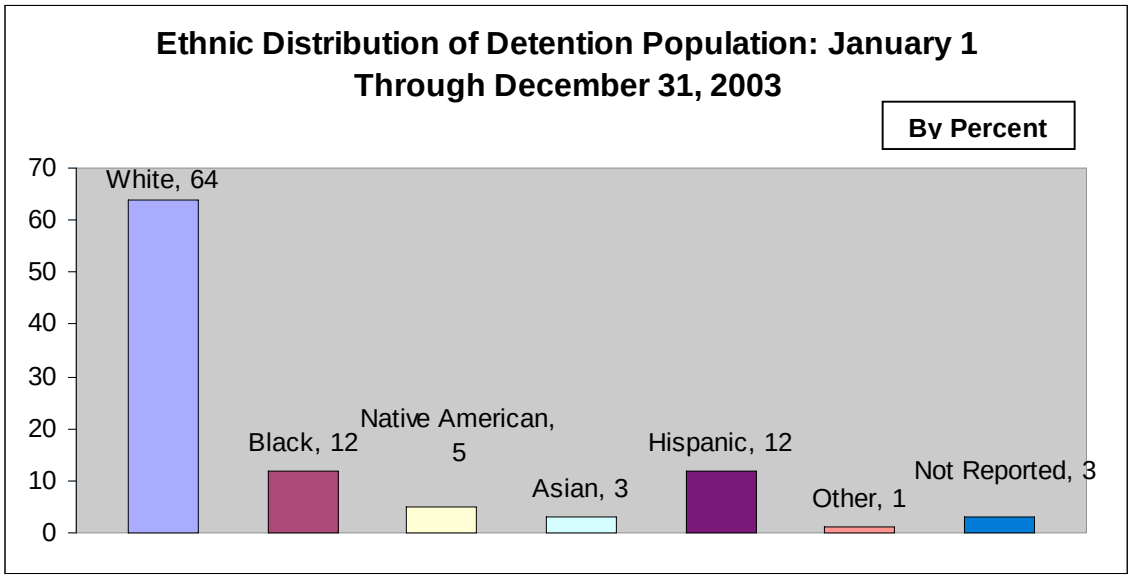


Source: Governor's Juvenile Justice Advisory Committee, 2004 Juvenile Justice Report "Racial and Ethnic Distribution," 2004.

Graph 5: The current Hispanic juvenile population is 12%. Since 1990, the Hispanic juvenile population has doubled in the State of Washington.[36]

[36]Governor's Juvenile Justice Advisory Committee, "2004 Juvenile Justice Report: Racial and Ethnic Distribution," (2004).

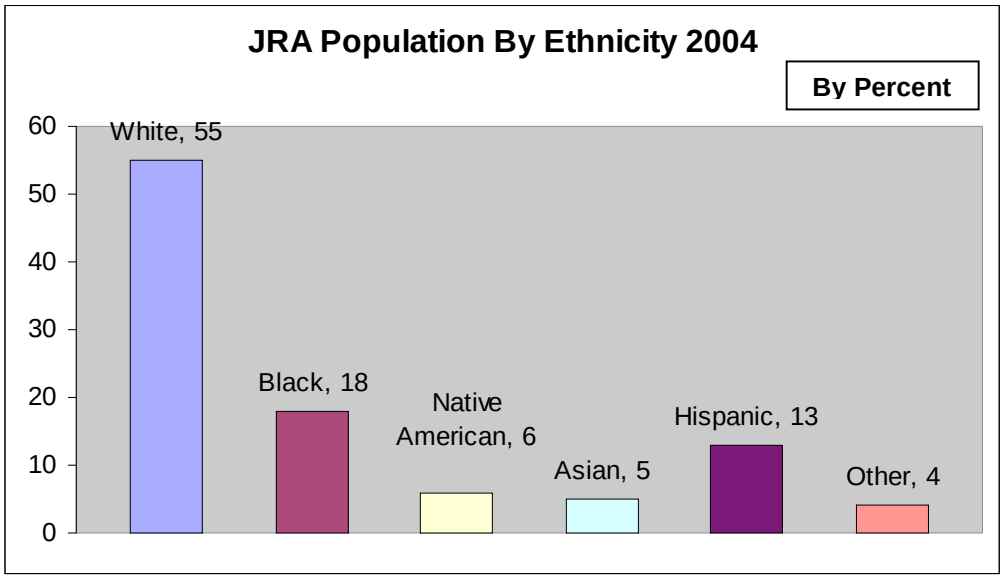
Graph 6



Source: Governor's Juvenile Justice Advisory Committee, 2004 Juvenile Justice Report, "Ethnic Distribution of Detention Population: January 1 Through December 31, 1997-2003," 2004

As Graph 6 shows, the percentage of Hispanic youth detained in juvenile justice centers is representative of the population. Nevertheless, the only groups that are not overrepresented in the detention centers are White and Asian juveniles.

Graph 7

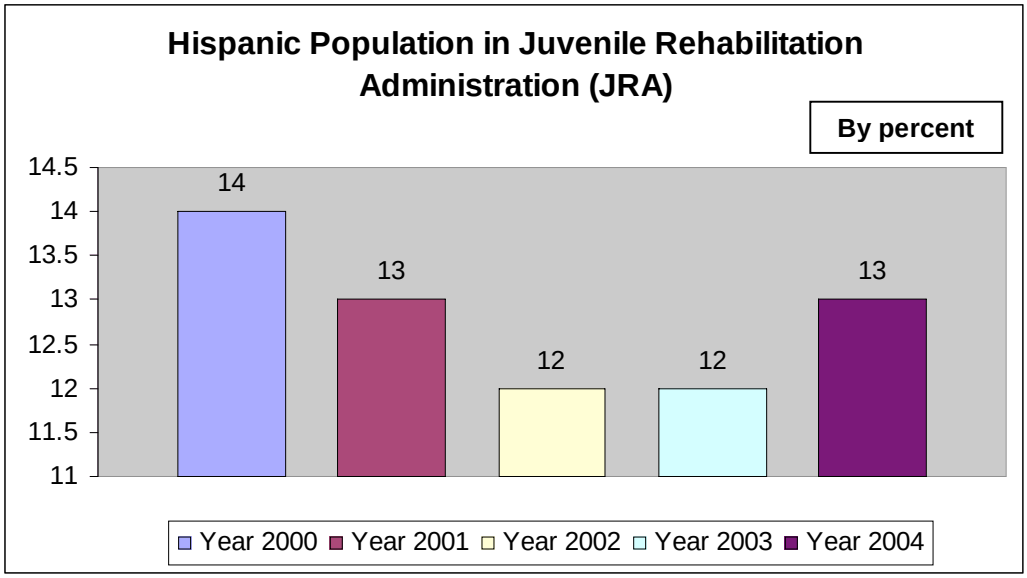


Source: Governor's Juvenile Justice Advisory Committee, 2004 Juvenile Justice Report, "JRA Population By Race/Ethnicity/Gender," 2004

The percent of Hispanics in Juvenile Rehabilitation Administration (JRA) centers is higher than the total Hispanic population. JRA is where juveniles with longer sentences are sent. All of the minority group population in JRAs increases from the minority group in the detention center, whereas the population of White youth is the only one that

decreases. As mentioned earlier, this agrees with what Dr. George Bridges found in his study: that race plays a significant role in how minority detainees are perceived.[37] In juvenile court reports, minorities detained were described as being inherently flawed but whites that were apprehended were seen as anomalies. Apart from being a problem within the juvenile system among court officials and probation officers, this also raises the question about police officers that detain them in the first place. Are police officers are more likely to be suspicious of Latino youth when patrolling a poor neighborhood?

Graph 8

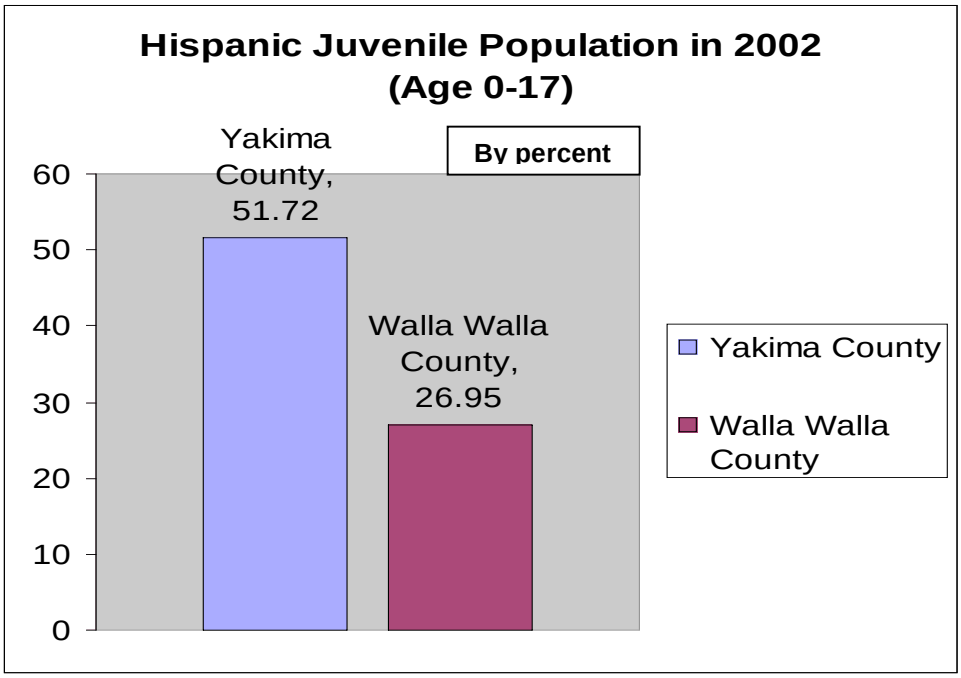


Source: Governor's Juvenile Justice Advisory Committee, 2004 Juvenile Justice Report, "JRA Population By Race/Ethnicity/Gender," 2004

Graph 8 shows the Hispanic population in JRAs has not fallen below 12%. Between 2000 and 2003 there was a decrease.

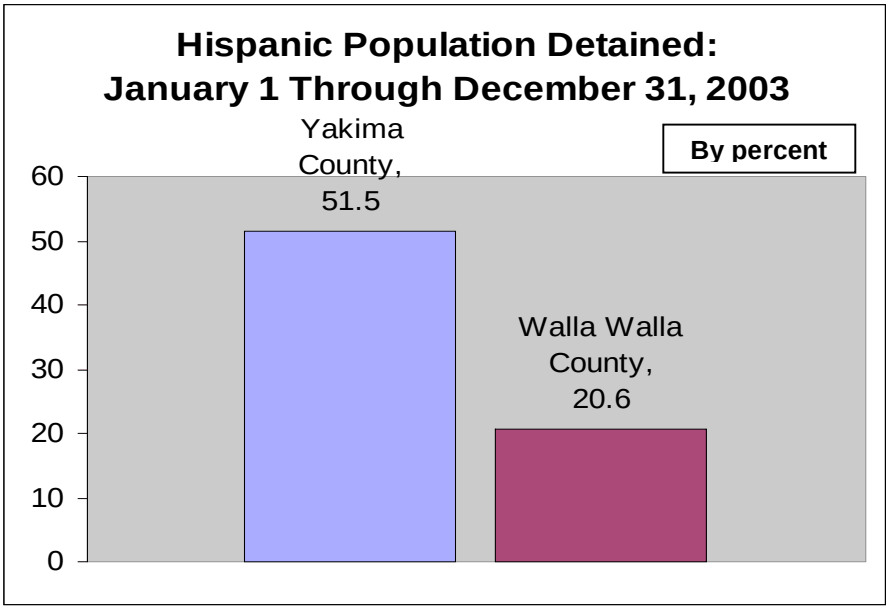
[37] Office of Juvenile Justice (2003): 47.

Graph 9



Source: Governor's Juvenile Justice Advisory Committee, 2004 Juvenile Justice Report

Graph 10*



Source: Governor's Juvenile Justice Advisory Committee, 2004 Juvenile Justice Report, "Detention Population by Ethinic Group: January 1 Through December 31, 2003," 2004.
*I calculated the percentage of each county to be able to compare to other data. Original data table was given by population count.

The percent of the Hispanic population detained at the Walla Walla County Juvenile Justice Center is less than its overall population, whereas in the Yakima County, the population of Hispanic matches the population of detained Hispanics in the juvenile detention center. This then brings up a several questions; is the lower proportion of Hispanic youth detained in Walla Walla due to the efforts of the juvenile justice center to

eliminate racial bias? Or are the social factors such as poverty and disadvantage family background more prevalent in Yakima than in Walla Walla? And what role does school support groups play in this discrepancy? First, according to the Yakima Juvenile Justice Detention Manger, even though Yakima faces an over-representation of Latinas/os in the centers, Yakima does not have the resources to address the issue.[38] Second, a larger percentage of low-income working families reside in Yakima County than in Walla Walla County.[39] Finally, the Latino high school dropout rate in Yakima County far exceeds that of Walla Walla County (20.9% and 7.5% respectively).[40]

Interview Discussion

The interview materials with Latino youth, and police officers, both in Yakima and Walla Walla are consistent with the hypothesis that **poverty/low income level** does influence young Latinas/os' likelihood of becoming gang members. Officer Saul Reyna from the Walla Walla Police Department explained that one of the reasons they maintain a tracking system for gang members is because many of the gang members move often since they live in rental property.[41] Referring to Alan's chapter on Housing, Latinas/os have low homeownership rates due to their low-income employment. Since many gang members in Walla Walla tend to live in rental property and 98% of the youth involved in gangs are Latinas/os, this suggests that many gang members have a higher likelihood of coming from low-income homes.[42] In addition the occupations held by the interviewees' parents had some of the lowest salaries in the nation. For example, most of their parents work either in the service or agricultural industries and the median earnings for those occupational groups are $21,000 and $20,000 respectively. According to the U.S. Census Bureau, these two occupational groups have the lowest earnings of any of the other occupational groups (farming being the lowest and service being second to last).[43]

The occupations that the parents of the interviewees hold and their earnings illustrate the lack of resources they face and also show how poverty helps create the **dynamics of family structure** that push Latino children to become involved in gangs. Sergeant Joe Salinas, head of the Gang Enforcement Unit in Yakima, stated that "gang activity is a pattern that starts with problems at home, and you couple that with poverty in the [Yakima] valley."[44] One of the problems at home that push youth to socialize out in the streets is the absence of parents at home. The low-wage jobs that many Latino parents work place constraints on their schedule, such as late hours or little time off. This limits the parents' interaction with their children, which could help deter their children from delinquency. Sergeant Randy Allessio from the Walla Walla Police Department

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[38]Milt Ewing, Personal Interview, 10 October 2005.
[39] Seattle Jobs Initiative, "Beyond the Bottom Line: Expanding Economic opportunities for Washington's Working Families 2004," (2004), 10.
[40]Office of Superintendent of Public Instruction, "Annual Dropout Statistics for Districts and Schools," (2003-03): 29-31.
[41]Off. Saul Reyna, Personal Interview, 11 November 2005.
[42]Off. Saul Reyna, Personal Interview, 11 November 2005.
[43]Peter Fronczeck, and Patricia Johnson, "Census Debrief, Occupations: 2000," U.S. Census Bureau, (2003): 5-7.
[44] Sgt. Joe Salinas, Phone Interview, 3 November 2005.

stated that it is common for the parents of gang members to work full time, and because of that, the parents are unable to offer attention to their children:

> Most of the kids have both parents but they work full time and are not home. They work in canneries or in the fields...[kids] need attention and if they can't find it, they will look somewhere else, they are going to go and get involved [in gangs]. I don't think that they start wanting to be in gangs[45]

Also, in my interview with the 19-year-old college student, the lack of parental interaction due to both parents' tough work schedule and their absence comes up as she describes her family life and the lives of her friends involved in gangs.

> I remember, looking back at middle school, my parents were never there. Well, my parents were there but they were always working. She [mom] would come home around 6, my mom would be cooking, getting ready for the next day and go to bed because she was tired. That's the only time I saw her…My friends didn't have their parents. I didn't have my parents there but because they worked. But my friends didn't have their parents there because they were either in Mexico or they were dead or they were living with their brothers and sisters.[46]

In addition to many Latino parents working in low-wage positions, coming from a single parent household also adds to the poverty and lack of parental interaction young Latinas/os already encounter. When I interviewed the 16-year-old high school boy, I asked about his friends that were involved in gangs. His interview indicates that the structure of family life such as coming from a single parent home (and thus a lack in social capital) does have an impact on young Latinas/os' tendency to become involved in gangs: "Most of my friends are in gangs because their parents separated, or because their dad hasn't been there to support them. Supposedly you get the support from them because parents are supposed to be there."[47]

This lack of parental interaction, which could facilitate social control over their children in order to help prevent their children from delinquency, was explicit during the interview with the 12-year-old boy and his single mother from Walla Walla. The mother of the boy often interrupted him while he talked or vice versa. They appeared not to pay attention to what the other was saying suggesting that the social ties between the mother and her son are not strong. The 12-year-old boy has been detained at the juvenile justice center twice, which suggests that sufficient social capital has not yet been provided. Mr. Milt Ewing, the Yakima Juvenile Justice Detention Manger, stated that the Yakima juvenile center has a high recidivism rate and he partly believes that it is due to the lack of parenting and because "they [juveniles] don't have a support structure, when they come here, the kids get structure and they like the detention center, kids know what's expected of them."[48] So, if juvenile justice centers provide 'structure' which is lacking at

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[45] Sgt. Randy Allessio, Personal Interview, 11 November 2005.
[46] Appendix A: Interview Transcript
[47] Anonymous, Phone Interview, 11 November 2005.
[48] Milt Ewing, Personal Interview, 10 October 2005.

home, should there be another government-funded agency that is *not* a detention center that can offer that 'structure'? In the interviews, it becomes apparent that school support groups can provide the 'structure' and social capital to discourage Latinas/os from entering gangs and thus, the juvenile justice system.

The intricate combination of poverty and structure of family life pushes young Latinas/os to join gangs, and even more so with the lack of **support groups in schools**. The budget cuts in school programs that offer mentorship for disadvantaged students and the low expectations of Latina/o students from school personnel do not offset the social capital deficit experienced by young Latinas/os in the state of Washington. The failure of schools is evidenced by the high dropout rate among gang members. According to the Yakima Police Department, 85% of gang members drop out before the age of 16 and 65-70% of all the gang members in Yakima are Latinas/os.[49] In Yakima, over 80% of gang members have gone through the juvenile justice system, compared to over 95% in Walla Walla. Both Yakima (65-70%) and Walla Walla (98%) have a higher percentage of Latinas/os in gangs than the national level (49%).[50] This data shows that gang members are most likely to be Latinas/os, which implies that Latinas/os have a higher likelihood of being in the need for social capital. That is, the societal agents (poverty, family structure, etc) that result in a lack of social capital tend to push youth into gangs. Nevertheless, the high dropout rate for Latino students, the second highest in the state of Washington (10.2%), implies that schools may further contribute to the gang problem.[51] The interviews illustrate the current structural setting of schools and its influence in preventing gang membership among Latinas/os by offering social capital that keeps them in school.

Even though I was unable to gather statistical data to help assess the lack of social capital in Washington schools, the information I found from the interviews suggest that there is a basis for the need of school support groups and thus more research should be done. The interviews provide substantial support that school support groups do influence young Latinas/os' involvement in gangs. The school experiences of the two boys I interviewed were not very positive. The 12-year-old middle school student mentioned that often the negative attitude of teachers towards him caused him to be angry, thus leading him to retaliate with hostility.

> Every time you do something wrong she [teacher] just yells at you for no reason and she corrects you but in a mean way. I don't know, they [teachers] just pick at me. Like one time I was holding the door for everyone to get out and then I came and the teacher was like "where were you, you took a little long" or something like that and that made me mad, they give me attitude. I feel like sometimes teachers are picking on me.[52]

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[49] Sgt. Joe Salinas, Phone Interview, 3 November 2005.
[50] Sgt. Joe Salinas, Phone Interview, 3 November 2005, and Officer Saul Reyna, Personal Interview, 11 November 2005.
[51] Washington State Superintendent of Public Instruction, "Graduation and Dropout Statistics: For Washington's Counties, Districts, and School Year 2003-04," September 2005, 14.
[52] Appendix B: Interview Transcript.

The 16-year-old high school student who currently participates in the PAL program clearly stated during the interview that he was not part of a gang, but that he has friends who are. Nonetheless, he said "the feeling that I get is that they treat me like a gangster, that's the feeling I get, because my friends are in gangs."[53] When I asked who were "they," the names he mentioned were of the personnel from the school administration such as the vice-principal. Even though this high school student is not in a gang, it appears that the school is not helping him stay away from gangs by providing support and instead is pushing him towards gangs. In the interview with the 19-year-old college student, she mentioned how a teacher that supported her, defended her against the school administration whom saw her as a gangster with no potential.

> At the end of middle school, I was going to be placed in ESL classes and my English was as good as it is now. I was fluent. I had lived in the United States forever! And so these ladies [administration] in my middle school wanted to place me in ESL classes. They didn't like me [because I always got in trouble]. And my teacher talked with these people and made them give me test and I got into all honors classes in high school. So she [teacher] was looking out at the bright side even though I never showed a bright side.[54]

It is exactly because she was enrolled in honors classes in high school that she was able to slowly get away from the gang subculture. What would have happened if she had stayed in the ESL classes, as her middle school administration had recommended? We can only speculate, nonetheless the fact the majority of this young woman's gangster friends who did not have that one teacher that provided them with support, are now dead or in the juvenile justice system provides us with a pretty good prediction. Even though the administration failed to offer support and encouragement to the young Latina, the teacher that helped in her struggles shows the importance of schools in providing social capital.

As my conversation with the 19-year-old college student progressed, she repeatedly mentioned the teacher, whom she claims saved her "from being in prison right now or dead."[55] The personal story about her teacher further supports the significance of support systems in schools and its major role in the lives of students, especially those coming from disadvantaged backgrounds, which many Latinos in the state of Washington face.

> She [teacher] did the most important thing, which was… to believe in me. She would see me getting in fights or I would come to class with bloody fingers or whatever and she would joke about it like in a, in a way that made me see things differently… She would always, every time if I got in trouble she would go to the

[53]Anonymous, Phone Interview, 3 November 2005.
[54] Appendix A: Interview Transcript.
[55] Appendix A: Interview Transcript.

office and be there. Or if I ever got in fights, she wouldn't never be blaming like "oh, here you go again, I couldn't have expected any less.[56]

Also, looking back at a passage mentioned earlier, the benefit of social capital is that youth who are more "connected to adults whom they respect and admire are more likely to abide by adults' expectations and to consider the reactions of others when contemplating delinquent behavior."[57] Nonetheless, the information gathered in this study and these interviews demonstrates that because of the economic situation of Latinos, who are more likely to be in poverty due to their demand for cheap labor-racism, which in turn results in parents working in occupations that place constraints on their daily schedule, parents are unable to interact with their children as often as they should or would like to. This then leads to the need for additional or supplementary kinds of social capital. In order to fill that gap or need, the college student interviewee looked for her *homies* to support her. Nonetheless, the teacher's great effort provided the student with support and social capital. This in a sense replaced the role gangs played in the student's life.

Even though the teacher of the Latina student helped prevent the student from engaging seriously in a gang, it is also important to note that dependence on a teacher's fondness or personal interests to help a student is arbitrary and unreliable. People such as young Latinas/os in Washington State need institutional support to make the experience more generalizable for all the students. Nonetheless, the interviews suggest that that is not the case for the state of Washington. Mr. Gomsrud, a teacher at the alternative school, expressed concern over the Walla Walla School District's approach in their attempts to reduce the dropout rate in compliance with the federal No Child Left Behind Act of 2001: "they try to be more reactive than proactive; they look at the high school and not the elementary to take care of the dropout rate."[58] Mr. Gomsrud works with middle school students who have been referred by their public school to the middle school alternative program. The alternative middle school is supposed to help students get back on track and enter back into the regular public school system; however, it is common for the public schools to deny reentry of students who have been referred to the alternative program.[59] This has given the alternative school a negative stigma, making the alternative program seem like it is only for those students that the regular public school does not want to deal with. Mr. Gomsrud also mentioned that the level of education at the alternative middle school was not equivalent to that at the regular middle schools. He is the only teacher at the middle school and works with an average of ten students that are in different grade levels: according to Mr. Gomsrud, there is "not enough attention on the program, they try to put them under one umbrella."[60] For example, 12 and 15 years-old students are in the same classroom. Furthermore, some of these students will already have strong 'gangster' tendencies, yet these 'hardcore' kids are in the same classroom with other students that have not yet built those inclinations.

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[56] Appendix A: Interview Transcript
[57] Thomas L. McNulty (2003): 8
[58] Andrew Gomsrud, Personal Interview, 20 October 2005.
[59] Andrew Gomsrud, Personal Interview, 20 October 2005.
[60] Andrew Gomsrud, Personal Interview, 20 October 2005.

As previously mentioned, Winfree's study on predicting gang membership found that delinquent peers influence youth's predisposition to joining a gang.[61] This study implies that the Walla Walla School District help construct the surroundings for students to join gangs by not separating the students based on their needs and age and thus not providing the students with social capital. The majority of the students referred to the alternative program in Walla Walla are Latinas/os and a very small percentage of the students referred to the middle school alternative program graduate from high school.[62] Mr. Gomsrud also mentioned that many teachers have a pretty good sense of whether their students are not doing well yet the teachers are not doing much to prevent their failure. He often receives remarks from teachers to the effect of "oh yeah, I figured that he/she would end up in your program." Once again, this suggests that the lack of school support groups by not retaining students in school increases the student's likelihood of becoming a gang member.

Despite the low level of support from the Walla Walla School District for alternative schools, there are outside programs that provide assistance to students from disadvantaged backgrounds such as TRIO. TRIO are federally funded programs that were initiated as part of the civil rights movement in the 1960s to combat poverty and to offer equal access to education.[63] Educational Talent Search (ETS) is one of the TRIO programs that encourage students from low-socioeconomic backgrounds to pursue higher education. ETS is currently present both in the Walla Walla Community College and Walla Walla High School (WaHi); nevertheless, TRIO programs have been experiencing budget cuts which limits the amount of help they can offer.[64] The need for funding programs was also a concern for the Walla Walla police officers. During the interview with them (as in the rest of this investigation) the lack of supervision repeatedly came up as one the factors contributing to gang membership. As earlier established in this report, this lack of parental interaction amongst Latinas/os originates from various societal issues (such as poverty, low-wage employment, etc.) which inhibit the parent from granting/providing social capital to their children. Sergeant Randy Allessio from Walla Walla acknowledges that the Walla Walla community in general is not providing the social capital many Latina/o students need; "we are not filling in the gap, our schools don't have the resources and there's no money, no one has no money to do that."[65]

As stated earlier, the little funding TRIO has does constraint the number of students they can serve. The staff member of the ETS program I interviewed who works mainly at WaHi spoke highly of the program but mentioned that at times she felt that there was little cooperation from the school members. According to the ETS counselor some teachers are opposed to the ETS program because they claim it only offers counseling to low-income students. Furthermore, since the ETS program does provide counseling, there have been incidents of miscommunication on the part of the school-

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[61] Winfree, Frances, and Esbensen, 113.
[62] Andrew Gomsrud, Personal Interview, 20 October 2005.
[63] Office of Postsecondary Education, "History of the Federal TRIO Programs," U.S. Department of Education, <http://www.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ope/trio/triohistory.html>. (15 November 2005).
[64] ETS counselor, Personal Interview, 24 October 2005
[65] Sgt. Randy Allessio, Personal Interview, 11 November 2005.

counseling center. For example, every year the Preliminary SATs (PSATs) are offered at the high schools to help students prepare for the SATs. The PSATs are open to all students but usually students take the exam during their sophomore year so that they can take the SATs during their junior and senior year. The ETS counselor at WaHi during the interview mentioned that she had sent out emails and made flyers advertising the PSATs to her ETS sophomore students but that one of the WaHi counselors became irritated. According to the ETS counselor, the WaHi counselor claimed that the PSATS were supposed to be only for juniors and that by encouraging sophomores to take the exam that would overcrowd the cafeteria.[66] Despite the good intentions of the ETS counselor, misinterpretation or simply resistance from the school counselor can be attributed to the lack of teamwork in providing educational opportunities for students. This indicates that in order for educational outreach programs to be successful in providing social capital to students, the commitment and support of the school needs to present.

Conclusion

The quantitative data and interviews emphasize the large portion of young Latinas/os in poverty and single parent families. These social agents allow for the Latino youth to easily become part of a gang because they search for that social capital that they do not have at home. The interview material strongly suggests that support groups in schools (mentoring, educational programs, etc.) help prevent Latino youth delinquency since these support groups can replace that nourishment gangs provide to young disadvantage Latinas/os. Now, the best way to tackle the overrepresentation of Latino youth in detention centers is for the government to take a multilateral approach by funding employment-training programs that will help low-income parents and promoting support systems for young Latinas/os in the state of Washington.

Access to employment training programs, which would improve low-income parents' education skills, would help increase parents' employment opportunities. Such opportunities imply higher wages and better work conditions. So not only would the parent be able to economically assist their family but they would also have more time available to spend with their children, and thus have social control to help prevent their children from joining gangs.

In addition with the state government helping low-income parents provide social capital to their children at home, the state government should also provide valuable institutionalized support groups in schools to help with the different social aspects that young Latinas/os face, as we have seen. Creating strong support groups in schools is another tangible way to undertake the complexity of poverty and the dynamics of family structure. As Mr. Gomsrud said, "schools need support systems that find these kids before they fail."[67] My interview with the college student also pointed out that it is imperative that there exists institutionalized support in the schools to ensure that all students receive social capital. A manageable way to achieve this is for the federal

[66] ETS counselor, Personal Interview, 24 October 2005.
[67] Andrew Gomsrud, Personal Interview, 20 October 2005.

government to help fund educational outreach programs such as TRIO, which assist low-socioeconomic students. The school districts, however, should have a serious commitment in providing social capital to their students, especially those that need it the most. Moreover, the local police departments and community members should also become involved in offering social capital. Police department should apply for grants to help fund programs such as the PAL program. The PAL program in Yakima has been successful in offering activities, which inhibit gang involvement. As for community members, they should volunteer at teen centers such as at the PAL program and if there are no youth outlets in their communities, community members should advocate for one to their city council members. If the federal and state government, the school board, the police department, and community members work closely together, this will help curb gang membership not just amongst Latinas/os but youth in general. In providing such support we will not only deter Latino youth from gang activity but also prepare youth to become successful people in our communities. Also, at the same time we will reduce the likelihood of young Latinas/os becoming criminals. In implementing these support groups, the participation of the Latino youth needs to be considered. This will allow for young Latinas/os to express their feelings, thoughts, and experiences thus the school will be able to create a support group appropriate to the students' needs. Finally, allowing young Latinas/os to help create the support group offers them a position of visibility in the public sphere. In doing so, these Latino students will feel empowered to continue to better the situation of their communities. It is when the government establishes a relationship with the Latino community to help achieve equality that we are able to see noteworthy results.

Appendix A: Interview Transcript

Interview 10/12/05 6:40pm
Walla Walla, Wa
Interviewee: Latina student from Yakima

College Student: During my recess or my whatever break, they [my gangster friends] would come over to meet me.

Interviewer: You went to an upscale school with few Latinos, so how did you meet them?

College Student: From elementary school, so in fifth grade all my friends, you know like you are suppose to choose your middle school. My friends either went to Washington, Franklin middle school or Lewis and Clark. So all them went there and I was the only one going to the discovery lab school because it was one block from my house

Interviewer: So were you and your friends into the gang scene before middle school?

College Student: No we weren't but they [my friends] had older brothers and cousins that were involved in gangs. So my friends weren't really into gangs at the time. But my cousins were and their cousins and like their peers were. So that's how we started, whenever they started a fight or whatever we were always there and at the end there was like, okay, if you gonna be there and you get your ass kicked we are not going to back you up unless you join the gang

So its kind of when your friends are in a gang you hang out with them, if somebody hates Your friend, then they hate you because you are their friend. So in order to defend you, you have to be in a gang

I was about to join a couple of times but it things never worked out. But officially, I remember one time, like I told you the time I was caught stealing, [so because of that I didn't get to make it to the initiation]

Interviewer: When you were stealing things or doing these mischievous things, what was going through your head?

College Student: I remember once when my mom would go grocery shopping. My mom would be down an aisle buying her things and I would go to the school supply section and steal pencils not because I needed them but just because. I don't know just because you have nothing else to do I guess…

Interviewer: When did you start getting into fights and things like that?

College Student: It was like sixth grade.

Interviewer: Why do you think that you ended up being like that?

College Student: I grew up in California and most of my cousins were selling drugs or into gangs. So that's what I looked up to. My brother, the only one that was a goody boy. I didn't get along with my brother so I didn't' want to be like him. What I wanted to be was just a reflection of my cousins. So moving up here [Washington], and not having them here, I had cousins but they were all younger and the ones that were older they didn't let me hang out with them or else they would get in trouble with my dad. So I didn't have that anymore, so I started taking the initiative in sixth grade.

Interviewer: What about your friends?

College Student: For each of my friends it's a different case; most of my friends had a harsher life compared to mine. I really don't have an excuse to the things I was doing. Like some of my friends, I remember one of my girlfriends was raped. She would come to school crying because her *padastro*, her step dad raped her. Every time she would come to school and get in fights she would get her anger out, like by fights and getting even with other people. My friends didn't have their parents. I didn't have my parents there but because they worked. But my friends didn't have their parents there because they were either in Mexico or they were dead or they were like living with their brothers and sisters. And the brothers and sisters didn't treat them well.

Interviewer: Where are your friends now?

College Student: I actually saw [one of my old friends] this weekend, he was almost killed my freshman year [of high school]. He got in a fight. He was in a gang. We grew up, in middle school we would always hang out. And my freshman year when I was at Davis, he got in a fight and they found him dead, they left him there and the other gang thought he was dead so they left him there. They hit the side of his head with a brick so many times people thought he was dead. And now I just saw him.

Most of my friends are either dead or in juvy.

Interviewer: Why do you think you are here[college] and they[friends] are not?

College Student: I seriously think it's because of the people I met along the way. I remember, looking back at middle school, my parents were never there. Well, my parents were there but they were always working. She [mom] would come home around 6, my mom would be cooking, getting ready for the next day and go to bed because she was tired. That's the only time I saw her, and then I would get screamed at because they would get messages on the answering machine [from school]. She would scream at me, that is all I saw of her. My parents would get mad at me, my brother was always the goody good and I was always compared to him. So my parents were never really there

you know. They were only there to beat my ass or to scream. Going to middle school, I met my teacher, she was not really like, you know people always talk about the role model that helped them, that helped them financially or that person will do things for them. She never did things like that for me but she did the most important thing, which was… to believe in me. She would see me getting in fights or I would come to class with bloody fingers or whatever and she would joke about it like in a, in a way that made me see things differently.

Once she asked me what I wanted to be when I grew up and I just said a dentist to shut her up and because I had heard my brother say that, so I just said that. But then she asked me "how do you plan to be a dentists with no fingers?" or she say, "I don't want you checking my kid's teeth with those fingers." So that would make me think, she made me think of things I had never really thought of but then you start thinking about them. She would always, every time if I got in trouble she would go to the office and be there. Or if I ever got in fights, she wouldn't never be blaming like "oh, here you go again, I couldn't have expected any less." You know. She would always tell me "how long are you going to continue this?" or like I would take tests, I would flunk them, I didn't even try and she would be like I know you can do better than this. She would always just be there, supporting me.

At the end of middle school, I was going to be placed in ESL classes and my English was as good as it is now. I was fluent. I had lived in the United States forever! And so that these ladies [administration] in my middle school wanted to place me in ESL classes. They didn't like me. And my teacher talked with these people and made them give me test and I got into all honors classes in high school. So she [teacher] was looking out at the bright side even though I never showed a bright side. She was always trying to look for it. Like always engaging me in sports, or activities, asking oh doesn't this sport look like fun and things like that. I don't know why she did that.

I see her as the person who saved me from being in prison right now or dead.

Interviewer: So in sixth grade is when you got into gangs and in eighth grade is when they were trying to place you in ESL classes?

College Student: In eighth grade, that's when you know you are going into high school, that's when they start assigning you the classes. So they wanted me to have full ESL, and after passing the exam I went to honors. Even my principal, I was always in the office, they all hated me. They hated my guts. But Miss Rockwell, when she would come to the office, she would always fight for me, she would always defend me. So my principal hated Miss Rockwell just because of that. So when Mrs. Rockwell was trying to get me out of the ESL classes, she would say let her take exams and she will pass. But they got in a fight. There was money involved, I don't know how exactly but there was money involved. The principal would tell Miss Rockwell, we cannot be spending money like this, she belongs in ESL. But miss Rockwell made it happen.

Interviewer: When you first found out that you were being placed in ESL classes even though you were knew English, what was your reaction?

College Student: I didn't even know what ESL was, so I was going to go to ESL classes.

Interviewer: So when did you start caring about school?

College Student: I think it was…I would say eighth grade year.

Interviewer: After you took the [placement] exams?

College Student: No. When they put me in the ESL classes, I was already caring. I didn't, I didn't know what was going on, what ESL was, but I was already at a point where, not really school, I just cared in general, I cared about life. Because Before I was just like whatever happens happens. You know like if something happens you go for it, and just you know just like all about the homies and stuff. That was my philosophy. But like in eighth grade I started to caring about life in general, not just school, but everything. Like my family. I just started caring.

Interviewer: Why did you start caring?

College Student: That's when, my eighth grade year my cousins back home [California] were having, my cousins where I grew up, two of them got killed because of gangs and stuff. And up here my friend he got killed. When my brother was graduating, like, a lot things happened, a lot things happened and then during those time I started to go to *retiros* and I started to care. Well I had gone to *retiros* but I would just sit there and chill. But during that time a whole bunch of things happened. The people who I cared were no longer there, the people who would back me there would no longer there.

Interviewer: So the people that would back you up' you mean your homies?

College Student: Yeah, homies.

Interviewer: Where were they?

College Student: One of my good friends from here died, during that year, because, I was kind of one of the reasons that he got killed. The day after I got in a fight, he got killed. That was just like, I don't know, an eye opener. I don't even know but it's a very long story. But I was part of why he was killed or at least I felt that it that way. That's why I was just, I don't know.

Interviewer: Do you think that the reason you made [to college] it and your friends didn't is because you were smarter or your personal attributes?

College Student: Oh no. I have a lot of friends that could have fit this college campus way better than I. They were way smarter than I.

Interviewer: So what kept them from realizing that?

College Student: Different paths… they never got the 'you can do it' or the 'you can step out of it', that there's more. All I think is just, I think you just need someone to believe in you that you can do it even if you don't believe it yourself. Someone to show you that there is more to life than just getting married and having kids, that there's more. When you come from underprivileged homes, you are expected not to succeed; they are expected to just do whatever. I remember when I was in middle school, me and my friends we never thought about college. I mean thinking about that that was just for white people. If we graduated from middle school, that was our big party. Our accomplishment. Going to high school, oh my gosh you are honor roll! Graduating from high school, nobody does that, nobody does that? So I mean graduating from high school was like, will I be alive to graduate from high school. That was my, when I was growing up, I remember asking myself that when my brother graduated from high school, will I ever be alive to graduate from high school? That was my, like I wish I was alive to graduate. That was my goal in middle school. And I know a lot of my friends that was on their goal list. Does that make sense?

Appendix B: Interview Transcript

Interview 10/18/05 5:30pm
Walla Walla, Wa
Interviewee: Latino middle school student from Walla Walla

Interviewer: When did your mom go visit you at the juvenile detention center the day that you fainted?

Middle school boy student: I don't know, I don't remember, we don't have clocks, they don't tell us.

Interviewer: (in Spanish asks mother) the day that he fainted that's the day you visited him?

Mother of student: After I went to go visit him, he was telling me 'I fainted," but he doesn't remember what day he had fainted, if it was a day before he got arrested or a day after. He doesn't remember.

Interviewer: Why don't you remember?

Student: I don't know, they [detention center] don't have clocks.

Mother: He was sleeping so he thought that a day had passed. They [detention officers] didn't think he had truthfully fainted. Because many kids will do that, they will hold their breath or do little tricks, so they thought he had done the samething. Nobody called me to tell me, they took him to the doctor after I asked them [detention officers] about it the evening that I went.

Interviewer: Did they take you to the doctor? What did they do there?

Student: They said that I was fine. They asked me if I had drank water, and I said no. And they asked me what I was doing, I told them I was just exercising in the morning. They said next time it happens they will put a monitor inside me to see what my heart is doing.

Mother: If I had not gone to visit my son, I would have not found out that he had fainted in the juvenile detention center. They didn't call me and they knew about it. I had asked a friend to call [the detention center] that day and when she called she asked for my son and they said "oh yeah the kid that fainted," so they knew but they didn't tell me.

Interviewer: Who did you talk to about this after you found out he had fainted?

Mother: (asks son) What's the name of the guy?

Student: Oh, Manny, he gives the food out, he is staff.

Mother: He [Manny] said he didn't know because he wasn't there.

Interviewer: What do you do with your friends when you are hanging out?

Student: we just get together and break windows

Interviewer: Are any of your friend involved in gangs?

Student: I don't know
Interviewer: What gangs are here in Walla Walla, what are they called?

Student: 13th and 18th

Interviewer: is 13th and 18th the street that they live on?

Student: no, is what they claim.

Interviewer: They street that they claim?

Student: No, is what they claim, like the gang.

Mother(talking to the student): but do you know why that happened back in those times, is because the kids would see how people killed their parents, so the kids wanted to get revenge of all the things they had done to their parents and that's where the gangs began. But what I don't understand is why you [student] and or why your brother are in gangs, if nobody has killed or harmed your family. Why do you have to take it out on other people?

Student: Ana's dad.

Mother: I don't understand why kids want to do harm.

Student: why do you think, why do you think [speaking to the mother], because what he did to us?

Mother: because he would put you in the corner when you behaved badly??

Interviewer: Why are you involved in gangs and your sister is not?

Student: girls don't do that kind off stuff, they just don't.

Interviewer: so it's okay for you to do and not for them?

Student: I guess, I don't know

Interviewer: What about school, how are your teachers?

Student: My first period teacher is nice, he lets us eat in his classroom and we don't have to ask to go to the bathroom…my second class teacher, every time you do something wrong she just yells at you for no reason and she corrects you but in a mean way.

I don't know, they [teachers] just pick at me. Like one time I was holding the door for everyone to get out and then I came and the teacher was like "where were you, you took a little long" or something like that and that made me mad, they give me attitude. I feel like sometimes teachers are picking on me.

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ilfTHE EXPERIENCE OF LATINO ADULT LEARNERS IN THE STATE OF WASHINGTON

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November 18, 2005

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I. INTRODUCTION…….3

II. A LITERARY DISCUSSION……...5

III. METHODS…….8

IV. DATA ON THE STATE OF ADULT EDUCATION……...10

V. CASE STUDY……..20

VI. CLASSROOM INTERVIEW…….21

VII. TYING IT ALL TOGETHER……....24

VIII. RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS…….25

IX. APPENDIX A……...27

X. APPENDIX B……...28

XI. APPENDIX C……...31

XII. APPENDIX D……...32

XIII. APPENDIX E……...34

XIV. BIBLIOGRAPHY……36

I. INTRODUCTION

The Latino population is the largest minority group in the state of Washington and their numbers are expected to continue to grow. With their ever increasing presence it is necessary to examine their experience in American society, specifically with the educational system. In a nation where the workforce is becoming more and more competitive, education, specifically adult literacy, is vital. Unfortunately, Latinos are falling out of the educational pipeline. Daniel Solorzano, in his article published in the *Journal of Hispanic Higher Education*, finds that Chicanos/as are at an economic and educational disadvantage compared to Whites and, in many cases, compared to other minority groups. The response of the state and educational scholars has been to improve the quality of education for Latino children in hopes of closing the gaps of inequality for future generations. While this is a central and necessary approach, adult education is also a vital component for improving child education and achieving equality for Latinos/as.

The focus of the following research is on Latino adult education at community and technical colleges in Washington State. Educational scholars perceive community and technical colleges as being the institutional space for meeting the specific needs that Latino adult learners have. I will examine how exactly community colleges serve Latino adult learners and what kinds of improvements are needed to provide higher quality of education for Latinos/as. The questions being addressed are: What are the challenges faced by adult learners? What type of support by the community college is available to the students? What type of support is provided by the state? How well is this support communicated to the students so they are informed? Are adult education programs adequately meeting the needs of Latino/a adults? What needs to change in order for the quality of education to improve for Latino adult learners at community and technical colleges?

In seeking out the answers to these questions I researched the national and state data on the condition of adult education through the Washington State databases on Community and Technical Colleges and the Office of Adult Literacy. I also referred to sources like the Pew Hispanic Center and the Literacy Information and Communication System. My research was then narrowed in on the Walla Walla Community College (WWCC) as a case study. I was assisted to a great degree by my community partners: Dr. Victor Chacon, Director of Multicultural Studies at WWCC and Cynthia Suede, a representative of Washington State University with an office at WWCC. With their direction I connected with ESL instructors, Adult Basic Education Instructors, Transitional Learning administrators, and Latino Student advisors at WWCC. I was also able to interview students in Dr. Chacon's Basic Job Skills class in the Transitional Department.

In my research I found that Latinos in adult education are still lacking adequate school and governmental support necessary for them to access and thrive in their local community colleges. Thus, it is my recommendation that changes in institutional and customary practices be made. On the state level there is a need for an increase of funding that will remedy the economic disadvantage of Latinos. The state should also refrain from taking a color-blind approach to the study of adult learner progress and to the consideration of policies for improving adult education programs. At the community college level affirmative action should be taken to create a bicultural and bilingual learning environment for Latino adult learners in the classroom as well

as in the student services offices. Community colleges should also keep track of the progress of Latino adult learners and address the barriers that prevent them from succeeding. In doing so, Latinos adult learners will be more supported and accepted by all members of the institution and they will be able to reach their highest potential.

II. A LITERATURE DISCUSSION

Latino adult education is more than teaching an older group of college students. Adult education instructors have to teach people who did not have proper literacy or job skills earlier in their lives. In a sense, adult education instructors are conducting the patchwork in the educational pipeline; however, the job is not easy for the teacher or the student. Latino adult learners face the challenge of "race-neutral' laws and institutional structures, practices, and policies [that] perpetuate racial/ethnic educational inequality."[1] Policymakers and educational leaders ignore the reality that Latinos are systematically discriminated against in the workforce and in the educational system. Thus, a color-blind approach to education for Latinos is problematic because it fails to address the racism that exists. Solorzano explains that it is important to view "policies and policy making within a proper historical and cultural context" in order to "deconstruct their racialized content."[2] What may seem to be color-blind policies may prove to be discriminatory against minority groups who have historically been oppressed. Even though there have been minority movements to address the inequality of between whites and minorities but there is still evidence of "ethnic differences in earnings and employment." Much of the disparity in the workforce is the result of the "differences in cognitive skills" among racial groups.[3] Thus, it is imperative that Latinos are receiving the kind of education that will improve their cognitive skills and allow them to be better prepared for the modern market.

In a report published several years ago in the *Harvard Educational Review*, researchers determined that social origins determine the school experience of Latinos, which in turn effects employment and earnings.[4] Social origin is defined as "social class, gender, and ethnic, cultural, or linguistic background."[5]The social origin of Latinos in the United States causes them to experience the discrimination and marginalization that stem from a history of institutional and customary racism in this country. As a result, their educational attainment and literacy levels are less than equitable to whites.

According to the report in the *Harvard Educational Review*, educational inequality has commonly been addressed by the quantitative measurement of educational gaps between minority groups and whites, however, improvement should not just be based on quantity such as the years of school attended and the number of Latinos who have obtained degrees. Instead, more emphasis should be placed on the quality of education Latino adult learners receive. The report points out how Latino adult learners are often encouraged to "preference" occupations that do not have the best job security or earnings. The logic is that adult learners find these programs more suitable to their literacy skills and employment backgrounds but the common options are jobs that limit the mobility of Latino adults in the workforce and in society in general. The occupational selection available to adult learners should be expanded so Latinos are not concentrated in specific vocations. Simply having a list of vocations available in the course catalog is not enough to ensure that Latino adult learners are aware of their options and are given

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[1] Solorzano, 274.
[2] Solorzano, 274.
[3] Raudenbush, Stephen W and Rafa M. Kasim. "Cognitive Skill and Economic Inequality: Findings from the National Adult Literacy Survey." *Harvard Educational Review* (1998): 33.
[4] Raudenbush, 33.
[5] Raudenbush, 33.

encouragement and guidance toward a greater variety of jobs. The need to take affirmative action is essential because "disadvantaged groups are systematically denied access to better jobs via occupational, industrial, and residential segregation"[6]

The social origin of Latinos in the United States determines their accessibility to education. If Latinos come from low-wage jobs they do not have access to resources to ensure their educational advancement. Lucia Buttaro discusses the obstacles for adult Latinos in her study of 8 adult Hispanic females who immigrated to the United States in 2002. She determines that the "most frequently cited [barriers in obtaining education for] adults are lack of time and cost."[7] Highlighting the ESL program, Buttaro also found that "being in mixed-level classes, fear of speaking, fear of ridicule, lack of child care, difficult classes, and programs that did not offer flexible scheduling and thus were too demanding" discouraged the Latina women from participating.[8] What makes it possible for some Latina females to succeed in ESL programs are the "emotional support and positive encouragement from the […] program," having an "English-language environment," the impact of their culture on their study habits, and "having their teacher's understanding in times of academic difficulty."[9]

In most cases Latino adult learners have the task of learning a second language while improving their literacy skills and/or completing their vocational programs, therefore, they need learning environments that will help them engage in English.. This is ideally the reason for bilingual programs. Buttaro concludes that to create a learning environment for illiterate adults with English as a second language "programs must acknowledge the existing cultural-linguistic capital possessed by adult Hispanic women."[10] The culture that Latino adult learners have should be used as an asset and a resource in the classroom. Buttaro also states, "more emphasis should be placed on pursuing community-based literacy programs serving immigrant families that are dedicated to their children and their personal growth."[11] It is more adequate to give "attention to the cultural and social knowledge needs of families" and not just base understanding of literacy needs on "isolated assessments of basic reading and writing skills in English or in Spanish.[12]" The teaching curriculum of Latino adult learners should be adjusted according to their cultural, linguistic, and social background. This can be done by "[building] on the experiences and languages of the learners, inviting them to discuss their experiences" in the classroom.[13]

One cultural asset Latino adult learners have is their dedication to their children. In Menard-Warwick's article on the narratives of two English learners, she tells how a Latina woman started taking ESL classes when she realized "both the possibility and the necessity of pursuing English classes."[14] The woman states:

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[6] Raudenbush, 36
[7] Lucia Buttaro. "Second-language Acquisition, Culture Shock, and Language Stress of Adult Female Latina Students in New York." *Journal of Hispanic Higher Education* (Jan 2004): 22. 3: 21-49.
[8] Buttaro, 31-2.
[9] Buttaro, 32-3.
[10] Buttaro, 36.
[11] Buttaro, 36.
[12] Buttaro, 36.
[13] Buttaro, 36.
[14] Menard-Warwick, Julia. "I Always Had the Desire to Progress a Little': Gendered Narratives of Immigrant Language Learners." *Journal of Language, Identity, and Education* (2004): 304.

> My son was asking me a lot of words in English and I didn't know what to tell him…[…] And so now I began to think of them…that maybe if I begin [to learn English], like to show them a little…that I want to get ahead, so that they also see that I am making a little more effort.[15]

Parents are important agents in their children's education. They help them with their homework, become actively involved in school activities, and read to their children at a very young age. All these efforts are encouraged by educational scholars because they find that parents are the first teachers in their children's life. Thus, the literacy of Latino adults is fundamental to the literacy of their children. In an article in the Journal of Adolescent and Adult Literacy, researches convey that the reason parents do not read to their children is because they lack the necessary literacy skills in their first language or in English. Researchers also point to the economically disadvantaged status of Latino parents as a factor in whether they read to their children or not because being economically disadvantaged means there is more hours on the job, little benefits, and thus minimal access to adult literacy programs. Thus, illiterate Latino adults are at a disadvantage when it comes to ensuring their children are literate because they themselves are not equipped to offer proper support for their children.

With economic disadvantage being the primary reason Latino adults are unable to improve their literacy, economic support from the state crucial. State support in financial aid to students and to adult education programs at community & technical colleges is one of the primary focuses of this research. The second focus is the adequacy of support provided by the two-institutions. Illiterate Latino adults need flexible support due to the obstacles they are faced with. Two-year institutions need to accommodate for the likelihood that Latino adult learners will be working long hours at low-wage jobs in order to support their families. There is also a need for cultural support by the institutions in order for Latino adult learners to succeed. Finally, the third focus is on the adequacy of adult education programs in providing quality education. The economic status of Latino adult learners can only be improved by improving their literacy level. If the individual adult education programs are not adequately teaching Latino adult learners, then they fail to achieve their purpose and the economic and social inequality will persist.

[15] Menard-Warwick, 304.

III. METHODS

Community colleges are said to be the key to addressing the educational and economic inequality for Latinos because they provide accessibility. However, although access to community college has relatively improved for Latinos in Washington, the basic skills rate and the rate of students completing adult education programs is still below whites. Thus, the focus of this research is to analyze the accessibility and success of adult education programs. Community colleges are the main institutions that provide adult education programs, especially for the Latino population, so the support provided by two-year institutions is a key issue. From an assessment of the published reports of the Washington Community and Technical Colleges, the conclusion is that Latino adult learners are not receiving adequate support. The factors contributing to the Latino experience with adult education are the lack of financial aid, inadequate program structures, and the lack of school and home support.

The quantitative data for adult education and literacy status in Washington was acquired through the publicly published reports and research results found on the Washington State Board for Community and Technical Colleges (WSBCTC) online database. Other data was gathered from the research and scholarly reports published by the Pew Hispanic Center, Seattle Jobs Initiative, Washington State Office of Adult Literacy, National Institute for Literacy, Literacy Information and Communication System (LINCS), and scholarly articles.

The primary source I used was the WSBCTC because it provided annual progress reports and data specific for Washington community and technical colleges so that I was able to assess the data according to the three major objectives of community colleges: "to prepare students for academic transfer, to provide workforce preparation, and to provide adult basic skills and literacy education." The data was analyzed by determining how well the community and technical colleges in Washington State were reaching their objectives and how these three objectives work for the Latino population. Thus, my information is narrowed in on community colleges, specifically on Walla Walla Community College. However, the sources had a few limitations because they provided only limited statistical information for WWCC. Also, some sources did not highlight the Latino population or did not provide demographical information. None of the sources provided gender demographics.

During my research I searched for three main adult literacy data categories: Adult Basic Education (ABE), General Education Degree (GED), and English as a Second Language (ESL). The three categories were chosen in order to evaluate the three specific objectives for community colleges. The Adult Basic Education program deals with the basic literacy of Latino adults. The GED program works with students in meeting the requirements necessary to pass the GED testing. English as a Second Language helps with the English language skills needed to succeed in both educational programs and in the workplace.

I relied upon my community partners to assist me in finding potential interviewees. They provided a few options but the interviews provided in this report was made possible by Victor Chacon, Director of Multicultural Services at Walla Walla Community College. He teaches a class on Basic Job Skills. He allowed for four of the students in his students to be individually interviewed by me during his afternoon class period. I have transcribed one of those interviews.

A couple students took the option of not being recorded because they were shy about their Englishh speaking skills while the rest of the persons interviewed were not recorded due to technical difficulties. The classroom interview that was recorded and transcribed for this report took place in another afternoon class period with the same students. In this classroom interview questions were asked to an entire class and members of the class provided responses.

The students in this adult education class were chosen because their experience reflects the challenges of Latino adult learners in many respects. First of all, the majority of them were laid off from the Simplot food processing plant. Many Latino adults work in the food processing industry and find themselves enrolling at the local community college because they lose their job or they just simply want a better one. Secondly, the students in this class are under the Worker Retraining program. Their struggle is often overlooked because while the program is helping them learn new job skills in order to re-enter the regional job market, they leave the program with meager literacy skills, only improving slightly from when they began. Finally, these students are in multiple literacy programs which include any combination of adult basic education, ESL, GED, and technical training. Their experiences allow me to have a more comprehensive insight into the various adult education programs available for Latinos.

The two interviews was conducted at Walla Walla Community College in Walla Walla, Washington during. The classroom interview was in both Spanish and English. I asked questions in English and Dr. Chacon repeated them in Spanish when necessary. When some of the students responded in Spanish, Dr. Chacon translated what they were saying. The classroom interview was taped by having each student speak into the recorder when they wanted to speak.

IV. DATA ON THE STATE OF LATINOS AND ADULT EDUCATION

The State of Washington is experiencing a growing population of Latinos/as, largely due to the high immigrant and refugee settlement with which the United States is currently faced. According to the Pew Hispanic Center, Washington has the fifth largest number of refugee and immigrant settlement and the it is the state with the second highest number of secondary settlements. The Hispanic population has now grown to 7.5% becoming the largest minority population in the state.[16] Consequently, Adult Education is now in high demand as many immigrants and refugees lack the skills necessary to compete in a high-demanding workforce.

Literacy on a National Scale

According to the National Institute for Literacy, immigrants in the United States have lower literacy and educational attainment than the native-born population. Of the foreign-born population, 33% were not high school graduates compared to 13.4% of the native population. Only 25% of the foreign-born population were high school graduates while 34.3% of the native population were. In a 1992 survey:

- The United States ranked 16th out of 17 countries with having an average composite literacy score of Level 1 for foreign-born adults
- The United States ranked 10th out of 17th with having an average composite literacy score of Level 3 for native-born adult.

When comparing the literacy rankings for the foreign-born and native-born adults in the U.S. it is evident that the United States needs to improve the literacy skills of its foreign-born population. The majority of the foreign-born population comes from South America, Central America, and Mexico. For the majority of foreign-born adults between the ages of 18 and 64, the primary language is Spanish.[17]

Literacy on the State Level

To bring it home to the State of Washington we find that statistics shows 35% of adults have low literacy skills.[18] Only one in three adults has a high school diploma or less. Washington Administered the State Adult Literacy Survey that estimated 200,000 to 500,000 adults 16 years of age or older were deficient in the basic skills need for their roles as parents, workers, and citizens.[19] In result, 15% of all state support instruction is provided in basic skills. Latinos are the largest minority group in basic skills.[20]

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[16] "State & County Quick Facts: Washington." *U.S. Census* Bureau, 2000. <http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/53000.html> (24 October, 2005).

[17] "National Institute for Literacy: English as a Second Language Literacy." *International Adult Literacy Survey* (2002). http://www.nifl.gov/lincs/ facts_statistics/facts_statistics.html> (27 October, 2005).

[18] Case, Annette. "Beyond the Bottom Line: Expanding Economic Opportunities for Washington's Working Families." *Seattle Jobs Initiative* (October 2004): 13.

[19] "Enrollments, Student Characteristics, Progress and Success for Basic Skills Students in State Support Instruction in Community and Technical Colleges." *Washington State Board for Community and Technical Colleges: Research Report No. 01-2* (November 2001): 2.

[20] Case, 3.

Access to Education for Latino Adults

Community and technical colleges are seen as the answer to improving the literacy skills of adults in Washington. Seventy-five percent of the total increase in college enrollment in the state took place at two-year colleges.[21] A number of the students are enrolled in Adult Basic Education, English as a Second Language and GED courses. The median ages for students in ESL, ABE and GED are 33, 27, and 23 respectively. The median age for students in all adult education programs is 29.[22] According to the Pew Hispanic Center, Latinos who are enrolled in community colleges "attend college part-time, commute to college, work, are first-generation college students, are low-income, [and] have less academic preparation than their peers." These are all factors that prevent Latino adults from enrolling in adult education even when community colleges have an open door policy. They are also reason Latinos struggle to complete and succeed in the programs they are able to enroll in.

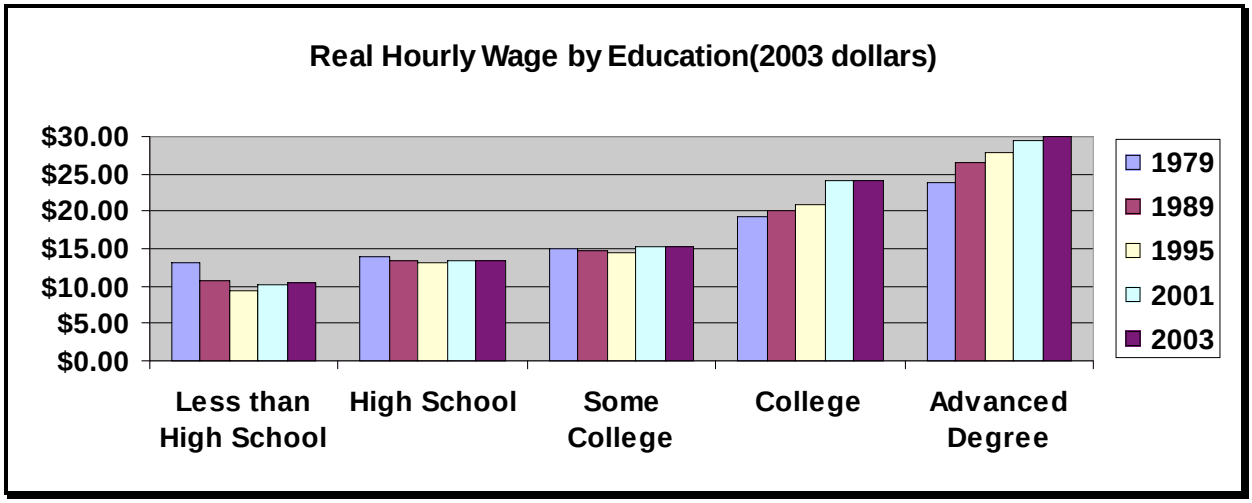
There are 34 community and technical colleges in the state of Washington. The relative state tuition for these state institutions is $2,142. The average full-time enrollment cost for tuition plus books, transportation, room and board is$12,000 a year. Many times access to education is limited for Latino adults enrolled in basic skills programs because 2/3 of them earn an income below the poverty line.[23] They do not have the economic means for education be an option. Most times they do not even qualify for financial aid that is available to cover the tuition cost and other expenses because they are not full-time students. The majority of adults in basic skills cannot afford to attend full-time because they work in addition and have children. One in four community and technical college students works full-time. One in three is a parent and one in ten is a single parent.

The part-time status of adult learners is not the only requirement that keeps them from receiving aid. Even with programs that are suppose to be designed to provide financial assistance to adult learners there are requirements that limit the assistance. For example, WorkFirst is a program that provides assistance for parents who are 50% below the federal poverty level.[24] First of all, the poverty line is not an inadequate measure of the financial need of a family if low income families who are above the poverty line have to spend a third of their income on housing alone. With that big of a fraction of their income on housing there is not much left to pay for their education at a community college. The cost of living and providing for their family is just too high. If the poverty line is too low of a measure for the means of a family, how much more inadequate it is to require that adult learners be 50% below the poverty line in order to qualify for financial assistance when they realistically require assistance even when they are above the poverty line.

[21] Solorzano, 276.
[22] "Enrollments, Student Characteristics, Progress and Success for Basic Skills Students in State Support Instruction in Community Colleges," 2.
[23] "Enrollments, Student Characteristics, Progress and Success for Basic Skills Students in State Support Instruction in Community and Technical Colleges," 3.
[24] Case, 16.

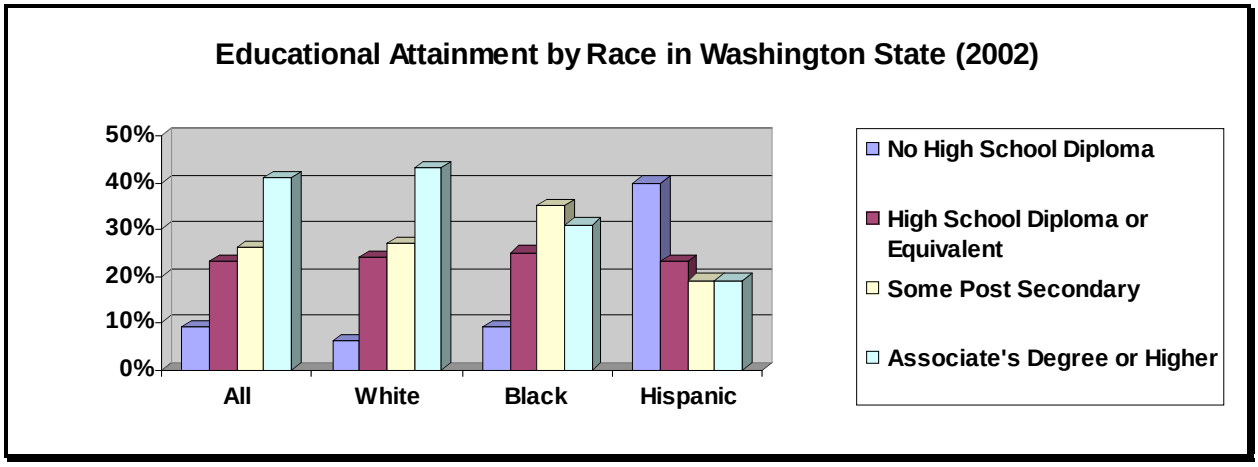
Educational Attainment and Economic Status

According to a report by Seattle Job Initiatives, "One in four working families in Washington State—about 170,000 families—does not earn enough to cover basic needs and lives below 200% of the federal poverty level"[25] About ¼ of these families (40,000) have jobs but still live below 100% of the poverty line. The federal poverty line for a family of four in 2002 is equal to an annual income of $18,392.[26] Having a low economic status is largely connected to having low educational attainment.



The more education attained the higher hourly wages will be. Unfortunately, not enough workers are receiving higher and adequate education. In a survey conducted by the Seattle Job Initiative, one in four Employers in the state of Washington cannot find qualified applications. As a result, "70 percent reduced their output, 69 percent lowered their overall productivity and 31 percent were prevented from expanding" because they did not find qualified applications.[27] A large fraction of the population lacking the education to be qualified applicants is Hispanic.

[25] Case, 2.
[26] Case, 2.
[27] Case,12.



Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2002 Supplemental Survey. For persons age 25-54.

Forty percent of the Hispanic population is lacking a high school diploma compared to 6% of Whites. Thus, Hispanic families are often below the poverty line or low-income families. As a result, Hispanics are more likely to work long and hard hours with little pay or benefits or live without certain privileges that families with higher incomes have. For instance, 33% of low-income families having a working parent without health coverage and 61% of low-income working families spend more than 1/3 of their income on housing.[28] With such economic constraints obtaining education is more difficult and sometimes even impossible to access, yet it is higher education that will improve the living conditions of Hispanic families. Educational scholars are, consequently, turning to community colleges to meet the needs of Hispanic families.

State Support for Latino Adult Learners

According to the Pew Hispanic Center report on Federal Policy and Latinos in Higher Education, the average tuition and fees have risen by about 15% for students at both public baccalaureate and community colleges in the 2003-2004 fiscal year.[29] The majority of students are paying for their education by receiving some form of federal financial aid, but data from the Department of Education reveals that "a decreasing portion of federal aid is distributed according to need" and "low-income students [are receiving] a declining share of grants for financial aid."[30] The combination ofhigher education costs and insufficient and limited availability of financial aid is discouraging Latinos students, who comes from low-income backgrounds, from pursuing higher education. The case is worse for Latino adult learners who sometimes cannot qualify for federal financial aid due to their part-time enrollment status and in some cases their legal immigration status.

[28] Case, 3.
[29] Santiago, Deborah A. and Sarita Brown. "Federal Policy and Latinos in Higher Education." *Pew Hispanic Center Study* (June 2004): 1.
[30] Deborah, 2.

State support for Latino students come in the form of institutional aid and development programs that are under the Higher Education Act (HEA). Support from the state under the HEA is also in the form of grant and loan programs accessible to individual students. There are no state programs that are specifically for Latino adult learners. In fact, Latinos receive the lowest average amount of state financial assistance compared to any other racial group.

Federal Financial Aid to Full-Time, Full-Year Undergraduate Students

Race/Ethnicity	Any Aid	Grants	Loans	Work Study
HIspanic	$5,335	$2,680	$4,926	$1,650
White, non-Hispanic	$6,261	$2,382	$4,781	$1,658
Black, non-Hispanic	$6,517	$2,669	$4,950	$1,598

Federal Financial Aid to Part-time or Part-Year Undergraduate Students

Race/Ethnicity	Any Aid	Grants	Loans	Work Study
HIspanic	$3,807	$1,717	$4,249	$1,816
White, non-Hispanic	$4,213	$1,498	$4,324	$1,556
Black, non-Hispanic	$3,983	$1,649	$4,510	$1,456

These two charts do not even give specifics about the amount of aid Latino adult learners at community colleges are receiving but these figures signify that in most cases Latino undergraduate students in general receive less student financial aid than other racial group on the average. Thus, it is fair to assume that Latino adult learners receive even less than other Hispanic students because they are more likely to be part-time students.

State Support: Worker Retraining

Washington Community and Technical Colleges are making an effort to meet the financial and circumstantial needs of Hispanic adult learners. In this effort, the state has initiated the Worker Retraining program. The program was established in 1993 with the purpose of assuring "jobless workers have immediate access to job retraining for a new career if they are not able to work in their current field. It also has built the capacity of colleges to provide training in higher-demand, higher-wage fields."[31] Although this is not a program for only Latinos, it does make this a popular option for them because the program deals with unemployed adults.

According to the most recent report, 80% of adult learners in the Worker Retraining program have been re-employed. Workers that have completed this program have obtained jobs that

[31] "Worker Retraining: Seventh Accountability Report for the Worker Retraining Program." *State of Washington: State Board for Community and Technical Colleges* (May 2003): i.

provide them 86% and 114% of the hourly wages they earned before entering the program.[32] Also, the report finds that a worker is 9% more likely to be employed with $2,080 more in annual earnings.[33]

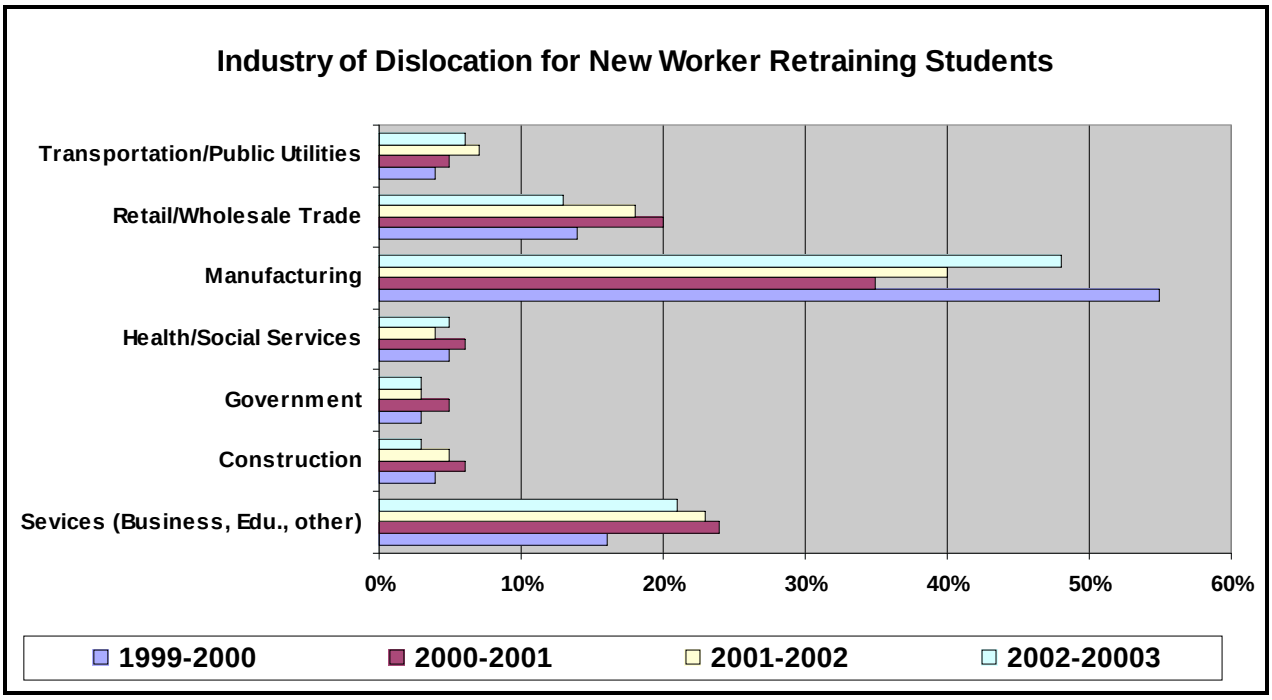
Employment, Wages, Recovery Rates and Job Retention of Program Participants Seven to Nine Months After Training[34]

	1998-1999	1999-2000	2000-2001
Number of Students Leaving Program	5,790	6.491	6,883
Number Employed	4,7222	5,321	5,477
Percent Employed	82%	82%	80%
Median Wage per House	$12.49	$13.15	$13.11
Median Estimated Annual Earnings	$22,869	$24,487	$23,182
Job Retention	88%	82%	Not available

By looking at the various measurements of success over a period of three years the program has proven to be making steady improvements, however, the only concern is that the data does not give any information about the Latino adult learner.

Hispanics adults are in the Worker Retraining program because they were laid off from their job after change in the economy of Washington state. As apparent in the following graph, the majority of the participants of the Worker Retraining program came from manufacturing jobs.[35] Studies have shown that large concentrations of the Latino population are employed in manufacturing firms. As is the case for a group of Latino adult learners at the Walla Walla Community College, the most popular manufacturing firms of which laid-off workers come from are apple and potato factories.

[32] "Worker Retraining: Seventh Accountability Report for the Worker Retraining Program," i.
[33] "Worker Retraining: Seventh Accountability Report for the Worker Retraining Program," ii.
[34] "Worker Retraining: Seventh Accountability Report for the Worker Retraining Program," 10.
[35] "Worker Retraining: Seventh Accountability Report for the Worker Retraining Program," ii.



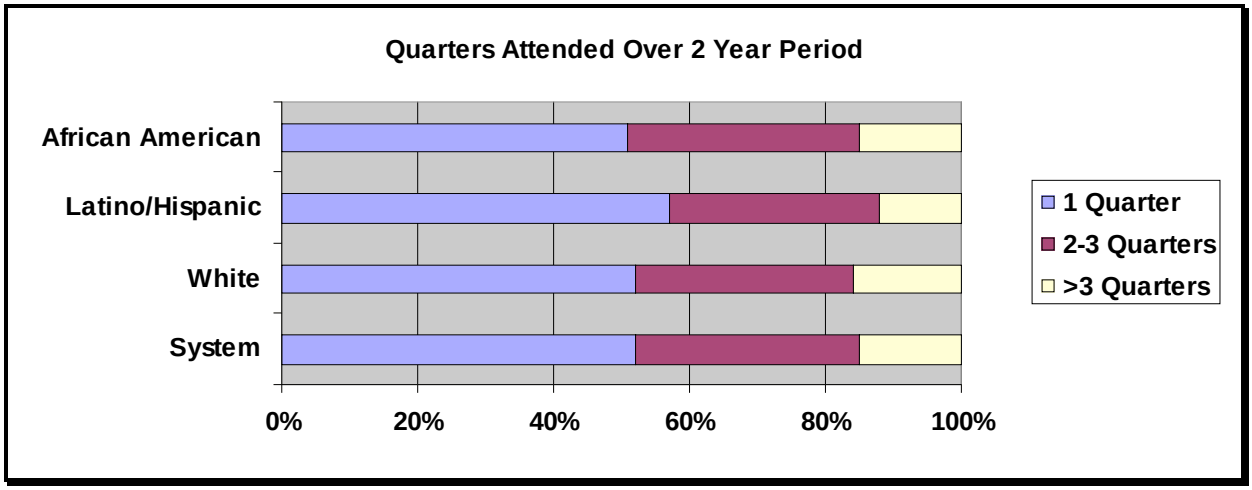
After completing the Worker Retraining program, Latino adult learners have re-entered the workforce in more technically demanding industries. Information technology has been the largest higher-wage program at 50% of new enrollments. Enrollment in nursing has also increased by 147%. [36]

The relative success of the Worker Retraining program brings high hopes to improving the status of low-income families of Washington State in general, however, the report lacks demographical information to determine how Hispanics compare to Whites in the retention rate and measures of the program. Another issue with the program is that unemployed workers have to pay the tuition as other community and technical college students. Only half of these unemployed workers receive a small amount of financial aid.[37] Thus, Latino adults who could most benefit from the Worker Retraining program are the ones who cannot afford to pay the tuition. Therefore, programs that are concerned with helping the unemployment rate of Latinos or the overall economic status of the Latino population in practice work against these objectives.

The Quality of Adult Education Programs

The Washington State Community and Technical Colleges reports an improvement in the access to education as being close to parity for Latinos students in comparison to White students. Despite an almost equal access to education for Latino adult learners, the following graph shows that the retention rate is not as successful.[38]

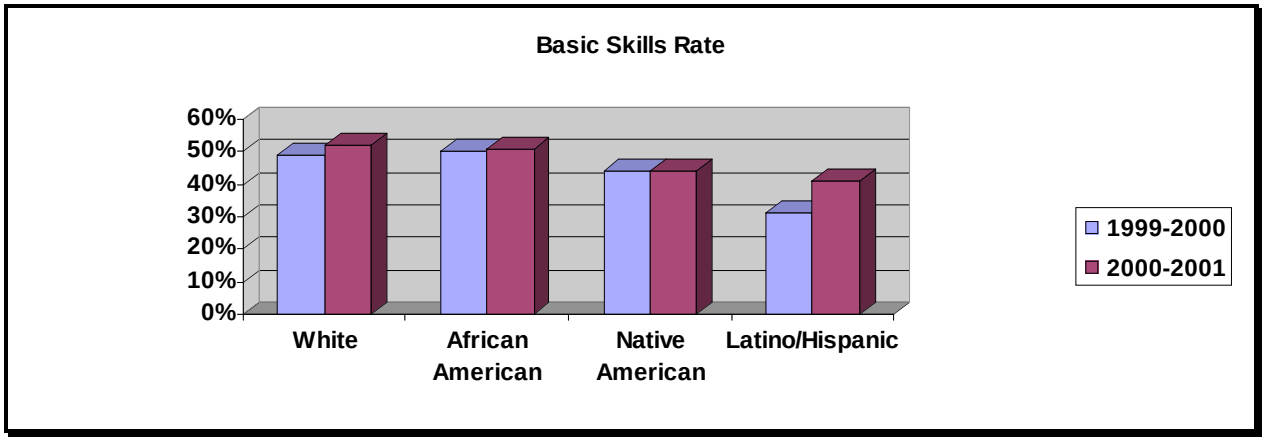
[36] "Worker Retraining: Seventh Accountability Report for the Worker Retraining Program," ii.
[37] "Worker Retraining: Seventh Accountability Report for the Worker Retraining Program," i.
[38] "Enrollments, Student Characteristics, Progress and Success for Basic Skills Students in State Support Instruction in Community and Technical Colleges," 7.



More Latinos/Hispanics retained only one quarter compared to Whites. Latinos also have lower retention rates than the rate for all basic skills students. Forty-eight basic skills students retained for more than one quarter while it was 44% for Latinos.[39] Thus, not only is there a disparity between the retention rate of Latinos and Whites, there is also an overall concern that nearly half of all basic skills students only retain for one quarter. This reflects the quality of basic skills programs across the state. In order for the Washington State Community and Technical Colleges to obtain their goal of an 80% retention rate they must improve the retention rates of Hispanics and other minority groups because 57% of basic skills participants are students of color.[40] This can be done by assessing the individual program quality and how they are meeting the needs of Latino adult learners.

Of those students enrolled in basic skills education at community and technical colleges, 42.6% are White and 31.1% are Latino.[41] The fact that these figures do not reflect the state demographics suggests that Latinos are more likely to lack basic skills compared to Whites. What is even more disparaging is that Latino/Hispanic students also have the lowest rate of progress in basic skills at community and technical colleges. The following graph shows what percent of all students enrolled in Adult Basic Education and English as a Second Language instruction make substantive skills gain during the year.[42]

[39] "Enrollments, Student Characteristics, Progress and Success for Basic Skills Students in State Support Instruction in Community and Technical Colleges," 7.
[40] "Enrollments, Student Characteristics, Progress and Success for Basic Skills Students in State Support Instruction in Community and Technical Colleges," 2.
[41] "Enrollments, Student Characteristics, Progress and Success for Basic Skills Students in State Support Instruction in Community Colleges," 2.
[42] "Access and success for System Goals for People of color in Washington Community and Technical Colleges: Eighth Progress Report." *Washington State Board for Community and Technical Colleges: Research Report No. 02-3* (June 2002): 6.



Latino/Hispanic students are making the least amount of progress in Adult Basic Education (ABE). Granted that progress is being made, there is still the question of why Latinos are making slower progress compared to the other racial groups.

Assessment: English as a Second Language

ESL is the largest adult education program in the state with a growth rate of 6% each year and 53% full-time enrollment. Hispanics make up 49% of ESL students. Adults with the lowest level of language proficiency are taught basic direction and survival English. Fifty-seven percent of Level 1 proficiency students are Hispanic. The Washington State Community and Technical Colleges provide no further assessment about the state of Latino students in the ESL program.[43]

If ESL is such a large program, the low rate of success for Latino students is alarming when considering the largest population of students in the program is Latino/Hispanic. If they are making the least amount of progress, what does this say about the program's efficiency in addressing the needs of Latino adult learners? If adult education programs are not efficient, how does this effect the ability of Latinos to be successful in the labor market where English is paramount?

Assessment: Adult Basic Education

Twenty-seven percent of Full-Time Enrollment is in ABE. The primary service of the program is to students with skills below the ninth grade level. Six percent of the students in ABE are Latino. This is an interesting statistic considering Latinos are the largest minority of illiterate adult in the state. Access to the ABE programs may account for the low percentage of Latinos compared to Whites. One way community colleges are trying to provide more access to education is by offering their programs off-campus. Fifty-five percent of all off-campus programs are ABE programs.[44] Most of these off-campus program sites are at elementary schools and work places so that Latino adults with children or who are working full-time can enroll in ABE programs. As

[43] "Enrollments, Student Characteristics, Progress and Success for Basic Skills Students in State Support Instruction in Community and Technical Colleges," 4-7.
[44] "Enrollments, Student Characteristics, Progress and Success for Basic Skills Students in State Support Instruction in Community and Technical Colleges," 4-7.

to whether Latinos take advantage of these off-campus ABE programs still depends. Many Latino adults who could enroll in off-campus ABE programs are still restricted by their work schedules and financial status. Thus, being that the number of Latinos students enrolled in ABE programs is 6% means that there are still other barriers that prevent Latinos from enrolling in ABE programs that are still not being overcome by the convenience of off-campus programs.

Assessment: General Education Degree

With a look at the percentage of instruction offered for adult education programs, GED instruction varies from 3% to 27% across the state. The type of instruction also varies as GED provides two levels of test preparation beyond the preparation provided by ABE. In the state of Washington, more than ¾ of GED instruction is provided below the ninth grade level even though GED test preparation is aimed at providing instruction above the ninth grade level. The number of Latino students enrolled is low at 4% despite 50% of GED instruction being off-campus.[45] Thus, as is the concern with ABE programs, GED programs are not being taken advantage of by Latinos because there are other barriers that off-campus program centers do not address. With the assessment of the GED programs being relatively color-blind there is not real way to determine why there is a low enrollment of Latinos, but even with the Latinos who are enrolled the effectiveness of the GED programs are still questionable when instruction is only provided below the nine grade level.

Data Analysis

Various studies have shown that state support and school support are important factors in the success of Latino adult learners. As conveyed in the preceding data, state support is needed in all forms including funding institutional aid and development programs under the Higher Education Act and funding Latino students individually through grant and loan programs. With economic disadvantage being one of the biggest barriers Latinos face, support through funding from the state is highly necessary for them to access and succeed in adult education programs.

Another important key to ensuring Latino adult learners succeed is by the support of the community colleges they are enrolled in. As is conveyed by educational scholars, Latino adult learners need an environment that is supportive of their needs. This kind of environment can be created by offering various programs of financial assistance that are not counterintuitive. More financial support overall is also needed by students who are not eligible for federal aid.

Finally, the adequacy of ABE, ESL, and GED needs to be assessed in greater detail with more studies concentrating on the experience of Latino adult learners. In doing so, a bilingual and bicultural learning environment that caters to the specific needs of Latino adult learners can be created.

[45] "Enrollments, Student Characteristics, Progress and Success for Basic Skills Students in State Support Instruction in Community and Technical Colleges," 4-7.

V. CASE STUDY: WALLA WALLA COMMUNITY COLLEGE

I chose to conduct my case study on the Walla Walla Community College (WWCC) for several reasons. First of all, the convenience of location made obtaining personal interviews possible. Also, my community partners shared their information about the college and were able to connect me with sources of information about the community college. In my investigation I have learned of a few facts about WWCC.

Other facts about WWCC that indicate the kinds of students served at WWCC.[46]

- A total of 1,171 Latino/Hispanics were enrolled in the college during the 2003-4 academic year. There were 4,664 Whites enrolled.
- Eight percent of the population are immigrant, refugee, and temporary legal residents.
- Forty-nine percent of the students are attending part-time.

From my interviews I have learned that a bilingual and bicultural environment within the college is needed for Latino adult learners to succeed. When their culture is understood and taken into consideration they are less likely to feel marginalized and, thus, more encouraged to complete their programs and succeed. Unfortunately, there is limited bilingual and bicultural support.

- There are only three Latino adult advisors on campus.
- Latino students are more likely to receive help from Latino advisors/instructors
- Latino adult learners are more likely to receive help from Spanish speaking advisors/instructors
- Latino adult learners receive encouragement from instructors who have knowledge about their social origin.
- Latinos engage more in the classroom when their examples or references are made about their culture and history.

Walla Walla Community College offers Adult Basic Education, ESL, and GED preparation. Most Latino adults at the college are enrolled in these programs. The specific demographics for within these programs are not available and I was unable to obtain an assessment conducted by the college of these programs.

[46] "Enrollments & Student Demographics." *Washington State Board for Community & Technical Colleges* (2004) http://www.sbctc.ctc.edu/data/AcadRpts/ayr0304/3_Enroll_0304.pdf. 11 Nov 2005.

VI. INTERVIEWS

The main point brought about by the classroom interview is the low educational attainment of many of the adult learners. Carlos spoke to how he never attended school while growing up in Mexico or even when he immigrated to the United States. Instead, he worked low-wage labor jobs. Rosa also speaks of never going to school but only learning simple things like how to spell her name and her ABC's. Adult education scholars speak to the challenge of educating adult learners who do not even have basic knowledge, skills, or experience being taught in an educational system. The result is a wide range of programs geared toward teaching Latino adults the basic skills and knowledge in an unconventional setting. As the instructor of Carlos and Rosa expresses, it is difficult to teach a group of adults who have not grown up in a structured educational setting. Thus, many adult education programs are now geared toward unconventional approaches such as one-on-one tutoring and family literacy. However, in an effort to provide for the needs of adult learners, community colleges are trying to develop their adult education programs. Unfortunately, the support needed from the institutions and the state is not adequately meeting the needs of Latino adult learners.

The inadequate support of Latino adult learners is most often overlooked by the Latino adult learners themselves. In the classroom interview, the perception of the Transicion Program is that it gives Latino adult learners access to education when they otherwise would not have the opportunity. The response of one student, Carlos, makes this apparent:

> "The door is always open. The school is always open for anybody. It depends on you. That's what I think."

This is an important aspect of the interview to take into consideration because it shows how policies and practices can seem irrelevant to the conditions adult learners see themselves in. Only one student, Adrian, expressed direct criticism about the institutional discrimination.

> "If the government gave us extension another two or four years we could do a better job. He say you go to school for two years. One hour every day for training not enough […]. You don't learn that much. The training programs I am expected a lot from just one hour. They talk for 45 minutes and I don't understand that much. I say what did you say? I couldn't understand."

Adrian conveys the frustration many adult learners have with not having adequate preparation or study skills and the limited time they are given to get that preparation. In Adrian's case, he is one of the adult learners who was laid off from the Simplot plant and given the option to retrain in another field. The case with Adrian, as well as the other Simplot workers, is that he is simultaneously taking ESL and Adult Basic Education courses as he works to complete a vocational program. The pressure to succeed is unreasonable.

> Everything is new. All the skills are new, all the auto parts, everything. We never learned. It doesn't matter that we are working in another language, everything is hard. (Miguel)

> I cannot present to the whole class, how to use it, the parts, to the whole class. We need someone to explain a little bit to us how to go about finding things in the books… I didn't go to school over there in Mexico, I didn't go to school here but I learned it in the streets. I can speak English. I can read English, but slow, slow. I can understand English. It's the doing it [in the books] that is the hard part for me. (Carlos)

The stress of having to learn new skills is exacerbated by not being adequately prepared with basic skills like reading comprehension and study skills. The adult learners in this class feel the pressure to succeed but they lack sufficient preparation and support from instructors to meet the pressure.

As Miguel pointed out, the challenge is not only succeeding in a second language but in the overall expectations they are faced despite not having the tools to meet them. Nevertheless, the issue of English as a Second Language is an important factor expressed by the adult learners. Juan explains for him it is the hardest part about going back to school. He only went to school up to the third grade and it is difficult for him to understand what he is being taught in a second language. Adult education scholars find that the difficulty with ESL programs is that many of them fail to be bilingual or bicultural. In elementary education Spanish-speaking students are encouraged to progress into English, leaving their Spanish speaking skills and comprehension behind. The result is that many Latino high school students are struggling to succeed because they lack the literacy in both Spanish and English languages. They never received the proper foundations in either of them; instead the focus was to have Spanish-speaking children become English speaks as quickly as possible with the assumption that in doing so the students will be able to integrate into the mainstream English-speaking classes. The issue is similar for adult learners. The ESL programs in classroom settings have the same objective of making Spanish-speakers learn enough English to simply get by. They are taught the English they will be using in the vocation they are pursuing. They are also expected to do so in a limited amount of time.

All the adult learners in the class appreciate the opportunity they have to go to college. They see their success as being solely dependant on their own ability and determination. They are hesitant to speak against the conditions because they appreciate that they are learning. Rose states: "College is college, and if you go to college the expectation is that you go." In essence, however, the adult learners who succeed in their programs do so without much support. Rosa mentions that there is sometimes a lack of support at home because the perception is that they are not fit to attend college. She explains, "but my kids say I should have gotten my English skills improved before I started this program." Other responses about how their children feel about their return to school were not encouraging either: "They say just stay home. You're too old now." Only Alicia said that her children were happy she was going back to school but the majority of the responses speak to the identity of adult learners.

Adult learners are expected to be done with school. They are suppose to be working or staying at home, not learning a new trade or making plans to acquire their bachelor's degree. For Latino adult learners, the identity of being workers or outside of the educational system runs deeper due to the marginalization of Hispanics in America society. Latino adult learners identify with being Spanish-speakers and immigrants. Whether they have lived in the states for months or for years

they have a strong connection with their native country. The identity of being foreign-born can even be expressed by second generation Latinos. There is a sense of comradery from knowing that there are others who struggle with being second-class citizens. As a result, they form sub-American identities so while adult learners do not find support from the college institution or government, the adult learners in this classroom find support in one another. This classroom is where a strong sense of group identity, of being unconventional minority learners, is nurtured.

The determination of each student in the class to succeed speaks to the value of their experiences. They grew up without many opportunities but were able to overcome the obstacles. It is their voice that speaks to the need to include their culture and language, instead of marginalizing them. Thus, the movement to create a bicultural and bilingual learning environment for adult learners is crucial. It's time for the experience and background of Latino adult learners to be valued and used as a tool to meet their educational needs.

VII. TYING IT ALL TOGETHER

With economic disadvantage being the primary reason Latino adults are unable to improve their literacy, economic support from the state is crucial. State support in financial aid to students and to adult education programs at community & technical colleges is one of the primary focuses of this research. The second focus is the adequacy of support provided by the two-institutions. Illiterate Latino adults need flexible support due to the obstacles they are faced with. Two-year institutions need to accommodate for the likelihood that Latino adult learners will be working long hours at low-wage jobs in order to support their families. There is also a need for cultural support by the institutions in order for Latino adult learners to succeed. Finally, the third focus is on the adequacy of adult education programs in providing quality education. The economic status of Latino adult learners can only be improved by improving their literacy level. If the individual adult education programs are not adequately teaching Latino adult learners, then they fail to achieve their purpose and the economic and social inequality will persist.

The Latino experience in the state of Washington is one of marginalization and disparity. They are the racial group with the highest number of low-income and below poverty families. The need to provide adult literacy is thus pressing but statistics show that Latino adult learners are not receiving the adequate support they need to succeed in literacy programs.. The result, instead, is a classroom full of Latino adult learners who struggle with the lack of cultural, economic, and academic support. Access to community and technical colleges has improved but the supported need to retain adult learners is still an issue. Not much progress has been made in that field. Latino adult learners still have the second lowest retention rate of adult education students.

State support has been limiting in terms of providing Latino adults more access to funding. In an effort to improve this there are a number of state funded programs that are able to serve the Latino population (i.e. Worker Retraining). These programs give Latino adults opportunities to improve their economic status by giving financial assistance for these adults to enroll in vocational programs that train them in better paying occupations. However, there are a few problems with these programs. First of all, the requirements are limiting due to the inaccurate measure of economic status. Secondly, the programs are also limiting in terms of time period given for adult learners to meet the goals of the program. Thirdly, the programs are narrowly focused on training Latino adults in specific occupations with the literacy skills necessary to get by in that occupation. Thus, the focus of the state is on providing a workforce rather than improving the literacy levels and quality of education for Latino adult learners. The support from the state is not only limiting in providing Latinos access to state funded programs, but the state is also decreasing the amount of funding given to the programs that do provide some assistance to Latinos. WorkFirst reported receiving a reduction of funding from the state in 2002. This reduced funding resulted in a shorter duration of training that was only meant to meet specific hiring needs. Thus, the need to put out a workforce for the state has taken precedence over ensuring Latino adult learners are given proper job skill and literacy instruction. As a result, Latinos adult learners are not encouraged to transfer to baccalaureate institutions or even to have the option of taking college-level courses outside of vocational training. With this being the case, Latinos will continue to have unequal access to higher literacy skills. This is where the racism that Solorzano becomes apparent. Policies, practices and customs are perpetuating the socioeconomic disadvantage of Latinos in society.

VIII. RECOMMENDATIONS

To improve the access and success for Latinos in adult education, current policies and practices need to be reformed. In regards to the access to adult education for Latinos, state funding plays a major role because of the economic disadvantage of many Latino adults in Washington. It is important for adult education to be given more attention by increasing budget allocations. This past year has brought a budget cut to adult education programs in the state. Such decrease in funding affects not only affects the progress of literacy programs but also the progress of closing the gap between Latinos and Whites in wages and employment. Also, increasing funding for programs such as WorkFirst and Worker Retraining is also needed because these programs reach out to a sector of the Latino community that would otherwise not have the opportunity to receive higher education. Despite the need to support such programs, there is also a need to analyze the objectives of such programs. Many adult learners are being steered toward vocational occupations without much emphasis on providing them with quality literacy skills. As a result, their experience with education at the community and technical colleges are discouraging as they struggle to meet the expectations of the adult education programs they are enrolled in.

The economic disadvantage of Latino adults is not the only obstacle that needs to be remedied. Another obstacle is the marginalization of Latino culture in American society. This marginalization manifests in the failure to validate their cultural identity. As apparent in the classroom interview, Latinos have cultures that often times are suppressed when they could be an asset to their learning curriculum. As one study discovered, Latino adults are more successful when their experiences and background are used as a reference in their learning. Also, especially in ESL programs, Latino adults gain better literacy and English language skills when the goal is not to simply get them to speak survival English as early as possible. Thus, adult education programs need to be based on true bilingual and bicultural curriculums. There needs to be affirmative action taken to increase the number of Spanish speaking staff, administrators, and instructors. Members of the institution in all sectors also need to be educated on the cultural differences and backgrounds of Latinos. School support is necessary for Latino adults to succeed but such support can only be provided when staff, administrators, and instructors validate the Latino cultures, both through cultivating a bilingual school environment and educating school community members on the social origin and cultural values of Latino adults. Thus, any policy or practices that are re-evaluated should aim to make the culture of Latinos an asset to their educational success instead of assuming that color-blind policies and practices will result in equality for all groups.

In an effort to close the education gap for Latinos there should be better assessment of the state of Latinos in adult education. One recommendation for doing so is to look at the adequacy of each adult education program in more detail. The areas of improvement vary in ESL, GED, and ABE programs across the state, especially when the trend is to shape an adult education program according to the needs of the community. Scholars find it necessary to move away from grouping ESL, GED, and ABE programs together when conducting research. It is important to have an overall adult education assessment but looking at each program in more depth is equally necessary. This is ostensibly the case about research conducted by Community and Technical Colleges. Not only does each adult education program need to be independently assessed, but there also needs to be more affirmative action taken to analyze the demographics of each

program. Taking a color-blind approach to assessment practices is not helping meet the needs of Latinos at the Walla Walla Community College. Thus, with more research on the demographics of their programs, community colleges can determine how to meet the needs of the growing Latino population that they serve.

IX. APPENDIX A:

Interview Questions for Students in an adult education classroom
Walla Walla Community College

1. What is difficult about going back to school?
2. What is your employment history?
3. Are you currently employed?
4. How do you support your family or yourself if you are unemployed?
5. Does your English language skill cause a problem in your vocational programs?
6. Do you have insurance?
7. Does your spouse have insurance?
8. How does your return to school effect your children?
9. What do your children say about you being in school?

X. APPENDIX B:

Classroom Interview Transcript
Walla Walla Community College

Interviewer: What's the hardest part about going back to school?

Carlos: The hardest part is that I've been working for 50 years and for school I only went four years. When I was 10 years old I start working.

Interviewer: What did you do?

Carlos: We use to farm…in Mexico. Then when I came up here to the states I worked…uh…my first job was in San Francisco…mowing lawns, taking care of the landscaping and all that. That was my first job. 1969. And I decided that I wasn't making…good money and I moved to the Dows area. The second day I was there I started working. I worked there for four years. It was too hot so I became a farm laborer, prior land they use to call it back in those days. And that was in 74. And then they changed things and I became an irrigator.

Interviewer: You've gone from one job to another.

Carlos: Yes. I worked at Simplot for six years. I was just a beginner there. I worked there until I got laid off last year.

Interviewer: How about you? What is difficult about going back to school?

Luis: Not knowing anything. I didn't go to school. I only learned things like your name, your ABC's… I have three children, 18, 17, 15.

Interviewer: Are you working besides going to school?

Luis: No

Interviewer: How do you feed your kids?

Luis: By the money I get from the government.

Interviewer: And you? What's difficult about going back to school?

Laura: I come from a large family. Before I came here I got up to the second grade. I'm going to learn as much as I can…to progress.

Maria: It's a happy thing to go back to school.

Interviewer: How about you? What is the hardest part?

Antonio: The distance. Its way too far to come here. I can't move to wall walla because my son goes to the college in Hermiston. Its too hard.

Interviewer: What about you?

Armando. The homework. Everyday I have to hang around an hour to do my homework. I have to do it because every morning at 8 to 9:30 I have small engine repair.

Interviewer: Are you having problems with your English in your vocational program?

Carlos: That's the hardest for us. I didn't have any school. I just went to 3rd grade. Its hard. Like the kids they go 12 years, they tell us to go 2 years. The expectation is very high to do in two years and very stressful too.

Miguel: everything is new. All the skills are new, all the auto parts, everything. We never learned. It doesn't matter that we are working in another language, everything is hard. We have to memorize all the stuff.

Adrian: If the government gave us extension another two or four years we could do a better job. He say you go to school for two years. One hour every day for training not enough. Five hours a week you multiply by six weeks. How much? How many hours do you get? You talk a little bit bah bah bah bah, and that's it. You do that for one hour. You don't learn that much. The training programs I am expected a lot from just two hours. They talk for 45 minutes and I don't understand that much. I say what did you say? I couldn't understand.

Carlos: I cannot present to the whole class, how to use it, the parts, to the whole class. We need someone to explain a little bit to tell us how to go about finding things in the books.

Interviewer: Tutors?

Carlos: Tutoring. Yes tutoring. We need a little bit of that. I was lucky. I didn't go to school over there in Mexico, I didn't go to school here but I learned it in the streets. I can speak English I can read English, but slow, slow. I can understand English. It's the doing it that is the hard part for me.

Interviewer: How many of you here have health insurance?

(Three)

Interviewer: When you get sick, what do you o? What if you get sick and have to go to the hospital.

Adrian: You get by. Tough luck. This person told me, you owe me $10,000. I say tough luck.

Carlos: You know what I tell them? I tell them, as long as I owe you, you will always have money. (he laughs) …But my wife works and has insurance.

Interviewer: How many of your spouses have insurance?

(two)

Interviewer: How many of you have children? How does your going to school affect your children? What do your kids say?

Luis: They say you're too old to go to school

Carlos: They say I work too much. They think that I am going to school to work some more.

Antonio: Just stay at home. You are too old now. It's too stressful to go to school.

Maria: They are happy that I am going to school.

Laura: College is college, and if you go to college the expectation is that you go.
But my kids say I should have gotten my English skills improved before I started this program.

Adrian: But the door is always open. The school is always open for anybody. It depends on you. That's what I think.

XI. APPENDIX C

Latino Adult Learner Interview Questions
Walla Walla Community College

1. What types of classes are you enrolled in?
2. Do you like your classes?
3. How much time do you spend on homework?
4. What is difficult about your classes?
5. Why are you in School?
6. Why are you in the programs you are in?
7. What do you like about school?
8. What do you not like about school?
9. Who do you go to for help with your work?
10. Who do you go to if you have a problem?
11. Do you feel like you can go to your instructor ?
12. What encourages you to stay in school?
13. Does it matter if your instructor or person you go to for help is a Latino/a?
14. Do you feel more comfortable with a Latino or a white person?
15. How are you paying for school?
16. Do you work?
17. Do you have children/spouse to support?
18. Is what you earn enough to support them?
19. How much time are you able to spend with your children?
20. How much are you involved in their school?
21. Do you read to your children?
22. What do your children think about you being in school?

XII. APPENDIX D

Latino Adult Learner Interview
Walla Walla Community College
Armando, age 56

Interviewer: What types of classes are you enrolled in?

Armando: I'm taking math classes, reading and writing, ESL classes, and computer.

Interviewer: Do you like your classes?

Armando: Yeah, they are pretty good.

Interviewer: How much time do you spend on homework?

Armando: It all depends, like the homework from small engine repair, they are pretty hard for me so…sometimes 3 or 4 hours…

Interviewer: What makes them hard?

Armando: the problem is that I don't know how to get the answers. They gives us the homework, they give us the questions, we have to look for the answers. How to find them is what is hard for me.

Interviewer: What else is difficult about your classes?

Armando: understanding, well the main thing is that if they would show us how to use the book, but they don't, they just give us the questions and so its hard for me. Sometimes I have to read half of the book or 3 or 4 chapters. Its hard to find the answers.

Interviewer: Why are you in School?

Armando: Because the place where I worked they shut it down. They told us we could go to school and so I did. Some people didn't.

Interviewer: Why didn't they choose school?

Armando: Because they said that they were too old to go to school and so they went back to work.

Interviewer: Why are you in the classes you are in?

Armando: So I can get a GED.

Interviewer: Why did you choose small engine repair?

Armando: Because that is the only thing that they have here that I can do. I broke my arm when I was at Simplot.

Interviewer: What do you like about school?

Armando: I like school. When I was young I never use to go to school. I only went up to the third grade. We migrate. We travel from Texas to here to Washington. That's the way we had to do it. We had to work picking potatoes, apples…

Interviewer: What do you not like about school?

Armando: I like the school but not the driving. I drive for one hour.

Interviewer: Who do you go to for help with your work?

Armando: That's the computer room where we go. A teacher is there who helps us. I go there every day. We got homework from out classes that we do there. Mostly all the people in ESL.

Interviewer: What encourages you to stay in school?

Armando: To get a better chance, a better job.

Interviewer: Does it matter if your instructor or person you go to for help is a Latino/a?

Armando: Yeah I think. I feel more comfortable with them. It doesn't matter if they are Latino or not as long as they speak Spanish. I feel more comfortable, like they understand.

Interviewer: How are you paying for school?

Armando: They pay for us to go here because we got laid off at Simplot.

Interviewer: Do you work?

Armando: No. You could work part time but if you work they are going to deduct from what they give you.

Interviewer:. Do you have children/spouse to support?

Armando: One daughter and my wife. My wife works.

Interviewer: Is what you earn enough to support them?

Armando: No. right now I only get $150 a month. My wife works so that helps.

XIII. APPENDIX E

Questions and Answers for Latino Adult Advisors/Instructor #1
Walla Walla Community College

1. What reasons do Latinos have for pursuing these particular programs? Do Latinos pursue these programs to increase their income or improve their job status?

- Adult learners may have been recently laid off and have been given the option by the state of Washington to return to school and do job retraining
- Some are "empty nesters" or older, non-traditional students who want to go back to school and get the degree they never had a chance to complete when they were younger
- Some are in programs toupgrade their job skills, wanting a "financial leg up" in their current job interest
- Some take courses because they are fun and they enjoy learning new things

2. Are there any specific examples of these reasons?

There are currently some 12 students in an Occupational Support Class (OCSUP 101 – Job Psychology) who commute from Hermiston, Oregon to Walla Walla each week. These people (ages 40 somethings) have recently been laid off by the Simplot Company in Hermiston. They are in school for a two year term.

One woman that I had as a student two years ago told me she was back in school because as a young woman she had gotten married to a successful businessman and had children. After a long marriage, the couple divorced and now, back in school, the woman is re-starting her life doing something she had always longed to do when she was younger: get her Associate Degree with the idea of transferring to a four-year college.

One particular student has returned to school to get his nursing degree after a few years as a professional nursing assistant. Another person, a woman, is taking business technology classes as a way of starting her own business in cosmetology. Years ago she graduated from WWCC with a degree in Cosmetology, but lacked business skills.

One elderly woman, a member of a local church, takes courses either enrolled or by audit each quarter. She has been in three classes that I have taught over the course of two years. Her reason: they're fun and it gets her out of the house.

3. What type of administrative/program support do they receive within these specific programs?

Adult learners receiving advising and counseling support through the WWCC Student Support Services Program and the TRIO Federal Programs (including the Educational Talent Search Program). Many of these students are given orientation to college training at the beginning of their respective programs. This year WWCC has instituted orientation in Spanish for those who need translation and interpreting versions to college orientation.

4. What type of financial support do they receive within these specific programs?

Adult learners receive state support (TANF), WorkFirst, Federal Financial Aid, and Community College Foundation monies to complete their education. Student Services also supports many of these students' needs (the Multicultural Services Program) with regard to materials and textbooks.

5. How well are these programs funded by the state?

Aid for Adult Learner programs have been and continue to be relatively well funded, considering Washington state budget shortfalls this past fiscal year. The Federal Aid program Pell Grants and other related support continue to be the main source of money that Adult learners count on.

6. What stumbling blocks do Latinos face when trying to pursue these particular programs at the Walla Walla Community College?

Challenges faced by Latino students come in many forms. Problems related to family and jobs are the most common. Personal, peer, and financial pressures are other big concerns. Student attrition is also attributable to child care concerns (numbers of WWCC students are married with children, unlike Whitman students). Finally, numbers of students drop classes because they lack study skills, or have failed to anticipate the amount of time and cost it takes to be a successful student. Tutoring services tries to offset some of these needs, but in many cases students themselves do not seek out the help they need.

7. What other issues do you see concerning academic counselors, such as yourself, at the Community College in terms of Latino adult education in Washington and in terms of these programs?

Employed staff of color at WWCC is woefully underrepresented. At present there are three Latino advisors: Fernando Villagomez (part-time employee in the Transicion Program), Carlos Jaques (in charge of the Transicion Program), and Victor Chacon as Director of Multicultural Services. When you consider the overall student population (some 6,000 day and evening FT registered) and numbers of full-time faculty (127), you can appreciate the disparity and under-representation. Also, available funding for students who DON'T qualify for Federal Financial Aid because of their immigration status is practically non-existent. Out of the Multicultural Services office each year, I support an average some 25 students of color with small Foundation awards ranging from $75 and $200 per quarter. Last year, $5,500 in awards was given to students of color based on financial need. When you consider the overall college budget, that's a ridiculously low number. Finally, campus climate tends to be the elephant in the room we prefer not to talk about too much at WWCC. Increasing numbers of students of color, mostly 1st and 2nd generation, monolingual Latinos are entering our programs, and without being overt about it, both faculty and students (no so much staff) find it increasingly difficult to accept the changes, yet they withhold comment in public. What commentary and opinion there is tends to be aired indirectly and selectively.

XIV. BIBLIOGRAPHY

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PICKING THE FRUIT OF KNOWLEDGE: WASHINGTON APPLE FARMWORKERS, WORK, FAMILY, AND POLITICS.

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November 17, 2005

Introduction

Apples are an important fruit for American society. They are constantly referred to as the nation's fruit; and therefore, most of its dishes like apple pie are considered traditional. Furthermore, apples become symbols of the dominant culture – represented in poems such as "After Apple-Picking" by Robert Frost, myths like Adam and Eve, and more. The problem arises when one researches the trajectory of the apples from the orchard to the family's table and the power relations involved. For this study, I am looking at female farm workers in the apple industry in Washington State and their narratives on work role, family identity, and political status. My research question is: what are the conditions affecting Latino farm workers, particularly in Washington's apple industry, and what can be done to alleviate such problems? Along those lines, how are these female workers's perceptions of their experiences (subjective identity) shaped by their conditions (objective problems)? The way in which I went about collecting my research was through literature research, database research, and conducting interviews. In my research, I found that Latina farm workers face a number of problems including low wages and inadequate housing derived from their political marginalization, which in turn affects the construction of their identity through work and family. In order to alleviate such conditions, it is imperative to provide the legal conditions for individuals to become self-empowered and advocate for change to their social conditions.

Methods Discussion

Before I begin, I would like to acknowledge the help of my Community Partners Jan Foster, ESL/Basic Writing Teacher for Walla Walla Community College, and Ben Hooper, Managing Attorney for Columbia Legal Services of Kennewick. They helped me guide my research by providing basic information about farm work and the conditions affecting the workers. In addition, they supported my decision to focus on female farmworkers and helped with the editing process. With that said, I would like to briefly discuss the structure of this paper. After discussing the methodology of this paper, I will present the objective conditions of farmworkers both in the United States and in Washington. This information will be discussed in the Data Presentation section. Second, I will bring up the subjective narrative and identity as revealed by the interview material. Lastly, I will provide a brief summary of the main findings and present recommendations for future action.

First of all, I decided to look at this literature research in order to understand what others have said about this topic. The problems discussed in these studies were plenty, and therefore, I decided to focus on specific issues. I divided these main findings into three categories: wages and working conditions, family living conditions, and legal and political status. First, with regard to working conditions, I encountered studies about how farm workers are living under the poverty level, suffer from low wages and no overtime pay, and incur problems with employers' strategies such as fear of deportation. Second, female farm workers live in circumstances that lead to family separation and in inadequate housing. Lastly, I found that although the industry needs immigrant labor, these workers lack protection under the law, suffer from low level of education and the language barrier, and are perceived as second-class citizens. Nonetheless, I found that these women construct their identity based on their experiences of taking pride in

being a farm worker, their family responsibility as providers, and struggling to overcome political marginalization.

The next step toward gathering the research was to collect quantitative data. In order to find statistics and other pertinent information, I resorted to private studies and governmental databases. There were plenty of studies that focused on farm workers in the United States; however, the studies with Washington State as their focus were limited. My primary data sources were the U.S. Department of Labor website and the National Agricultural Workers Survey as governmental agencies, and also the Northwest Justice Project website and the Labor Market and Economic Analysis Branch website as private organizations. When I researched the governmental databases I wanted to find information that would represent the dominant perception of the conditions of farmworkers. On the other hand, private organizations provided the more liberal conclusions from the data they collected. This way, I was able to collect data from both ends of the political spectrum that gives my research balanced views. Some of the limiting aspects of the data from these sources are that they did not focus on Washington, they discussed all fruits together, or they did not have enough information dealing with gender differences. However, it was the best way of acquiring the categories of data necessary to support the conclusions I gathered from the different literature and studies.

Lastly, I gathered information through personal research. I was able to collect information about the local conditions by visiting the Walla Walla Farm Labor Homes and by interviewing two apple packers from Washington. The Walla Walla Farm Labor Homes (also known as Labor Camp, Labor Housing, El Campo de Walla) provided me with first hand experience of the housing conditions of farm workers in this area. I was able to connect my scholarly research to the realities of housing and family through my visits to these homes. Finally, I collected local data an interview with Graciela Rodriguez who works at an apple warehouse in this area and with Maria (not her real name) who works at an apple warehouse in Yakima County. I connected with these workers through a friend. Both interviews were conducted in Spanish and lasted for about an hour. I interviewed Graciela at her house in the Labor Homes with her two infant children present and her 14 year old daughter in the room. The interview with Maria was over the phone and both her husband and her youngest daughter were present. Due to technical difficulties I was unable to record either interview; however, I took extensive notes in order to capture these workers' insight. The reason behind doing personal research is because I was seeking for information to show how these women saw their situation. I wanted to go beyond the facts.

Data Presentation

First of all, it is imperative to have a general understanding of farm work and the apple industry in Washington. According to the Washington Apple Commission, there are about 10-12 billion apples handpicked each year in the state of Washington.[1] There are about 40,000 pickers and 15,000 packers in the apple industry.[2] There are about 52 million apple trees growing in

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[1] *Washington State Department of Labor and Industries*, 28 September 2005, <http://www.lni.wa.gov/default.asp>.
[2] Lance A. Compa, *Unfair Advantage: Workers' Freedom of Association in the United States under International Human Rights Standards*, (New York: Human Rights Watch, 2000) 136.

Washington[3] and about 4,000 growers in the billion dollar a year industry.[4] Most of these orchard workers are immigrants from Mexico. Some of the interesting numbers with regard to ethnicity for U.S. farmworkers are the following: 77% are Mexican born, 2% are Latin American born, and 9% are US-born Hispanic.[5] That means that 88% of the farm worker population in the U.S. is considered Latino. In Washington, on the other hand, 69% of agricultural worker are Latinos (see *Figure 1,* Appendix D).[6] This fact shows how Latinos are the vast majority of agricultural workers, both in the United States and in Washington. It is also interesting to point out that Mexico is currently the biggest consumer of Washington apples.[7] Washington apples feed 60% of the US market and about 40% of Washington's apples are exported.[8] Therefore, the apple industry and the abundance of its Latino workers make this topic important to research.

Wages and Working Conditions

Wages

When it comes down to work role, one of the most important issues to tackle is the low wages received by farm workers that. The average day for a typical worker ranges from 10-17 hours during the peak period without getting paid overtime. In the United States, farm workers' income ranges between $2,500 and $5,000 and 70% earned less than $10,000 annually.[9] This is well below the federal poverty level benchmark, something I will discuss later. In Washington, the average wage is $7.88 an hour and about $3,822 a season.[10] Nationally, about 77% of all farmworkers are paid by the hour, 20% by piece, and the rest is a combination of the two methods (see *Table A,* Appendix D).[11] The different methods of payment make the issue of wages more complex than it really has to be. Even though most workers are getting paid by the hour, there is always the one company that decides to pay its workers by the piece leaving them with not enough income to meet a day's worth of work.

Women farm workers earn lower incomes than men.[12] In apple warehouses, women typically stick to sorting and packing, while the men generally stack.[13] My research states that "the apple industry is increasingly segregated by a gendered division of labor whereby women are limited to packing and sorting jobs and excluded from higher paying work as forklift drivers,

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[3] David Guterson, "The Kingdom of Apples," Harper's Magazine. 299.7768 (1999) 1.
[4] Karen Snyder, "Risk Perception and Resource Security for Female Agricultural Workers," *Socioeconomic Aspects of Human Behavioral Ecology*. 23 (2004): 271-292, 20 October 2005, <http://depts.washington.edu/pnash/files/Snyder_REA2004.pdf> 272.
[5] Kala Mehta et al, "Findings from the National Agricultural Workers Survey (NAWS) 1997-1998: A Demographic and Employment Profile of United States Farmworkers," *Office of the Assistant Secretary for Policy, U.S. Department of Labor*, (California: Aguirre International, 2000) 14 October 2005, <http://www.dol.gov/asp/programs/agworker/report_8.pdf> 5
[6] Dave Wallace, "Agricultural Workforce in Washington State," *Labor Market and Economic Analysis Branch*, June 2002, 14 October 2005, <http://www.workforceexplorer.com/admin/uploadedPublications/699_ag01.pdf> 28.
[7] Compa 137.
[8] Compa 135.
[9] Richard Mines, Susan Gabbard, and Anne Steirman, "A Profile of U.S. Farm Workers: Demographics, Household Composition, Income and Use of Services," *U.S. Department of Labor, Office of the Assistant Secretary for Policy*, (April 1997) 10 October 2005, <http://www.dol.gov/asp/programs/agworker/report>.
[10] Guterson 13.
[11] Mehta 32.
[12] Mines.
[13] Snyder 273.

computer operators, or even orchard workers."[14] This data shows that female farmworkers are greatly affected not only by the low wages but also by the gender inequalities in the apple industry.

Poverty

These low wages leads to living under the poverty level for most of farmworkers. Actually, over three-fifths of the farm worker population in the United States lives under the poverty line.[15] Larger families are even at larger risks to live under these precarious conditions. About 50% of farmworkers with five people in the family are poor, as compared to about 85% of those who have a family of nine (see *Table B,* Appendix D).[16] The farmworker family range in size; however, something that seems to occur (which goes beyond the scope of this paper) is that parents are forced to have more children in order to increase the likelihood of extra help and income for the family as a whole.

Even though these workers are living under poverty, a very limited number of individuals use public service programs. According to findings by the National Agricultural Workers Survey, about 1% of workers use public housing, 1% general assistance, 10% food stamps, and 13% Medicaid (see *Table C,* Appendix D).[17] This challenges the common perception that these workers are extinguishing all the social services provided by the government. There are many reasons as to why these workers are not receiving governmental help. One of them is the stigma attached to "being on welfare," which only prevents those who truly need the help to seek for it. Other reasons could be legal status and literacy rates, which will be discussed later.

Legal Status

Another factor in the economic predicament of agricultural workers is that most of them lack proper work documentation. In the United States, about 52% of all farm workers lack work authorization, 22% are legal citizens, 24% are legal permanent residents, and 2% have some other type of work permit (see *Figure 2,* Appendix D).[18] Those that have the proper documents to work in the United States earn about 15% more than undocumented workers.[19] Therefore, this wage discrepancy contributes to the fact that the majority of immigrants without documents (80%) live in poverty.[20] The majority of farmworkers have to deal with poverty; at the same time, they also have to deal with problems derived from lack of proper documentation.

One of the most interesting facts is that those immigrant workers are using fake social security numbers and they will not be able to recover the taxes that they constantly pay. According to Wallace, "the Social Security Administration has counted $265 billion in wages it

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[14] Snyder 274.
[15] Mines.
[16] Mehta 40.
[17] Mehta 41.
[18] Mehta 22.
[19] Sabrina Ise and Jeffrey M. Perloff, "Legal status and earnings of agricultural workers," *American Journal of Agricultural Economics*, 77.2 (May 1995), 10 October 2005, <http://web6.infotrac.galegroup.com/itw/infomark/876/322/73454198w6/purl=rc1_EAIM_0_A17167792&dyn=13!xrn_8_0_A17167792?sw_aep=Whitman> 375.
[20] Mines.

is unable to match to valid social security numbers."[21] The importance of this fact is that it leaves Latinos more susceptible to old age poverty, something that the Social Security program tackles and that every citizen deserves. Even though most of these foreign-born workers who lack proper documents live an average of at least 10 years in the United States, they are not considered citizens of this nation.[22] Farmworkers legal status is the most inhibiting factor when it comes to acquiring services other residents of Washington receive.

Family Living Conditions

Household Composition

The demographics of the farmworker family are important to understand their living conditions. Nationally, 52% of all farm workers are married and 45% of all workers have children.[23] Female farm workers are more likely to be married, especially to Mexican men.[24] About 81% of those parents who have small children are foreign-born.[25] Women are more likely to live with their children, about 91% of the women lived with their offspring as compared to 42% of the fathers.[26] What this data shows is that most of the farmworkers have a spouse and children. Furthermore, it is the mothers who are in charge of the well-being of their children since they are the ones residing with them for the most part.

Families are also constantly separated. According to a study on the demographics of farmworkers, about 45% percent of farm workers in the United States with a spouse and children are not living with their families.[27] This family separation is even greater when we talk about farmworkers who are not residents because about 90% of their families live in Mexico.[28] These families are not only divided by cities or even states, it is a whole country that separates them. This separation is also increased by the size of the family. The same study states that "the likelihood of separation from their children appears to increase with family size," which can be caused by having to work two jobs.[29] Most of farmworkers have families; however, most of their families are separated in one way or another because of various reasons.

Migration Patterns

The nature of migrant work, having to travel many miles to their job site, leads to a high incidence of family separation. The patterns of migration of agricultural workers are divided into three categories: shuttle workers, those that move between two or more jobs that are not in the location of their home base; follow-the-crop migrants, those workers that stick to one crop and follow it throughout the season to various locations; and non migrants, those that have decided to settle.[30] Thirty-nine percent of migrants are shuttle migrants, 44% are non migrants, and 17% follow the crop (see *Figure 3,* Appendix D).[31] Therefore, these numbers indicate that

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[21] Wallace 29.
[22] Mehta 6.
[23] Mehta vii.
[24] Mehta 10.
[25] Mines.
[26] Mehta 10.
[27] Mehta 10.
[28] Mehta 10.
[29] Mehta 11.
[30] Mehta 20.
[31] Mehta 20.

about 56% of farm workers in the US have to travel to secure their jobs. For the apple industry in Washington, there are about 43.2% seasonal workers (see *Table D,* Appendix D).[32] That means that a high number of the workers must either file for unemployment or find another job during the off-season. As we have seen, the majority of these workers travel to other cities to fulfill their economic needs. This constant traveling necessitates that the families are left behind.

Housing

Not only are migrant families more likely to be separated, they are also more likely to live in houses not suitable for building strong family connections. The fact that farmworkers live under poverty affects housing options, especially because employers are not required to provide workers with housing. Therefore, apple farmworkers must find housing for themselves that happens to be "in squalid company housing" when provided or "on the banks of nearby streams."[33] About 60% of the migrant population in the United States is considered homeless.[34] When they do have a residence, the physical conditions of the place are substandard. These houses are overcrowded, not well-maintained, and isolated from the rest of the society. Those workers born outside of the United States (49%) are more likely to share their homes with many individuals, five or more persons for example, than those born in the United States (19%).[35] It is important to note that the state of Washington "spent no money on migrant housing and stood to one side while migrant workers, literally by the tens of thousands, slept in cars, tents, and shacks throughout the harvest season" until a recent drive in the past 6 years to make the government spend money on migrant housing.[36] Farmworker homes are substandard and not conducive to an environment where the family can grow together as a unit.

Legal and Political Status

Dependence on Immigrant Labor

The political status of farmworkers comes from the long history of the dependence on immigrant labor by the agriculture industry. The fact that farm labor is left without protection by the state of Washington shows the lack of importance given to this work; and therefore, the group of individuals who work for it that happen to be mainly Mexicans. Vicki Ruiz states how Mexicans "perceived as cheap labor by Euro-American businessmen, they provided the human resources necessary for the city's industrial and commercial growth" in which "education and economic advancement proved illusory as segregation in housing, employment, and schools served as constant reminders of their second-class status."[37] The fact is that immigrant workers are considered disposable because a new wave of immigrants can easily be hired to work for less.[38] Research has shown that farmworkers continue to be seen as cheap labor in which economic advancement is not an option for these individuals because of the instability of their political bargaining power.

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[32] Wallace 13.
[33] Compa 137.
[34] Wallace 29.
[35] Mines.
[36] Guterson 8.
[37] Vicki L. Ruiz, *From Out of the Shadows: Mexican Women in Twentieth-Century America,* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998) 35.
[38] Russell O. Wright, *Chronology of Labor in the United States,* (North Carolina: McFarland and Co. Inc, 2003) 105.

With that said, employers also benefit from immigrant labor because it provides them with a group of people whose conditions can be easily manipulated to the employers' advantage. According to Mark Reisler, talking about the immigration waves, "employers also contended that only the Mexican could supply agriculture's unskilled labor needs" when labor begins to get scarce.[39] One of the strategies of employers, even today, is to hire workers that recently immigrated because they are unaware of their rights.[40] The reason behind this is because they cannot communicate their problems, and thus they are easier to control. In addition, these workers "are less likely to assert their rights."[41] This need for undocumented workers is part of the strategy for the agricultural labor process because it is what helps the market avoid higher labor costs, basing their strategies "on disinformation [and] unequal power relations between workers and their employers."[42] Once workers begin organizing and understanding their rights, they are a less desirable work force, which leads to the intimidation tactics discussed earlier. Employers know that those workers who are most susceptible to manipulation are those that lack the protection of the law.

Labor Regulations

The agricultural workers are the most vulnerable to political marginalization for various reasons including lack of civil enforcement. Added to the fact that most of the workers are undocumented, agricultural workers are excluded from many labor regulations. Washington apple pickers, like all agricultural workers, are excluded from coverage by the National Labor Relations Act (NLRA) since "they are not defined as 'employees' meriting the law's protection."[43] One of these laws is the right to receive overtime pay because of the nature of agriculture having harvest intensive seasons. The National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) is the body in charge of ensuring the enforcement of these laws. Even though the state of Washington has made sure that these workers have certain rights – for example a minimum wage of $7.35, so that even if they are paid by piece rate basis, they should be averaging this minimum – they are not protected by law.[44] Nonetheless, Washington does have a statute benefiting farm workers titled the Little Norris-La Guardia Act. This Act protects farm laborers who might be fired by their employers after organizing.[45] The problem arises with the fact that there is no enforcement of workers' rights by the federal law because they are not covered under the NLRA. This lack of protection leaves workers susceptible to employers' retaliation and not on the same footing with other workers.

Recent initiative drives aiming at helping farm workers in the state of Washington have failed. Bill 5823 for prompt payment of final wages and Bills 1311 and 5240 for authorizing penalties for wage payment violations did not pass.[46] The fact is that there is no civil enforcement of labor regulations because agricultural workers are excluded from the NLRA;

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[39] Mark Reisler, "Always the Laborer, Never the Citizen: Anglo Perceptions of the Mexican Immigrant during the 1920s," Class Reading 35.
[40] Philip L. Martin, "Immigration and Agriculture," Class Reading 188.
[41] Miriam J. Wells, *Strawberry Fields,* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996) 66.
[42] David Griffith and Ed Kissam, "Characteristics of the Farm Labor Market," Class Reading 247.
[43] Compa 135.
[44] "Farm Worker Rights Handbook for Washington State," *Northwest Justice Project: Farm Worker Unit*, January 2005, 22 September 2005, <http://www.washingtonlawhelp.org> 2.
[45] Ben Hooper, Personal Email, 17 November 2005.
[46] Ben Hooper, Personal Email, 22 September 2005.

therefore, leading to plenty of cases of wage payment violation. These bills are attempts to alleviate this gap between having rights and actually being able to practice them. Nonetheless, the fact that these bills did not pass into legislature shows the lack of priority given to farmworkers and their needs. Another reason could be that the workers are not organized, and thus unable to have a collective voice and bargaining power. Even if these workers were to claim the rights, they must engage in private lawsuits. These lawsuits are expensive and low wage workers do not have resources to spend on private lawsuits. Another limiting factor to potentially filing a claim is that there are not many non-profit legal organizations. There are a few legal aid agencies in Yakima but not enough to fill the high demand for these services, and no organizations of this sort in the Walla Walla area.

Education and Language

Another aspect of farm workers' vulnerability is their lack of education and the language barrier. These farm workers lack proper education because these workers have been schooled between 1-7 years at most (see *Figure 4, Appendix D)*.[47] Sixth grade is the highest grade that most of these workers have attended in school on average.[48] The language barrier is also an obstacle for these workers since most of the 60,000 Washington apple industry workers are Spanish-speaking.[49] Actually, about 84% of all farmworkers have Spanish as their native language.[50] Nationally, less than 5% believed they could read and speak English well.[51] A consequence of language ability is that those "workers with bilingual language skills have more opportunities for higher paying and less risky jobs, both within and outside the apple warehouses," proving that language is an important tool for farmworkers.[52] However, due to low literacy rates, 85% of these workers would have a hard time acquiring information in the language of their choice.[53] Many state and community programs tackle this lack of education, literacy, and the language barriers through adult education. However, only one out of five farmworkers took at least one class for adults.[54] It also impedes parents in providing their children with the social capital that other more instructed parents can give to their children. The importance of education is that it is a political tool. Farmworkers who are aware of their rights are more likely to fight for them if they are being disregarded.

Interview Discussion

The data presented here demonstrates how farm workers are affected by many social problems that aid in constructing these workers' identities. The truth is that agriculture is a very dangerous industry; at the same time, it is one of the most economically efficient industries in Washington State. According to a Human Rights Watch report, "farmworkers confront low wages, bad housing, poor health care, workplace hazards, unfair treatment and other abusive conditions on a massive scale" that are often overlooked by policy makers.[55] These conditions

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[47] Wallace 28.
[48] Mehta 13.
[49] Ben Jacklet, "Apple Workers Spurn Teamsters Union," *Inter Press Service*. (New York: Jan 31, 1998) 2.
[50] Mehta 13.
[51] Mehta 18.
[52] Snyder 285.
[53] Mehta 16.
[54] Mehta 15.
[55] Compa 173.

reflect the objective conditions in which farmworkers live. It is imperative to take it a step further and analyze the way in which these farmworkers themselves experience these conditions. By doing so, one can understand the ways in which these workers could be motivated to organize for their rights and the ways to support such mobilization.

Work Role

Unstable Job

The most obvious problem is that these farm workers are suffering from low wages and no overtime pay pushing them to live under the poverty level. Low wages always seem to create problems for workers. However, these workers do not have the alternative of finding new jobs due to factors such as lack of education or documents. When I asked Graciela how much she got paid, she answered that she got minimum wage; however, she did not know how much that was, and apparently she never looks at her paycheck.[56] These workers are getting paid minimum wage – or at least that is what they believe – and are still working 10-15 hour day shifts without being compensated for their overtime work. Furthermore, these wages are not high enough to get these workers out of poverty. According to Karen Snyder, a researcher of female agricultural workers, Latina apple farm workers live in "an environment of uncertainty about steady resource acquisition or unpredictable variation in economic conditions."[57] These farmworkers are living under poverty, getting minimum wage, and no overtime pay; as a result of this combination of factors, they are unable to get out of this unstable situation.

Fear

One of the reasons why these workers do not have an alternative to farm labor is their lack of proper work documents. As was mentioned earlier, more than half of farm workers are undocumented. Employers are very aware of this condition and use this to their advantage. According to Graciela, at her previous job, the supervisors were constantly yelling to the workers that "la migra" would come and take them if they did not continue to work.[58] "La migra" is a Spanish term given to the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), which has recently changed its name to Immigration Customs Enforcement (ICE). The fact is that the threat of ICE raids is constantly used by the employers.[59] Furthermore, undocumented farm workers fear that if they make any complaints about their working conditions, the employers can easily fire them.[60] Not only are the workers afraid of losing their jobs when they are threatened with being reported to the ICE, they also suffer from the fear of deportation.

Overwork

One of the main effects of this work is that these women work for long periods of time. The lady I interviewed (Graciela) discussed the nature of farm work and how that reflects her identity as a farm worker. Graciela described her life as: wake up, go to work, take care of the children, make food for the family, go to work again, take a shower at 10pm and then wake up at

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[56] Graciela Rodriguez, Personal Interview, 11 October 2005.
[57] Snyder 275.
[58] Rodriguez.
[59] Compa 144.
[60] Fabiola Estrada, "An Exploratory Study of the Incentives and Disincentives for Latino farm workers in the State of Washington to Participate in the Workers' Compensation System," MA thesis, (University of Washington, 2004) 21.

4 am the next day to start it all over again. She also mentioned that there's no rest, only work for these women.[61] This shows us how these farm workers live an exhausting life. Apple packers and sorters are expected to perform their job "expeditiously, with frank speed, flashing hands, and the unconscious dexterity of experience."[62] This expectation of efficiency only leads workers to be constantly overworked. It would be a different story if these workers were given overtime pay for the long hours they work.

Taking Pride

Both of the workers I interviewed defined part of their identity in their work. Graciela said that at her work "one goes to apply what one knows" in the field and that she likes what she does even though people see her job as very hard. When I asked Graciela if she thought her work was valued in society, she said that it was not but that she still takes pride in it because she has been able to become really good at it.[63] On the other hand, Maria argued that she does enjoy her job since it is much respected in her town; however, she likes her job because there is no other alternative.[64] For both of these women, their job becomes part of their identity since they spend most of their life working. Identity is complicated by the internal tensions in the sense that workers do not see themselves as mere victims. They recognize their situation and find strength in the fact that farm work is part of their life.

Family Identity

Family as Priority

Another major aspect that shapes part of the identity of female farm workers is the family. As mentioned earlier, it is mostly the female that takes care of the well-being of the children. This factor defines the identity of women because they constantly have to look after their offspring. Maria, a Yakima farmworker, believes that family "is the basic of living."[65] She went on to say that family is "very important for the Mexican people" because Latinos have warmth to them that makes them want to be united in this structure.[66] Even if these families are constantly separated or living in substandard housing, women believe that family is their priority, which is one of the reasons why they remain in such jobs.

Not a home

For farmworkers, their housing is not conducive to the establishment of a home; on the contrary, these houses and apartments only serve as shelter. It is obvious how families being separated due to the migration patterns of agricultural jobs affect the way a family is structured; however, the homes also play a major role. Graciela portrayed the instability enforced by these migrant family homes this way: sometimes she had her eight children in a three-bedroom apartment but sometimes she only had one there. The rest of the time they would be at their father's house. Graciela's narrative presented the unstructured home life for kids since she mentioned how they would eat dinner wherever they wanted, possibly watching T.V. According

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[61] Rodriguez.
[62] Guterson 5.
[63] Rodriguez.
[64] Maria, Personal Interview, 14 November 2005.
[65] Maria.
[66] Maria.

to the Graciela, her house is "only a place to live, the basic."[67] Maria said that her dream was to have a mansion so that her whole family could be comfortable and enjoy the comforts of each other.[68] This narrative implies that her current house is not a comfortable environment for her family to enjoy each other. Consequently, these homes do not serve the purpose of building strong family connections by providing a place where the family can share activities and experiences.

The farm labor homes are also creating enclaves of poverty that are reserved for migrant workers. The fact that wages are very low leads to the inability of these workers, at least those who have settled, to live in adequate housing. Diego Vigil discusses the roots of Chicano gangs in Los Angeles and a major part of his argument is focusing on housing and how Mexicans had to settle in labor camps. He argues that "whether old or new, urban or rural, all of the camps exhibited the qualities noted earlier: spatial separation and visibly inferior housing."[69] These substandard living conditions are having the effect of creating areas where poverty is concentrated, which happens to be the areas where Latinos live. An example comes from Yakima, a city with a numerous Latino population, where "most Hispanics live in sweltering, squalid camps or in Yakima's east-side barrio."[70] Maria lives in a two-bedroom apartment in a community of predominantly Latinos. She let me know that at her home there could be between 3 to up to 6 people staying there.[71] This overcrowded apartment contributes to the construction of communities of despair. Another example can be seen in the physical qualities of the Walla Walla Farm Labor Homes. These homes are substandard, as I mentioned earlier; they are overcrowded, not well-maintained, and isolated from the rest of the community. Graciela said that outside of her house, "it's very dirty over there, it looks ugly."[72] These homes are not allowing workers to base their family interactions properly because of the inadequate housing conditions and are only creating communities where poverty is concentrated.

Place of Women

The last factor that plays a role in constructing female workers' identity is their family responsibility as women. Women are considered the backbone of the family; they are constantly taking the role of mothers, and ensuring the well-being of their children. Women, however, are not valued in the dominant society for their work. Maria stated that "there are very few [people] who think well of women."[73] I found this claim disturbing but accurate because women are constantly discriminated against and seen as the subservient gender. Here is where I found a major difference between the conditions of Mexican women and the narrative they shared. Graciela said that she saw that in farm work, women and men were seen as equal because they were both required to do the same work.[74] However, my research states that women are affected by unequal gender differences such as not being allowed to work on certain sectors of the industry.

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[67] Rodriguez.
[68] Maria.
[69] Diego Vigil, "Community Dynamics and the rise of Street Gangs," Class Reading 100.
[70] "Hispanics: Bad Apples?" *The Economist*, 324.7768 (Jul 19, 1992) 29.
[71] Maria.
[72] Rodriguez.
[73] Maria.
[74] Rodriguez.

These farmworkers also face the struggle against the common perceptions in the dominant culture of Latina women as a whole. I posed the question to Graciela: If you could make a movie about your experience as a farm worker and as a Mexican woman, what things would you want to be included in this movie? Her answer was "I don't know, they haven't made one that truly portrays the Latina woman, in reality, they don't present life. If they were going to do it, they would be disappointed."[75] The reason for this disappointment is because it is not what people would want to see, and thus not what would sell. The fact is that the society as a whole does not understand the importance of Latina women to agriculture and to their families. In addition, Maria argues that the dominant perception is to see Latina women as "sufrida" (a victim, someone who suffers). She argues that women are not constantly suffering because "there are many women who have succeeded."[76] Women are taking major roles in the family which forms part of their identity; however, the literature and data show that their role is often devalued and misrepresented in this society.

Political Marginalization

Lack of Protection

Even though Washington farmworkers are protected by state law, agricultural workers as a whole are not protected under the federal law. They are excluded from the National Labor Relations Act for example, and thus are the target of discrimination against rights that other workers have such as overtime pay and wage payment. In Maria's case, her lack of proper work documentation, leaves her with limited rights and even more vulnerable to discrimination. When I asked Maria if there needed to be a change in the way individuals fight for their rights, she answered "if laws changed that would be best, it is the only thing that can protect those who do not have a social security."[77] It is imperative to point out how this worker notices the lack of protection of the law. This might have to do with the fact that she has to constantly worry about her immigration status and is fully aware of what privileges are not presented to individuals like her, which happen to be more than half of all farmworkers. Maria goes on to say that with the law's support, "one feels more protected and can fight for one's rights."[78] Her suggestion for change in law was amnesty, which means legalizing the undocumented individuals that already reside in the nation. In short, workers are aware of their political marginalization derived from the lack of support by the law.

Lack of Knowledge of Rights

Agriculture depends on the work of immigrants who are not protected by the law and who lack the education to fight for the few rights they do hold. As mentioned previously, farmworkers lack the education necessary to fully understand documents being presented to them. They are also influenced by the language barrier in this respect. Maria believes she has full knowledge of all her rights and that language is a barrier to her everyday life. It is important to note that she would like to continue learning English; however, due to the fact that she has to work for a living, she cannot devote her time to attending classes. [79] I would argue that most of

[75] Rodriguez.
[76] Maria.
[77] Maria.
[78] Maria.
[79] Maria.

farmworkers, unlike Maria, do not have a full grasp of their rights and the many acts and bills that affect them both negatively and positively. The result of this need for docile workers is the subordination of a group of people in the political realm.

Second-Class Citizenship

The identity of these farmworkers becomes constructed from the common perception that they are second-class citizens in U.S. society. Throughout history, "to most Anglos, the immigrant from south of the border was always the peon laborer and never the potential citizen."[80] This remains true to this day; the expectation that immigrants will satisfy labor needs without needing to be considered citizens of this nation, even though these individuals contribute to their communities. Both Maria and Graciela mention the fact that Mexicans are seen as the disposable class. Graciela believes that the dominant group expects Mexicans to be working in the agriculture sector because they are the owners of the land, and thus they can easily take away the workers.[81] Maria also mentioned that Mexicans were treated as second-class citizens. She said that employers constantly fire individuals and then hire new workers, and thus showing how the company felt they can easily change workers. When I asked her how she felt about this dispensability, she said that it made her extremely sad because "they make us feel like we have no worth."[82] Once immigrants are not meeting labor needs, they are replaced by a new wave of immigrants leaving a group to feel like they belong in the margins of society. The result of this second class citizenship is that farm workers hold on to things, such as their national identity, that help them alleviate the social exclusion from the dominant culture they experience.

Recommendations

Latino farm workers in the Washington apple industry suffer the same problems that any farm worker in the United States does. Some of these problems are: receive low wages, live under poverty level, fear deportation, inhabit inadequate housing, lack legal protection, suffer from lack of education and language barrier, and are seen as second class citizens. The identity of the workers is definitely shaped by these conditions. The next step for this research is to find a way in which we can alleviate the social conditions of these farmworkers. There are at least two paths one can take to tackle these problems. First, one can target this problem as a labor regulation problem and fight for unions and state labor regulations as the solution. On the other hand, one can argue that it is a social welfare problem which can be solved through spending on housing, public services, and more. The difference lies in that the state assists the workers in empowering themselves and not by temporarily meeting their needs. I have decided that one must tackle it as a labor regulation problem, fixing the social conditions derived from their political marginalization as a result. This way, the state would be setting the legal provisions motivating workers themselves (all farmworkers, not just women) to self-empowerment in order to advocate social change.

Direct Government Action

With regard to state action, an attainable goal is to attempt to pressure state legislatures to pass bills that benefit farmworkers. The first Bill to address this question is Senate Bill 5240 that

[80] Reisler 38.
[81] Rodriguez.
[82] Maria.

requests "the director of labor and industries to issue and enforce civil penalties for violations of the minimum wage act."[83] This Bill gives us the statistic that there are over 5,000 complaints of state residents saying they have been denied payment and that there are no "effective means of addressing these complaints in order to ensure workers are paid the wages they are owed" or penalties for the violators.[84] This Bill seeks a system in which employers that are not complying with minimum wage provisions can be penalized. It is very important for farm workers because there are no penalties for employers who do not provide the rightful wages. The second Bill is Senate Bill 5823 which also deals with wage enforcement. This Bill is "an act relating to requiring prompt payment of final wages."[85] It argues that when an employee ends his job, he should be paid in the next 24 hours, and the employer should be responsible for paying a fine of $100 a day until he pays the debt to the worker. The importance of this document in particular is because the migration patters of farm work. Migrant workers might need to move, and thus they cannot wait until they can collect their paycheck. Both of these bills tackle the problems of wages because when workers live under the poverty line, they have no economic means to change their social conditions.

At a national level, it would be good to encourage the federal government to include agricultural workers into the National Labor Relations Act as a group deserving the protection of the law. This would lead, for example, to overtime pay, possible increases in wages, and civil enforcement of when rights are disregarded. Workers would be able to organize because it might be easier for unions to start up, and thus workers would no longer be afraid of losing their jobs for getting involved. Unfortunately, the problem with regard to lack of legal work documents is a more complex issue to tackle. Even though ideally I would want to argue for legalization of all workers, which is something that would solve the problem at its root, there would be extensive opposition to this option making this an unrealistic goal. At the same time, I do not agree with temporary worker programs because it is only fixing the problem temporarily and creates a class of individuals whom it is acceptable to overwork and then dispose. Erik Nicholson, Director of the United Farm Workers (UFW) of Oregon and Washington, mentioned how one can prevail within the existing legal framework by not attempting to change it drastically but to make sure it does not get worse.[86] By setting practical goals, such as the support (and maybe lobbying) of the previously mentioned bills, we can struggle to not allow conditions for farmworkers to be aggravated and ensure some change to their lives.

Unions and Self-Empowerment

The first step towards seeking change is through individual organization in the very complex idea of unions. First of all, the point of the union is to serve the people fight for their rights. This claim goes back to Cesar Chavez and his support of the UFW union saying that it was not just about "agricultural unionizing but in a moral cause – La Causa – a crusade to reclaim the dignity and civil rights of Mexican-origin farm laborers."[87] This crusade continues to this day. Nicholson says that the ways in which the union tackles these issues consists of the

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[83] Authorizing Penalties for Wage Payment Violations Bill, Senate Bill 5240, 18 January 2005, 22 September 2005, <http://www.leg.wa.gov> 1.
[84] Authorizing 1.
[85] Requiring Prompt Payment of Final Wages, Senate Bill 5823, 8 February 2005, 22 September 2005, <http://www.leg.wa.gov> 1.
[86] Erik Nicholson, Class Speech, Whitman College, Politics 402, 2 November 2005.
[87] Wells 76.

following tactics: appeal to the public and the companies that are buying the products, support personal lawsuits, and articulate a global strategy.[88] An example of this global strategy with regard to the apple industry is targeting Mexican consumers. After the penalty tariff on American apples was lifted in 1997, Mexico began to buy apples to the point of becoming the top importer for this market.[89] The UFW attempted to change the patterns of Mexican consumerism by presenting them with information on the conditions of Mexicans in Washington.[90] These tactics have proven efficient because throughout the years, unions have been able to enact policy change.

A controversial topic of discussion with regards to unions is if they require legal work documents, and thus limiting the participation of most foreign-born farmworkers. From the beginning of the UFW, the issue of citizenship has been a delicate subject.[91] The union often battled between including undocumented workers or take a position against them. Nicholson mentioned how the union attempts to create a community between workers. He also stated that membership is not exclusive to those with proper work documentation.[92] This claim is very problematic because both of the workers I interviewed stated the perception that unions required valid work documents. The reason for this can be explained by the following: first, there is a requirement of documents in certain unions during specific times that contributes to this perception; second, there is a misunderstanding or a lack of knowledge as to what the union does and who it benefits; and lastly, employers are utilizing the fear of deportation to demobilize the union. Nonetheless, workers need to be motivated to organize in order to change their living conditions.

All these recommendations are beneficial to both male and female farmworkers. The only extent to which women will be affected more than men is because women are more likely to be part of a union. In the union, some of the "strongest leaders are women," and organizers ensure that the family struggles are looked at in order not to undermine the movement.[93] However, most of these women are not holding positions of power. This fact shows how the union itself has many issues to work out in order to fully accommodate everyone's interests. Union organizing, nonetheless, is an effective way of changing living conditions. For this reason, it is important to push companies and the state to recognize the right of workers to unionize and that under Washington law it is illegal to retaliate for their organization. Supporting the union is a feasible goal for individuals to strive for, and a practical way of changing farmworkers' living conditions.

It is important to understand the objective conditions of female farm workers in the apple industry in Washington in order to understand what needs to change to improve the life of these workers. Latina farm workers face problems such as low wages and inadequate housing in which political marginalization is at the root of the problem. These conditions shape their identity based on work and family. From the subjective narrative, we found that farmworkers

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[88] Nicholson.
[89] Wallace 11.
[90] Wallace 29.
[91] Wells 89.
[92] Nicholson.
[93] Nicholson.

themselves would be willing to fight for their own rights if they felt that the law protected their interests as well. Therefore, it is necessary to provide a legal and political environment in which these workers can organize and advocate for change. Some of the ways we can achieve this goal is through support of bills benefiting farmworkers and by fully supporting union organization. Furthermore, we cannot keep this knowledge to ourselves; instead, we must share the apple, the fruit of knowledge, like Eve did with Adam. We must spread the knowledge on the conditions of these workers in order to enact government efforts that will lead to social change.

Appendix A. Interview Question List (Revised Nov. 14, 2005).

A. Basic Questions

- Name. Age. Place of Birth
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B. Family Identity

- Are you married?
- Do you have any children?
    - Yes: How many? Do they attend school? Do they participate in after-school programs? Can you tell me about a time when you visited your child's school?
- How important is family to you?
- Where do you live?
- How many rooms?
- How many people live in your place?
- What are some of the activities done around the house, as a family, together?
- Can you tell me about an experience where you felt like this place was your home?
- If you could make a movie about your experience as a woman in this society, what aspects of your daily life would you want to share, and not share?

C. Employment and Wages

- Are you employed?
    - Where? How long are your work days? What crops? How long are the seasons? How long have you had this job? Where else have you worked?
    - Can you tell me about your work environment? Like do you work next to people? By yourself?
- How much do you get paid? Do you get paid by the hour or by the piece? Is it weekly or monthly? How do you receive your payment (check, cash)?
- Have you ever had a problem with receiving your wages?
    - No: If you ever had a problem with your job, where would you go for help?
- Do you have health insurance?
- In what ways is your work recognized in society? In what ways is your work valued in society?

D. State and Rights

- Can you tell me about some of the rights farmworkers have?
    - Required by law to receive any information by your employer in your native language?
    - Entitled to a minimum wage of $7.35?
    - You can receive unemployment benefits?
- Have you ever seen or read the farm workers rights handbook for Washington?
- Why do you think bills that ensure that employers will pay the workers on time and penalize them if they don't didn't pass?
- Do you speak English fluently?
- Can you tell me about a time when language ever been a problem in your work?
- Can you tell me about a time when you (or anyone you know) have had to get legal help?

- What are some helpful things that could be provided by a legal agency in town?
- Have you ever been a part of a union?
    - Yes: Have you taken a leadership role in these groups?
- Have you ever participated in a strike?
- How do you feel about people participating in social activism? Do you think that there needs to be changes in the way we fight for workers' rights?
- If you could talk to the Governor, what are some of the things you would like her to know about your situation as a farm worker?
- Ethnic Identification (Latina, Mexican, Mexican-America, Hispanic, Chicana, etc).
- Can you tell me about how your national identity is represented in society? (Do you feel that Mexicans are seen as second-class citizens?)

Appendix B. Notes of Interview with Graciela Rodriguez (Oct. 11, 2005)

A. Basic Questions

- Name: Graciela Rodriguez. Age: 34. Birth Place: Zacatecas Mexico

B. Family

- Are you married? No
- Do you have any children? Yes
    - Yes: How many? 6
    - Do they attend school? Yes
    - Do they participate in after-school programs? Only Andres age 14
    - Can you tell me about a time when you visited your child's school? Only for parent conferences.
    - Yes: Have your children ever worked on the fields? How old are they? What crops? For how long? Was it during school season? What are some of the things you like about your children working on the fields? Yes, Alex, age 16, he helped during breaks. Graciela does not like it, only when he is in vacation and she wants him to finish school. She said she would like "un trabajo mejor para ellos, no me gustaría que ellos trabajaran ahi, yo no tengo otra alternative porque no he estudiado" (a better job for them, I wouldn't want them to work there, me, I don't have another alternative because I haven't studied)
        - Have you seen children work on the fields? Yes, "muchos, bebes porque no tienen quien los cuide, y ahi andan en el sol" (lots, babies because they don't have anyone to take care of them, and there they are under the sun)
- What do you think of the head start program here? "me ha servido, agarran sus mañas" (it's helped me, they pick up bad habits)
- Can you tell me about how you see your place as a woman in this society? "no se, lo mismo hacemos los hombres que las mujeres, las manzanas en lo alto, tambien las mujeres lo podemos hacer que son trabajos de hombre, si somos iguales" (I don't know, we do the same things men and women, the apples up high, us women can also do it which are male jobs, yeah, we are equal)

C. Housing

- Where do you live? "el campo de walla" (the camp of walla)
- How many people live in your place? Depends on the day, sometimes 1, sometimes 8, sometimes the children stay with their dad.
- How was the process of getting this place? Was it difficult? No
- Have you ever had problems with the renter? No, sometimes maintenance is very slow, she calls at 11 in the morning one day to fix a leaky toilet and they don't come fix it until late the next day.
- Have you ever had problems paying for rent? No
    - Are there places where you can get assistance for rent? "nunca he pedido ayuda" (I have never asked for help)
- Can you tell me about an experience where you felt like this place was your home? "solamente es un lugar para vivir, lo basico" (it's only a place to live, the basic)

- What are some of the activities done around the house, as a family, together? They watch television, and the children eat whenever they want and wherever they want.

D. Employment and Wages

- Are you employed? Where? What crops? How long are your work days? How long are the seasons? How long have you had this job? Where else have you worked? Stadelman, in Milton-Freewater, there is one in Yakima as well. Apples, Plums, Cherry, Jun-August is cherry and plums, the rest of the time is apple season. She has also worked at West Top, Tree top, Blue Moon, and Garden. She works 8 hours a day. She has worked at this job for 6 years. She worked at Blue Moon for 8 years and she did not like it, she had issues with the "mayordoma" because "no puedes hablar, siempre nos gritaban que ay venía la migra" (you can't speak, they always yelled at us that the INS was coming). She enjoys her current job because "nos tratan como personas" (they treat us like people) and from the start they told them exactly what was expected from them and "uno va a desempeñar lo que sabe" (one goes to apply what one knows)
    - Yes: Can you tell me about your work environment? Like do you work next to people? Yes, of course, "puedes platicar, pero fijate lo que estas haciendo" (you can talk, but pay attention to what you are doing) They could talk as long as there was no work, but when the "tinas" were packed, they could chat and gossip, at her old job she could not even acknowledge other people's existence.
- In what ways is your work recognized in society? In what ways is your work valued in society? She didn't know how to answer this question. She did say that "me gusta lo que yo hago" (I like what I do) and that people would see her job as "muy pesado" (it's very hard)
- How much do you get paid? "lo minimo" (the minimum) (and I asked, how much is that?) "creo que ni se, yo no me fijo" (I believe I don't even know, I don't even pay attention to that)
- Do you get paid by the hour or by the piece? Before they were being paid by the piece but now it is hourly. She said that "nos estaban pagando por contrato, pero no sale, esta mejor porque ahora si salimos al dia" (they were paying us under a contract, that didn't cut it, it's better now because we do get enough for the day) She mentioned that now that she is very good at her job, it would be alright to be paid by the piece because she can pack a lot of boxes now and she thinks the company knows that now so they would never go back to paying by piece. She thinks that they were smart for switching the way they paid the workers. She does at least 315 boxes a day now. The company wants the worker to have at least 120 boxes packed a day.
- Is it weekly or monthly? Every 15 days.
- How do you receive your payment (check, cash)? check
- Have you ever had a problem with receiving your wages? no
    - No: If you ever had a problem with your job, where would you go for help? She didn't remember the place, she said the place does help a lot of people though.
- Can you tell me about a time when you (or someone you know) had injuries at your work site? She talked about a young male who got in an accident, she thinks it had to do with the fact that he was tired because he was working two jobs. It was something to do with her fingers being caught on something, the hospital took care of him and the company paid for the bills as well.

- Do you have health insurance? Yes, but not through her job but through some coupons.
- Does your employer provide you with ways of preventing injuries? They say they do, but she doesn't think they need much, they provide them with gloves and thick coats when the weather gets colder.
- In what ways does your employer show he cares about your protection and safety? Her answer was that she does think they take precaution.

E. State and Rights

- Did you know that hospitals may not deny you emergency care because you are unable to pay or because you are undocumented? She didn't know that but she has never had problems with the hospital.
- Do you know that you are required by law to receive any information by your employer in your native language? Yes.
- Are you aware that you are entitled to a minimum wage of $7.35 and even if you are paid on a piece rate basis, your pay must average the minimum wage? Yes but she doesn't know how much it is
- Did you know that employers must get permit to employ workers under 18 years old? No, the places she has been she has never seen any of the permits, but where are they going to post them she asked, in the trees?
- Have you ever seen or read the farm workers rights handbook for Washington? No.
- Did you know that it is required by law to have the labor homes clean? Yes, but they keep it clean sometimes and sometimes they don't. She said "ay un desmadre alla, se mira feo, pero alla ellos, es la manager la que tiene que ver" (it's very dirty over there, it looks ugly, but it's their problem, it's the manager that needs to look out for that)
- Are you aware that you can receive unemployment benefits? Yes, "cada año lo pido" (I ask for it every year)
- Why do you think bills that ensure that employers will pay the workers on time and penalize them if they don't didn't pass? They don't care about the immigrants, "mas que nada ellos son los que trabajan" (more than anything they are the ones that work)
- Can you tell me about a time when you (or anyone you know) have had to get legal help? Are there specific things that you would want the state to put in legislature for the protection of workers? "No, yo no conosco, esta bien si es barato, que te ayudaran, en veces no te ayudan" (no, I don't know, it's good if it's cheap, if they helped you, sometimes they don't help you) She says that legal help costs a lot and that sometimes lawyers charge you and they don't really help you, they just charge you to tell them your problems and all they can do is advise you.
- Ethnic Identification: Mexican, she doesn't get bothered to be called whatever, she thinks that other women do have issues with the other terms.
- What is it like to be a Mexican in this country? Is it difficult? She said "depende en el estado" (it depends on the state)
- Have you ever been a part of a union? No, "gracias a Dios, no mas muerden dinero y a la hora de la hora no hacen nada, no sirve" (thank God, they only bite money, and at the end of the day they don't do anything, they don't work)
- Have you ever participated in a strike? No, she hasn't been placed in that situation either. She talked about Tyson and said that "salieron la misma, no paso nada, solamente quedo la verguenza de estar parados, pero de todas maneras regresaron y no ganaron nada, en

lugar, les dejaron el trabajo a otras personas, ellos aprovechan lo que uno esta dejando" (they ended up the same, nothing happened, only the shame of being there standing stayed, and they ended up coming back anyways and they didn't gain anything, instead, they left the job to other people, they took advantage of what one was leaving behind)

- If you could make a movie about your experience as a farm worker and as a Latina/Chicana/etc woman, what things would you want to be included in this movie? "No se, no han hecho una que verdad muestra la mujer Latina, en realidan, no ponen la vida. Si lo fueran a hacer, se decepcionarian" (I don't know, they haven't made one that truly portrays the Latina woman, in reality, they don't present life. If they were going to do it, they would be disappointed) She then described her life as waking up, go to work, take care of the children, make food for the family, go to work again, take a shower at 10pm and then wake up at 4 am the next day to start it all over again. And that there's no rest for these women. She said "la vida aqui es puro trabajar" (life here is only working) and "de ves en cuando una divertida" (and here and there a little fun) She said that most people "siempre quieren escribir de lo que mas que se vendan, lo exportado, lo que esta hecho" (they always want to write about what would sell the most, the exported, that which is made) She then proceeded to ask what the US would do without Mexicans, she said that if a "guerito" were to come to work at the fields, everyone would be really excited, but that they expect Mexicans to be working there because they are the owners of this land, and they can easily take us away. She doesn't think anyone would be doing her job, she asked "los gueros, lo van ha hacer?" (the 'gueros' are they going to do it?) and said that it would not happen because they don't give this work importance. She mentioned how it is even worse for the Mexicans that work at the fields, their stories are never told.
- When I asked her about her documents, she said she was documented because of the Amnesty of 1986, when she was 16 years old. She says that sometimes having papers doesn't make life easier for people because they lack money. She believes that having money makes the difference between being able to move up in the job or not.

Appendix C. Notes of Interview with Maria (Nov. 14, 2005)

A. Basic Questions

- Name: Maria (not her real name). Age: 43. Place of Birth: Colima, Colima, Mexico. She does not have proper work documents.

B. Family Identity

- Are you married? Yes.
- Do you have any children? Yes.
    - Yes: How many? She has four children
    - Do they attend school? Three of them are going to college, the youngest one is not of age to attend school.
    - Do they participate in after-school programs? They did.
    - Can you tell me about a time when you visited your child's school? Parents' Conferences.
- How important is family to you? Very important. "La familia es la celula basica de la originacion" (family is the basic cell of originality/creation). What does that mean? "Quiere decir que es lo basico de vivir" (it means that it is the basic of living). She also said that "es muy importante para la gente Mexicana una familia Hispana" (a Hispanic family is very important for the Mexican people). What do you mean by that? "tengo en la mente muchas cosas, pero los Hispanos, somos muy calientes en nuestros mismos, somos mas unidos que los gringos" (I have a lot of things in my mind, but Hispanics, we are very warm within ourselves, we are more united than the 'gringos').
- Where do you live? Yakima, in an apartment, not owned by her employer.
- How many rooms? 2
- How many people live in your place? Right now 3, up to 6. "cuando se vienen todos se llena" (when they all come it fills up).
- What are some of the activities done around the house, as a family, together? She said that they always eat together, watch television and study the Bible as a family.
- Can you tell me about an experience where you felt like this place was your home? She did not understand this question. She did say that her dream was to have a mansion. She said "quisiera tener una mansion para poder estar todos comodos, para poder distrutar el calor de la familia" (I would like to have a mansion so that we could all be comfortable, so that we could enjoy the warmth of the family)
- If you could make a movie about your experience as a woman in this society, what aspects of your daily life would you want to share, and not share? She did not know how to respond to this, she did mention that "son muy pocos los que piensan bien de la mujer" (there are very few who think well of women). She extended by saying that "esta gente piensa que la mujer Hispana es sufrida pero yo no pienso que sea eso porque hay muchas mujeres que han sobresalido" (these people think that the Hispanic woman is 'sufrida' but I do not think this is true because there are many women who have succeeded).

C. Employment and Wages

- Are you employed? Yes.
    - Where? Packing in a warehouse called Bright Packing in Wapato, WA.
    - How long are your work days? Worked 8 hours a day.

    - She mentioned she had to travel to her job, and she always has to travel to get the jobsite.
- How much do you get paid? At first she started with $7.00 and after 2 years she went up to $8.00. She did get paid overtime though.
- Have you ever had a problem with receiving your wages? No
    - No: If you ever had a problem with your job, where would you go for help? Yes, she knows of a couple places.
- Do you have health insurance? No, "no mas la del carro" (only the car's). They do not provide insurance at her job.
- In what ways is your work recognized in society? In what ways is your work valued in society? "Dentro del pueblo si es valuado porque es lo que mas produce esta region, entonces es respetado" (within this city it is valued because it is what produces the most in this region, therefore it is respected). She mentioned that outside of the town people did not think this work was important. She continued by saying that "no me queda otra, si me gusta porque no hay mas, si pudiera tener otro trabajo si me fuera" (I have no other alternative, yes I like it because there is nothing else, if I could have another job I would leave). Why don't you have another alternative? "por el seguro" (because of the Social Security).

D. State and Rights

- Can you tell me about some of the rights farmworkers have? Her answer was: "conozco todos los derechos" (I know all the rights). She mentioned that one could go to a shelter if one needed, and various places to get help. When I asked her how she knew of her rights, she said that she learned through word of mouth, the people from her church told her.
    - Required by law to receive any information by your employer in your native language? Yes.
    - Entitled to a minimum wage of $7.35? Yes.
    - You can receive unemployment benefits? Yes, but she can't because she is undocumented.
- Do you speak English fluently? She said "fifty fifty." She said that she had not had the chance to learn it. I asked her why she felt this was the case and she said that she had taken a couple classes but that she did not have time because of the job. She said "voy a seguir aprendiendo, me sobran ganas, el problema es el tiempo" (I will continue learning, I have enough desire, the problem is time).
- Can you tell me about a time when language ever been a problem in your work? She said that in her job is not so much of a problem but that "no hablarlo bien es siempre un obstaculo" (not speaking it well is always an obstacle).
- Can you tell me about a time when you (or anyone you know) have had to get legal help? She does not know.
- Have you ever been a part of a union? No, they did not have one in this job. However, when she worked with a different crop in a different company, she said that there was a union. This union required documents, and thus prevented her from participating.
- Have you ever participated in a strike? No.
- How do you feel about people participating in social activism? She says it's a good thing because "defienden sus derechos" (they are fighting for their rights).

- Do you think that there needs to be changes in the way we fight for workers' rights? "Que cambien las leyes seria major, es lo unico que puede proteger a los que no tienen seguro" (If laws changed that would be best, it is the only thing that can protect those who do not have a social security). I asked her why this is the case, she said "se siente uno mas protegido y puede pelear por sus derechos" (one feels more protected and can fight for one's rights). I also asked her what kind of law she wished to change and she said that amnesty would be the best option.
- Ethnic Identification (Latina, Mexican, Mexican-America, Hispanic, Chicana, etc). She considers herself Mexicana, she also stressed that it was not Mexican! She actually said she was Mexicana-India (Mexican and Native).
- Can you tell me about how your national identity is represented in society? (Do you feel that Mexicans are seen as second-class citizens?) She said that she feels that Mexicans create communities with each other because they trust each other. She mentioned that she did feel Mexicans were seen as second-class because she has seen how employers constantly fire individuals and then hire new workers. She said that "a la empresa no le importa, pueden cambiar" (to the company, it does not matter, they can change). I asked her how that made her feel and she said that it made her extremely sad. "Nos hacen sentir que no valemos" (they make us feel like we have no worth).

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THE WASHINGTON STATE NURSING SHORTAGE AND THE "INVISIBLE" HOSPITAL WORKFORCE

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Politics 402
Whitman College
November 8, 2005

Introduction

My given topic was Latino employment in the service industry in Washington State. Through contacts my professor has with organizers for Service Employees International Union, I learned about the unionization efforts of hospital workers at Yakima Regional Medical Center, and this led me to focus on the experiences of Latinos working in hospitals and the health care industry. I learned that 30 percent of the employees working at Yakima Regional are Latino, and that they are mostly concentrated in the more traditional forms of service labor in the hospital (custodial, food service, housekeeping, etc.) as opposed to health care professions. As I began research on conditions for hospital employees I was continually frustrated by a lack of information about these workers and the preoccupation in the information that I did find with the current nursing shortage that our state is facing. So I changed tactics. This is meant to be an investigation into what conditions are like for Latinos working in Washington Hospitals. And one major condition of Washington hospitals is a shortage of nurses. How, then, are Latino workers affected by the nursing shortage? More importantly, how do the factors causing a nursing shortage affect Latino workers, and what options do Latinos have to respond to these factors? Is there a way that Latino workers can be a part of the solution to the current nursing shortage? Given the amount of attention that has been paid to professional hospital workers, I think it is important for us to question the circumstances for non-professional workers as well, and how the two are related. I used a number of methods to try to answer these questions. I used the internet and the databases in Whitman College's Penrose Library to gather data and scholarly articles. I also conducted two interviews: one with a technician at St. Mary Medical Center in Walla Walla, and one with a former Certified Nurse's Assistant for Yakima Regional Medical Center, who is now that hospital's representative to the Service Employees International Union, Local 1199. These interviews were made possible with the help of my two community partners, Andrea Gass and Jenny Reed-Heaton. What I found is that the nursing shortage in Washington is being caused by nurses' dissatisfaction with the way that hospitals are industrializing and pushing for streamlining and cost efficiency. The work environment caused by this affects all employees of the hospital, especially Latinos, who I found to be concentrated in the lower level occupations of the hospital. Washington is currently faced with two complementary problems: we lack nurses, and Latinos are underrepresented in professional health care occupations. By increasing accessibility of education for Latinos, through academic programs or union involvement, more Latinos could pursue careers in nursing and other professional medical occupations, pointing us on the way to solutions to both problems.

Literature

I relied on three main scholarly studies in shaping my research. These were "The Dance of Power: Ritual and Agency Among Unionized American Health Care Workers," by Paul Durenberger and Suzan Erem, "The Structural Embeddedness of Demand for Mexican Immigrant Labor: New Evidence from California," by Wayne Cornelius, and "Unsung Heroes of Union Democracry: Rank-and-File Organizers," by Peter Downs.

In "The Dance of Power," anthropologist Paul Durenberger and union organizer Suzan Erem have teamed up to analyze the rituals of power involved in negotiations between employers, employees and unions. They liken the process to a "dance of power" where certain rituals are employed to achieve specific goals. Durenberger and Erem write that "when the two of us see actions in modern hospitals that are not directed toward pragmatic action, we call them

ritual." An example they give of this is a hospital supervisor arriving 45 minutes late to a grievance meeting. Arriving late is an action "not directed toward pragmatic action," and is instead, a "ritual gesture of superiority," which contributes one step in the "dance of power." This description was helpful to me in understanding the dynamic in some work environments between employees and employers, and was reinforced for me in my interview with Ray Carrio. The most helpful concept I drew from this article, however, was the idea of certain hospital workers as an "invisible workforce." The authors point out that most studies of medical anthropology have focused on doctors—"the professionals in white, or their interactions with patients." The service workers of the hospital, without whom the facility could not function, are often overlooked in our imaginations of the hospital. [1]

The data I have found has shown that it is in these service occupations that Latino workers are concentrated. To understand why Latinos are concentrated in service jobs at the hospital, while underrepresented in professional health care jobs, I relied on Wayne Cornelius' article. After studying the labor market of San Diego County, he concludes that in some industries (the service industry included) there is a "structurally embedded" demand for Mexican immigrant labor. Jobs in these particular industries have been shown not to attract native born applicants. Even if they did, many employers seem to simply prefer immigrant workers, claiming that they are "highly reliable and punctual," flexible (willing to work overtime, weekends, and night shifts), and have a "strong work ethic."[2]

By focusing on Yakima Medical Center, which is unionized through the Service Employees International Union, I began to look at how a union can bring change to the pattern of structural embeddedness. Peter Downs, in his article "Unsung Heroes of Union Democracy," shows how unions, as democratic institutions, can empower workers and help them to find a voice to speak out against the injustices of structurally embedded jobs. [3] Downs' article was an important supplement to the information that Ray Carrio shared with me in his interview about how the union has been an important means of empowerment for workers, especially Latinos, who he feels have traditionally been accustomed to accepting work conditions without standing up for themselves.

The Interviews

I was very lucky to interview two different men who were able to give me their perspective of the experience for Latinos working in hospitals. The first interview was with George, a technician in the physical therapy department of St. Mary's Medical Center here in Walla Walla. George was introduced to me through Andrea Gass, a physical therapist there and friend of my professor. The interview took place at the hospital, in English, at 9:00 am on Friday, November 4, 2005. George preferred not to use a tape recorder, so I took notes during the interview. The second interview was with Ray Carrio, an organizer from Service Employees

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[1] Durenberger, E. Paul and Suzan Erem. "The Dance of Power: Ritual and Agency Among Unionized American Health Care Workers." *American Anthropologist.* September 1997. Vol. 99, Iss. 3, p. 489-495.

[2] Cornelius, Wayne A. "The Structural Embeddedness of Demand for Mexican Immigrant Labor: New Evidence from California."

[3] Downs, Peter. "Unsung Heroes of Union Democracy: Rank-and-File Organizers." *The Transformation of U.S. Unions: Voices Visions, and Strategies from the Grassroots*. Ed. Ray M. Tillman and Michael S. Cummings. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1999.

International Union (SEIU) Local 1199 who works with Yakima Regional Medical Center. The interview was recorded at Yakima Regional, in English at 2:30 pm on Friday, November 4, 2005. Two other students from my class, Lázaro Carrión and Austin Rainwater, were present and helped me to ask the interview questions. My interview with Ray was arranged through Jenny Reed-Heaton, another organizer for SEIU 1199. Both interviews lasted about 30 minutes.

George was very cooperative, but somewhat reserved when I interviewed him. Unfortunately, this was probably due in part to the fact that English is his second language and I was unable to get an interpreter for the interview. George got into health care when he left his factory job to go to work in a nursing home. There he took classes and took a test to become a Certified Nurse' Assistant. One of his observations about working in a nursing home that I thought was very interesting was that Latino nurses were more respectful of the elderly than Anglo nurses. He seemed very aware of the specific contributions of Latinos to health care, and also mentioned his bilingualism to be an asset to the hospital. George is overall very satisfied with his job," he says he feels happy and appreciated. He did share some of the things he would change about the hospital which were the poor health coverage and lack of communication between staff and management. From his past experience working in a unionized factory, he did not feel that unions would be helpful in bringing about those changes, however.[4]

Although he shares the common experience of working as a CNA, Ray Carrio feels very differently about the role that unions can play in fixing problems in the hospital. For him, unionization has been a part of his identity since childhood. Ray says that he saw firsthand the way a union could completely change a family's circumstances when his parents left work in the fields to take union jobs, his father in the railroad and his mother at Safeway. He sees unions as an important source of empowerment for Latinos. Because Ray has left his career in healthcare to be a union organizer fulltime, he is very knowledgeable about how a union works and in what specific ways it can be helpful for changing the circumstances of service laborers, and I relied heavily on his information, as well as his personal commentary, in writing this report.[5]

A Shortage of Nurses and a Shortage of Diversity: Data

In recent years there has been a growing concern that there is a shortage of registered nurses in the health care field. In a survey done in Seattle, 61 percent of the public surveyed said that they were aware of a health care worker shortage in the area. 76 percent of those who were aware of this thought it was either a "serious" or "very serious" problem for them personally. Their concern is not unfounded. By 2020, the United States is projected to have a shortage of 300,000 registered nurses. In Washington, 55 percent of hospitals were forced to go on what is called "divert status" in 2001—sending patients to other facilities because of a lack of nurses to care for them.

The shortage is driven by a two-part problem: inability to retain currently working nurses, and inability to recruit new ones. More and more registered nurses are choosing not to pursue nursing careers. Twenty point six percent of licensed registered nurses in Washington are not currently working in health care. Washington has the highest incidence of this phenomenon in the Western United States. The number of nurses not working in health care in our state is twice

[4] George. Personal Interview. St, Mary Medical Center, Walla Walla. November 4, 2005.
[5] Carrio, Ray. Personal Interview. Yakima Regional Medical Center. November 4, 2005.

that of the state of Oregon. Hospitals are also having difficulty bringing new nurses to their staffs. Eighty-five percent of Washington's urban hospitals, and 77 percent statewide, have reported difficulty in recruiting licensed practical nurses. The current workforce is aging, without new blood to replace it. In 1998, 54 percent of registered nurses in Washington were over the age of 40. Two years later, in 2000, 69 percent were.[6]

The shortage of nurses has been a very high-profile issue in Washington state. But its causes affect the entire health care industry, not just nurses. Durenberger and Erem, write that "medicine is one of the last bastions of house-hold based crafts which both Marxist and neoclassical economics have long predicted would give way to industrial forms of organization."[7] The industrialization of the health care field, has led to an increasing pressure on hospitals to become more efficient and profitable. Hospital employers have increasingly been looking for ways to downsize and cut costs in hospitals. In my interview with Ray Carrio, I asked him how he saw this manifested at the hospital. He said that over a two-year period, the hospital lost 150 workers from within his bargaining unit—through layoffs, attrition, and the hospital shifting the positions and duties of the workers that remained.[8] These measures have been profitable for hospitals. The average profit per patient visit in Washington hospitals has increased from $108.66 in 2000, to $368.70 in 2003. This is an increase of 239.3 percent in 3 years. But many argue that it comes at the expense of the work environment for hospital staff. Fifty percent of registered nurses that are planning to leave their career in the next five years say that they would reconsider if they knew that staffing levels of the hospital would be better. And 45 percent of nurses who have already left the profession said that a better work environment would be "very likely" to encourage them to return to nursing.[9]

Cutbacks in staffing and increases of overtime and general duties are beginning to create an unsafe working environment in U.S. hospitals, as well. Lack of available staff is a factor in 24 percent of all "sentinel events" (unanticipated incidents that result in death or injury) in hospitals. This means that patient health can be threatened by staffing levels being too low for health care providers to give adequate care. But worker health is jeopardized as well. The hospital has many hazards, ranging from needlesticks, to toxic chemicals, disease exposure, and ergonomic injuries. Aurolyn Lee, a registered nurse from Swedish Medical Center in Seattle, called for more adequate staffing by pointing out that "patients tend to be heavier now, and it puts wear and tear on your body when you have to lift and pull and turn patients every four hours."[10] In fact, in 1996, hospitals were found to have the highest number of non-fatal workplace injuries of any

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[6] Service Employees International Union District 1199NW. "A Time to Care: Frontline Health Workers' Real Solutions for Washington's Health Workforce Crisis." May 2004. http://seiu1199nw.org/docUploads/SEIU%20-%20A%20Time%20to%20Care.pdf

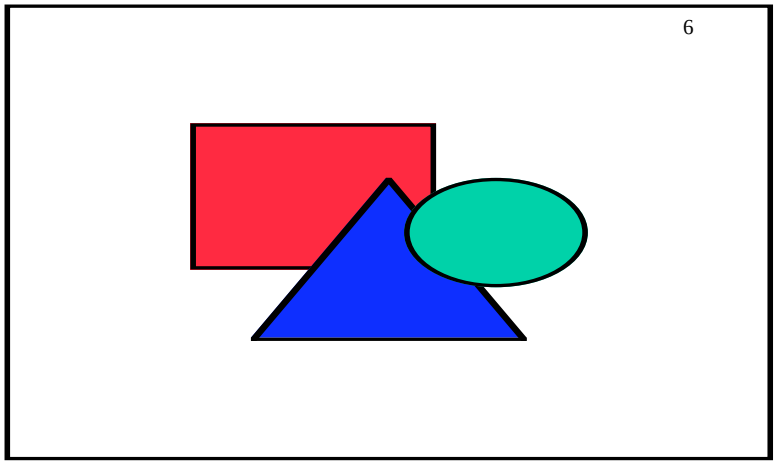
[7] Durenberger, E. Paul and Suzan Erem. "The Dance of Power: Ritual and Agency Among Unionized American Health Care Workers." *American Anthropologist.* September 1997. Vol. 99, Iss. 3, p. 489-495.

[8] Carrio, Ray. Personal Interview. Yakima Regional Medical Center. November 4, 2005.

[9] Service Employees International Union District 1199NW. "A Time to Care: Frontline Health Workers' Real Solutions for Washington's Health Workforce Crisis." May 2004. http://seiu1199nw.org/docUploads/SEIU%20-%20A%20Time%20to%20Care.pdf

[10] Service Employees International Union District 1199NW. "A Time to Care: Frontline Health Workers' Real Solutions for Washington's Health Workforce Crisis." May 2004. http://seiu1199nw.org/docUploads/SEIU%20-%20A%20Time%20to%20Care.pdf

private sector industry in the country. There were more than 330,000 occupational injury cases in private hospitals. The incidence rate of injury was 11.0 cases per 100 full-time workers.[11]



The support staff that keeps medical staff from getting stretched too thin is under threat from changes in the health care industry. One of the main problems putting strain on nurses is that some employers try to streamline efficiency by making cutbacks in areas that are perceived to be independent of direct patient care, such as supply distribution, food service, and housekeeping services. This puts the burden on remaining employees to cover those duties, as well as their own.[12] Durenberger and Erem write that when "management rhetoric centers on the bottom line of profitability, of doing more with less," health care support workers feel threatened: either with the loss of their job, or with "threats of overwork if *they* do not lose their jobs but must add to their duties the work of those who do."[13]

These workers Durenberger and Erem refer to are not necessarily those that come first to mind when one thinks of a hospital. "Literary and dramatic stereotypes," they say, focus on doctors and patients. But there is an "invisible" workforce that is just as affected as nurses and doctors, if not more so, by the changes in the health care industry. "Just on the edge of peripheral vision," they write, "are the occasional people in green striped uniforms who wheel carts of records, patients, food, or laundry through the halls or who silently mop floors or empty trash containers. Unseen is the army of people who operate the laundry, prepare the food, maintain the miles of pipe and electrical wiring, oil the machines, change the filters in the ventilation system, retrieve and deliver information from the archives, and fill out Medicaid, Medicare, and insurance forms with the proper designations that will keep the money flowing through the system."[14] A large percentage of these workers are Latino. There has been a growing trend in

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[11] U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics. "Hospitals Have Highest Number of Occupational Injuries." *Monthly Labor Review*. August 18, 1999. http://www.bls.gov/opub/ted/1999/Aug/wk3/art03.htm

[12] Service Employees International Union District 1199NW. "A Time to Care: Frontline Health Workers' Real Solutions for Washington's Health Workforce Crisis." May 2004. http://seiu1199nw.org/docUploads/SEIU%20-%20A%20Time%20to%20Care.pdf

[13] Durenberger, E. Paul and Suzan Erem. "The Dance of Power: Ritual and Agency Among Unionized American Health Care Workers." *American Anthropologist.* September 1997. Vol. 99, Iss. 3, p. 489-495.

[14] Durenberger, E. Paul and Suzan Erem. "The Dance of Power: Ritual and Agency Among Unionized American Health Care Workers." *American Anthropologist.* September 1997. Vol. 99, Iss. 3, p. 489-495.

recent decades of Latinos moving into the service industry from more traditional occupations of agriculture and manufacturing. In 2004, there were 4,336,000 Latino workers in the service industry. This is an almost 4 percent increase from 2003, when there were 4,175,000. The categories of service labor in U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics are: health care support occupations, protective service occupations, food preparation and serving related occupations, building and grounds cleaning and maintenance occupations, and personal care and service occupations.[15] One of the things that make hospitals a very interesting and dynamic area of study is that they rely on labor from every one of these categories in order to function.

Employed Latino Workers by Occupation[16]

(In Thousands)	**2003**	**2004**
All service occupations	4,175	4,336
Healthcare support occupations	365	384
Protective service occupations	276	315
Food preparation and serving related occupations	1,441	1,405
Building and grounds cleaning and maintenance occupations	1,542	1,661
Personal care and service occupations	550	571

Ray Carrio, the organizer I spoke with from SEIU 1199, said that he felt there was a "disproportionate concentration" of Latinos in the more service labor oriented levels of employment at the hospital (such as dietary and custodial staff).[17] There is a lack of mobility for Latinos to advance within the health care field. In his essay "The Structural Embeddedness of Demand for Mexican Immigrant Labor," Wayne Cornelius claims that some forms of labor, particularly Mexican immigrant labor have become structural components of the industries they work in. Immigrant workers were found in Cornelius' study to be preferred by employers because they are "reliable and punctual," willing to work overtime, weekends or night shifts if needed, and have a "strong work ethic." In cases of structural embeddedness, employer demand for labor and immigrant supply of labor "have grown in tandem."[18] This seems to be true for the hospital industry, where streamlining and cutbacks have caused employers to require extra over-time, and flexibility with changing shifts and duties. For nurses, and other medical staff who have the economic security, these demands are enough to cause them to leave health care. This is not an immediate option for many Latinos working in health care. Although Latinos make up 12.5 percent of the total U.S. population, they comprise only 2 percent of all nurses, 4.4 percent of all medical records and health information technicians, 2.8 percent of pharmacists, and 1.3 percent of emergency medical technicians and paramedics.[19] Washington State Reports a similar lack of representation of Latinos in health care. In 2000, 7.5 percent of the state was reported to be Latino, yet only 2.0 percent of doctors, 4.5 percent of physician assistants, 1.6 percent of

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[15] Bureau of Labor Statistics. "Employed Hispanic or Latino Workers by Sex, Occupation, Class of Worker, Full or Part-Time Status, and Detailed Ethnic Group." http://www.bls.gov/cps/cpsaat13.pdf.

[16] Bureau of Labor Statistics. "Employed Hispanic or Latino Workers by Sex, Occupation, Class of Worker, Full or Part-Time Status, and Detailed Ethnic Group." http://www.bls.gov/cps/cpsaat13.pdf.

[17] Carrio, Ray. Personal Interview. Yakima Regional Medical Center. November 4, 2005.

[18] Cornelius, Wayne A. "The Structural Embeddedness of Demand for Mexican Immigrant Labor: New Evidence from California."

[19] Woog, Dan. "Diversity in Health Care." *Featured Report: Health Care Needs Diverse Workers*. 2005. http://featuredreports.monster.com/diversityhc/overview/

nurse practitioners, 0.7 percent of dentists, and 1.7 percent of dental hygienists were Latino.[20] At the same time, Ray Carrio reports that Yakima Regional Medical Center employs a staff that is about 30 percent Latino.[21] Clearly, the hospital relies on Latino labor, but not necessarily to fill healthcare occupations.

Creating Change: Unions and Education

Many feel that the lack of Latino medical professionals, particularly those fluent in Spanish, is affecting the quality of care that hospitals can provide to Latino patients. In some hospitals, the lack of bilingual staff is so severe that hospital housekeepers have had to be brought in to translate between patients and doctors.[22] It is also important to have staff that has the potential to be more sensitive to the cultural needs of Latino patients. Rudy Valenzuela, a registered nurse and a chapter president of the National Association of Hispanic Nurses, writes that "we live in a world that is divided by language and culture, but we act as the bridge that unites those two worlds. We are thus," he says, "the Hispanic nurses, those who care in the context of culture."[23] George, a man I interviewed who is currently working as a technician in the physical therapy department of St. Mary's Medical Center in Walla Walla, was hired specifically for his Spanish fluency. He was working as a Certified Nurse's Assistant (CNA) at a nursing home and was recruited by the hospital when he brought his mother in for physical therapy. He says he uses Spanish a lot in his work, and is occasionally called to other departments of the hospital, like emergency care, to translate. George believes there are cultural attributes that Latinos share that make them valuable in the health care field. When he was working as a CNA at the nursing home, he noticed that the Latino nurses seemed to be more respectful of the elderly than the Anglo nurses. "Americans don't care as much," he told me, "to them it's just a job." Latinos, he said, "have more respect for the elderly, even if they're not our relatives."[24]

So, conveniently it would seem, Washington is experiencing a shortage of healthcare workers, particularly those familiar with Spanish and the Latino culture, at the same time as Latinos are underrepresented in health care professions. It would seem that a joint solution is in order. I have encountered two programs in Washington focused on solving the nursing shortage, while at the same time bringing diversity to the profession. Bellevue Community College's (BCC) "Cultural Diversity in Nursing Education" program targets "underrepresented and disadvantaged students" for careers in nursing. BCC aids college-ready students in applying for financial aid to enroll in Nursing at the college, and runs a summer program to provide preparation for those that need it. They arrange for tutoring to support academic efforts, and give one-on-one advising and assistance applying for financial aid to those who wish to progress to the University of Washington, Bothell. The other program is called Alcance and operates in Yakima. It creates educational links between Yakima middle schools, high schools, and nursing

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[20] Health Care Personnel Shortage Task Force. "Health Care Personnel Shortage: Crisis or Opportunity?" December 2002. http://www.wtb.wa.gov/HCTFRP02.PDF

[21] Carrio, Ray. Personal Interview. Yakima Regional Medical Center. November 4, 2005.

[22] Woog, Dan. "Wanted: Bilingual Healthcare Workers." *Featured Report: Health Care Needs Diverse Workers*. 2005. http://featuredreports.monster.com/diversityhc/bilingual/

[23] Valenzuela, Rudy. "The Beginning of a New Future." *The Hispanic Nurse*. 2001. Vol. 23, Iss. 4, p. 5.

[24] George. Personal Interview. St. Mary Medical Center, Walla Walla. November 4, 2005.

schools. It has developed two different mentoring programs, one for potential nursing students, and one for current nursing students.[25]

Both of these programs stress the importance of creating a pipeline to success for Latino students. Latino students have the lowest graduation rates in the nation, and they tend to have less resources available to them for success than other students. As a registered nurse, Maria Rivera-Klein, writes, their parents are in "survivor mode." "Many are working multiple jobs to make ends meet. They live with poverty and discrimination."[26] Programs like these are important because they make Latino students aware of their options and provide role models of successful Latino professionals. Joan Reede, Harvard Medical School's dean for diversity and community partnership, targets minority students early on. "If people never graduate from high school or college, they never get into the pipeline for professional school… If you're not exposed to science courses, mentors, after-school programs, internships or career choices, you won't think of a job in healthcare. It's hard to dream of things if you don't see possibilities."[27]

Creating an educational pipeline for Latinos into nursing professions could be a very important way to bring diversity to nursing, and hopefully to alleviate the nursing shortage that Washington faces. But it doesn't eliminate the fact that the pipeline for other Latinos, particularly recent immigrants, and those that do not speak English fluently, leads into the structurally embedded occupations at the hospital. These are the types of jobs that are less attractive to other workers, which Latinos, especially immigrants, work out of necessity despite the disincentives ("unattractive wages, benefits, working conditions, etc.").[28] As Ray Carrio reminded me when I interviewed him, "poor working people do the jobs other people don't want to do."[29] Yet the conditions these workers face directly affect conditions for other employees, since all the work done in the hospital is a team-based effort. Creating a better work environment for the service staff of the hospital would mean a better work environment overall, which would also help to alleviate the nursing shortage.

Unions are one way that change in the work environment can be effected. Unionization in hospitals is a fairly recent phenomenon, since it was not until 1974 that health care workers were afforded the right to organize in an amendment to the Taft-Hartley Act.[30] Ray Carrio was very clear in his interview with me that he believes that unions are critical institutions for all workers, and especially for Latino workers. Before the union came to Yakima Regional Medical Center, when he was working there as a CNA, Ray felt like there was an unfair power dynamic in the hospital. His coworkers were "treated a lot like property, in the sense that they could be discarded if management chose to… If a manager didn't care for somebody, they could mess

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[25] U.S. Department of Health and Human Services: Health Resources and Services Administration. "Nursing Workforce Diversity Abstracts- FY 2004." http://bhpr.hrsa.gov/nursing/04abstracts/nwd.htm

[26] Rivera-Klein, Maria. "Nursing- Our Passion." *The Hispanic Nurse*. 2001. Vol. 23, Iss. 4, p. 9.

[27] Woog, Dan. "Diversity in Health Care." *Featured Report: Health Care Needs Diverse Workers*. 2005. http://featuredreports.monster.com/diversityhc/overview/

[28] Cornelius, Wayne A. "The Structural Embeddedness of Demand for Mexican Immigrant Labor: New Evidence from California."

[29] Carrio, Ray. Personal Interview. Yakima Regional Medical Center. November 4, 2005.

[30] Keefe, Thomas and Jonathan S. Rakich. "A Profile of Hospital Union Election Activity, 1985-1994: NLRB Rulemaking and Results in Right-to-Work States." *Hospital Topics*. Sarasota: Spring 2004. Vol. 82, Iss. 2, p. 2-11.

with their schedule. They could just take them in the office and rant and rave at them. They could fire someone whenever they wanted." Labor unions help to balance out this equation. "Unless there's some circumstance that violates your civil rights specifically, the retention of your job is totally at the mercy of your employer," Carrio says. With a union though, "if something happened, I don't have to worry the boss is going to fire me, there's a grievance process, there's some security in having someone that represents you, having it go through a process and having a document that outlines work conditions, benefits, those pieces on how you're going to work."[31]

My other interviewee, George, a technician at St. Mary Medical Center in Walla Walla, has worked with unions before and is glad that there isn't one at his hospital. Before he became a tech, George worked as a CNA in a nursing home, and before that he worked in a unionized factory. He felt like the union didn't care about the workers and didn't get things done. "They just cared for the money we have to pay them."[32] Union dues can be difficult to pay, especially in the lower levels of hospital employment, where Latino workers are concentrated. Dues for SEIU 1199 are 1.5% of gross monthly pay, with a cap of 75 dollars per month. There is also a 30 dollar initiation fee for employees hired after the union is formed.[33]

One critique of unions (made by an SEIU organizer) is that they can tend to take agency away from workers. Paul Durenberger and Suzan Erem write that filing grievances, "a process that was once backed by the power of the strike, has become bureaucratized, professionalized and removed from [the workers'] awareness and purview." When workers have to rely on union reps to act as their agents, it serves to "distance members from their unions by discouraging their active participation in determining the conditions of their work."[34] If workers like George can't see what their union is doing for them, then of course it feels like a waste of money. Employers intent on keeping unions out of their hospitals appeal to these perceptions of the waste and ineffectiveness of unions. "It disgusts me that when we are vulnerable because of transitions in health care, the union marches in as the champion of employee rights," wrote Brother Edward Spink, manager of spiritual care at Robert F. Kennedy Medical Center in California, in a letter to his staff. "They seek the vulnerable, disenfranchised and poor. They seek moneys you do not have to spare… It's a justice issue."[35] When employers are threatened with a union they may also try to pacify any demands workers have to show they have no need of a union. At Yakima Regional the workers had been waiting for a promised pay increase for two years. Then talk began of organizing, tells Carrio, "and 'what do you know?' all the sudden we get a fifty cent, dollar an hour raise."

But Carrio argues, that run correctly, unions can be very empowering for workers, especially Latinos. "Latinos, I think, especially benefit from organizing because it helps to educate the workers… It opens avenues of the realization that you can be a political force, you

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[31] Carrio, Ray. Personal Interview. Yakima Regional Medical Center. November 4, 2005.
[32] George. Personal Interview. St, Mary Medical Center, Walla Walla. November 4, 2005.
[33] Service Employees International Union District 1199NW. "Pooling Our Resources." http://www.seiu1199nw.org/ourlocal/pooling_our_resources/index.cfm
[34] Durenberger, E. Paul and Suzan Erem. "The Dance of Power: Ritual and Agency Among Unionized American Health Care Workers." *American Anthropologist.* September 1997. Vol. 99, Iss. 3, p. 489-495.
[35] Schaeffer, Pamela. "Shared Values Clash in Hospital Labor War." *National Catholic Reporter*. Kansas City: September 4, 1998. Vol. 34, Iss. 38, p. 3-5.

can change things."[36] Cornelius shows that employers like Latino workers because they don't complain about the work they are asked to do, which only reinforces the consistency of their being hired, and reinforces their structural embeddedness within certain occupations.[37] But Carrio claims that unions help Latinos to realize that "just sort trying to be anonymous and working hard, trying to have a twenty year career, isn't the only option. Or just remaining silent, taking as much work as they're going to throw at you."

In his article, "Unsung Heroes of Union Democracy," Peter Downs agrees with Carrio about the potential of unions to empower workers. Downs believes this is rooted in the union's structure as a democratic institution. As opposed to the typical workplace structure, where employees are generally at the mercy of their employers, unions encourage workers to make their voices heard. Elections give workers a way to control the balance of power within the union. "Electoral competition," Downs says, "provides a system in which someone is always watching those in power, in which lies can be found out and exposed." Downs also sees the same kind of group empowerment happening within unions that Carrio thinks is so important for Latinos. Unions, Downs says, play an important role in "teaching working people that they don't have to be powerful as individuals to change things for the better. They can improve the circumstances of their lives themselves by working together to solve their common problems." Downs says that this is "after all, the essence of democracy."[38]

Unions can be important means of empowerment through education, as well, and have more potential to reach workers outside the "pipeline" than traditional academic programs. Ray Carrio believes that the reason there is a disproportionate concentration of Latinos in lower level occupations is because of a lack of access to education. "Even with English speaking and writing skills, to navigate the labyrinth that is… financial aid… plus having to work and maintain your family is very hard. And if [one has] that barrier of not speaking English well or not being literate, it's impossible." By working through the union, some workers may be able to overcome this barrier, especially if they have some English skills and have made the first jump into the entry levels of health care (like working as a tech or a CNA). Part of SEIU's dues go to funds for worker education. "You need to have mechanisms where if somebody's a CNA, it's not an absolute impossible battle for them to get the funds to become an LPN, an RN, or, you know, to go into a field like radiology or respiratory therapy," Carrio says. "I think part of the nursing shortage problem can be solved by employers realizing the union wants to partner with them to solve those shortages. Because our workers suffer when there's not enough staff on the floor, therefore, part of our direction is to try and help increase education funding so there are people to replace those that are retiring."[39]

Recommendations

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[36] Carrio, Ray. Personal Interview. Yakima Regional Medical Center. November 4, 2005.

[37] Cornelius, Wayne A. "The Structural Embeddedness of Demand for Mexican Immigrant Labor: New Evidence from California."

[38] Downs, Peter. "Unsung Heroes of Union Democracy: Rank-and-File Organizers." *The Transformation of U.S. Unions: Voices Visions, and Strategies from the Grassroots*. Ed. Ray M. Tillman and Michael S. Cummings. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1999.

[39] Carrio, Ray. Personal Interview. Yakima Regional Medical Center. November 4, 2005.

As a state, we should ask ourselves why the health care industry remains so segregated when hospitals already employ so many minorities in their staffs. A general commitment to equality is not the only reason Washington should make diversifying the healthcare workforce a high priority. It can also be an incredible asset to the industry to have Latinos working in patient care situations. As the Latino population of the state continues to grow, it is increasingly important to have bilingual health care workers who can communicate with patients who do not speak English.

As Ray Carrio has said, lack of access to education is what prevents Latinos from being able to pursue careers in professional health care. Education needs to happen from within the pipeline, targeting youth and making health careers feasible and available to them, as well as from without, allowing adults not currently in the education system access to training they would need to pursue health careers. State funding should support education programs that go out of their way to address the particular needs of Latino students pursuing health careers. Programs need to recognize that because of cultural and societal factors, many youth may not even realize that kind of career is possible. Early outreach and education is necessary to get Latino youth hooked into the "pipeline" that leads to professional careers. I think it is important that a desire to achieve is fostered as well, through the availability of positive role models, such as the mentors in the Alcance project in Yakima.

But health care jobs should not only be available to student already hooked in to the pipeline. Measures need to be taken to improve the access that adults have to education that can help them better their educational standing. This can be done with the assistance of unions, but should also include state involvement. My classmate, Veronica, has been researching adult education and I'm sure has recommendations about how to make it more accessible to adult workers. Assistance needs to be provided not only financially, but in applying for that financial aid, and educational programs must accommodate working students.

Hospitals must also focus their efforts on maintaining good working conditions for their employees in order to retain them. The estimated cost of replacing one nurse is $49,000 dollars.[40] It would seem that this repeated cost would outweigh that of providing workers with adequate benefits and levels of staffing, and encourage employers to instate benefits, staffing levels, work hours, etc., that would encourage health care professionals to stay.

Hospitals are extremely stratified workplaces. When I see statistics that say for example that hospitals have the highest rate of injury in the private industry sector, there is no way of knowing if certain groups within the hospital are more affected than others. While compiling this report, I noticed a lack of research that broke down these various phenomena within the hospital. I think it is important that hospital data, particularly injury rates be gathered and analyzed in such a way so that one can tell who is most affected by which circumstances.

Latinos need to work together to empower themselves, and to avoid complacency about working conditions and options. Rather than remain the "invisible" workforce that Paul

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[40] Service Employees International Union District 1199NW. "A Time to Care: Frontline Health Workers' Real Solutions for Washington's Health Workforce Crisis." May 2004. http://seiu1199nw.org/docUploads/SEIU%20-%20A%20Time%20to%20Care.pdf

Durenberger describes, Latinos should make their presence felt and be acknowledged. Certain action groups are already helping Latinos do this, for example SEIU and the National Association of Hispanic Nurses. Unions striving to do this must keep their goal first and foremost to be a democratic institution that gives workers the agency to speak for themselves.

APPENDIX A
Interview with George

Interview with George, technician in the physical therapy department of St. Mary's Medical Center, Walla Walla
Conducted at St. Mary's Medical Center, Walla Walla, 11/4/05, 9:00 am
Interviewer: Eleanor Clagett

Because George preferred not to use a tape recorder for this interview, so this is a summary of the information he shared, made by the interviewer from notes taken during the interview.

What is your job here at the hospital?
To help physician set up equipment and to "keep place organized."

When did you start doing this work?
3 years ago. Before that he worked as a CNA. He was bringing his mother in for physical therapy and they told him they needed a tech that was fluent in Spanish and asked him to come to work at the hospital. He was given an orientation when he was hired to learn the skills he needed for the new job.

Is it helpful in your job for you to be a Spanish speaker?
Yes. He uses Spanish a lot, and occasionally has been called up to emergency care or other departments to translate. That doesn't happen frequently, though. George says he sees an increasing number of Latinos working in the health care field, especially in nursing.

Why is that?
He thinks its because the 2 year nursing program at the hospital "has a lot of opportunities" for Latinos. It's cheaper and they don't have to travel far. George adds that when he was CNA working in a nursing home, he noticed that Latino nurses differed from Anglo nurses in the way that they treated the elderly. "Americans don't care as much, to them it's just a job."

How are Latino nurses different?
"We have more respect for the elderly, even if they're not our relatives."

How did you get the training you needed to be a CNA?
He took classes at the nursing home and took a test to get his certification. Then he got training from the hospital when he became a tech, which focused on anatomy and body systems.

Is there a union at the hospital?
Just for the nurses.

Do you have an opinion about that?
"I don't think we need a union." George worked in a factory that had a union before working at the nursing home. He felt like they didn't care about workers. "They just care for the money we have to pay them."

What is communication like between the workers and management?

There is a lack of communication between staff and the management. They have a weekly meeting to express concerns and he says “he thinks” his supervisor takes those concerns to upper management.

What are some of the concerns people have?

Lack of communication. Health insurance doesn’t cover a lot.

It seems like there’s a lot people in the hospital that you don’t necessarily see. Like all the people it takes to make the hospital run: dietary staff, custodians, engineers. Do you know what the work experience is like for any of those employees?

Not really, “people mainly do their own things.”

Is there anything else you think I should know?

“I like working here. I feel happy. I feel appreciated.”

APPENDIX B
Interview with Ray Carrio

Interview with Ray Carrio, SEIU Local 1199 organizer
Conducted at Yakima Regional Medical Center, 11/4/2005, 2:30 pm
Interviewers: Eleanor Clagett, Lázaro Carrión, and Austin Rainwater

Ray: Prior to being an organizer I worked in health care for approximately 10 years.

Eleanor: What were you doing?

Ray: First I got into health care because there was a class at the Yakima Valley Skills Center, it's called YV Tech now, called Medical Sciences Nursing, and I intended to go into radiology, and after I got into it, I learned I was more interested in the nursing aspect, so I ended up working as a nurses assistant and going to college as I could towards becoming an RN.

Eleanor: How did you switch to being a union organizer?

Ray: I worked here for approximately five years as a CNA and a transport tech and I was asked one day to sign a union card and that was an easy answer. It was yes because I'd seen some of the treatment of my coworkers, I knew there were issues, and overall I knew it's much better if you have a union, both for your benefits and your wages, and your overall work and it's just a better environment to work in. My family had worked in the fields, you know, trained hops, picked fruit, everything, but what changed my family's income was when my father went to work for the railroad and my mother went to work for Safeway as a UFCW member. And that's a whole different economic bracket, it's a whole change of life because the access to health care, the wage, the consistency is entirely much greater, so that instead of my father having to work three jobs, he only worked one, he got paid well for it, he was able to advance. My mother had a steady income, she had issues at work, she went to her union. I knew instantly if there's a union involved you should work with it and if you need to make it better you can.

Eleanor: You said you saw the treatment of your coworkers that was…

Ray: My coworkers were treated a lot like property, in the sense that they could be discarded if management chose to, they could be treated badly. If a manager didn't care for somebody, they could mess with their schedule. They could just take them in their office and rant and rave at them. They could fire someone whenever they wanted

Eleanor: Was that on all levels or just for CNAs and techs?

Ray: All levels. There was Sisters of Providence, who owned the hospital at the time I worked here, was very, it's hard to describe. It's controlling to the point of almost seeming like a parental role—treating the workers like children. And micromanaging issues, and really favoritism, you know, nepotism was big. As well as, we had merit-based pay, okay, but the thing is you could work, you could be an excellent employee, you could get great reviews, but you could have your have your wage, you could be downgraded on your evaluation, just so they wouldn't have to give you a higher wage. Or

a manager could grade you, you know, top of whatever, you're supposed to receive x-amount of wage, but it would come back from human resources changed so you would only receive a certain amount because, "you know what? The budget only takes a certain amount into account."

Eleanor: Did the union come here before it changed to he owner it has now?

Ray: Yes. The union came in about eight years ago. I'd say it was probably '97.I think I started working here in '96. And the first exec rule that changed during the union was the CNAs we were promised a dollar wage. Well it took two years to get there, and it was only because the union came in, that they wanted to, you know, reward people not to be part of the union. They gave them that adjustment right away. It took two years, all the sudden the union came in "what do you know?" all the sudden we get a fifty cent, dollar an hour raise. I remember a lot of trepidation, a lot of fear from our coworkers, and it was justified because management was dead set on not having a union here. It was a struggle for about three years. We finally got a contract in September of 2000. So from '97 to 2000, that was a struggle—to win a union. And there were even a group of workers who thought that the nepotism benefited them more than having a union. So they fought against the union because they thought they were treating—they didn't want to be treated equally with others, they wanted to be treated better than others so they thought they would lose out with having a union because there weren't favorites.

Austin: Was there a certain characteristic between those that were favorites and those that were not?

Ray: Usually the union, the workers who were pro-union, generally were CNAs, some housekeepers, some dietary, really our dialysis unit, I think it could almost be the workers that are more traditionally not white collar, you could say that are more blue collar workers that were really backing the union. As well as some others, you know, because it encompasses a wide spectrum. I'll give you an example: there are, like, thirty-five classifications or more in our bargaining unit for one contract, and at that time there was only, like, four-hundred-fifty people. So that's also a difficulty when you're working with somebody that makes… at the time, we set a minimum wage with that first contract of eight dollars an hour. Which was pretty good in '97 considering the wage is six something, the minimum wage, we set that minimum wage at eight dollars and hour. So that brought more than a dozen people up to eight dollars an hour, where you had some people making thirty dollars an hour. That's a big spectrum, and so it's generally the people that made the top of the scale weren't very interested because they thought they weren't being compensated. They thought they were, for lack of a better word, special. And that they would lose by being grouped in with other workers. You know, really, our contract encompasses the needs for different workers, different levels of pay, different compensations in the form of premiums. That was part of the fight, because we really wanted something for everyone, and they only wanted something for themselves.

Eleanor: How does being an open shop union change the dynamic, as opposed to a closed shop?

Ray: The problem is, when you have an open shop, you consistently have to work to maintain your membership. When you have a closed shop you can work on more issues of workers rights and really direct toward improving things, versus having this constant fight for membership and to keep strong and to keep making improvements. And it also is the possibility of, like a regional layoff, I'm going to say, out of a bargaining unit, around one-hundred-fifty workers over a two year period. Not directly but through attrition, people retiring, not replaced, shifting positions, shifting duties that can erode the membership and it makes it a hard, hard struggle.

Eleanor: I talked to a guy this morning at St. Mary's Hospital in Walla Walla who felt like the unions were only interested in getting money from his wages, and didn't think that a union would be helpful.

Ray: Well, I mean, here's what we do when we talk to somebody: So what are the issues? I mean, I would pose the question… there could be two questions—I would pose the question: If you could change something about your workplace today what would it be? And they aren't going to guarantee you that they're going to change that, but you have the ability to work toward that, to improve standards through a union, whereas, if you went up to your boss and said you wanted a raise or you're going to quit, your boss is going to absolutely say, "quit." Or you're not going to get it, and what are you going to do about it?

Eleanor: So the focus of our project is on Latinos, and I heard there was between fifty and seventy-five percent Latinos here?

Ray: I think that may have changed a little bit, I think it's more in terms of about thirty percent. Just talking about health care in the Yakima Valley and Latinos, it seems like employers work to divide workers some how, whether it be racially, whether it be by job class, whether it be other issues. Latinos, I think, especially, benefit from organizing because it helps to educate the workers—well, it helps all workers to be educated about some issues—but in the Latino community, I think it opens avenues of the realization that you can be a political force, you can change things. That just sort of trying to be anonymous and working hard, trying to have a twenty year career, isn't the only option. Or just remaining silent, taking as much work as they're going to throw at you. You can achieve more, you can do more, you can get education. You can have political power in numbers. And I think that's where it would be beneficial for the Latino community. And also trying to bring people together, you know, the union is made up of many different parts, and part of our work is trying to understand and bring people together that have diverse backgrounds, diverse issues, and try to focus them on singular issues or vision on how to change things. And I think… I'm going to use a good example: Farm Workers' Clinic. I know people there that want to have a union, and they should have a union. And, because I'm not part of new organizing, I don't know what the pieces are towards where we decided where we're going to unionize. But Farm Workers' Clinic has, say, twenty-two clinics, or facilities, in operation, and they're unorganized. I think people need to have standards. People need to be treated correctly, and I haven't always heard that from

Farm Workers' Clinic workers. I've heard there are a myriad of issues that need to be addressed from pay to quality to working conditions and patient advocacy. I'm not singling them out, I'm just using them as an example because they have a very high Latino percentage working for them. And I think, they should feel empowered to do political change, to feel like their work is secure. And, truth is, Washington's an "at-will" state, and unless there's some circumstance that violates your civil rights specifically, the retention of your job is totally at the mercy of your employer, which, you know, having… for me, when I was working, it's, you know… if something happened, I don't have to worry the boss is going to fire me, there's a grievance process, there's some security in having someone that represents you, having it go through a process and having a document that outlines working conditions, benefits, those pieces on how you're going to work. I also think that our union has taken a role in being interested in education. How do we help workers that are making, you know… we try an make sure they have a living wage, which means they can live on that wage—they can have affordable benefits. How do help them increase their education? You know, you need to have some education funds available, you also need to have mechanisms where if somebody's a CNA, it's not an absolute impossible battle for them to get the funds to become an LPN, an RN, or, you know, to go into a field like radiology or respiratory therapy. I think part of the nursing shortage problem can be solved by employers realizing the union wants to partner with them to solve those shortages. Because our workers suffer when there's not enough staff on the floor, therefore, part of our direction is to try and help increase education funding so there are people to replace those that are retiring. If you've done any research into the median age of nurses, and the nursing shortage, I think the median age is like in the mid-forties, and what are you going to do in ten, fifteen years when those nurses want to retire? We also have like, twenty percent of licensed registered nurses not working as registered nurses—not working as staff nurses. So the Latino community benefits from education, from learning how to build political power and solidarity. To me, you know, it's not calculable. I'll give you an example: Maria Diaz, whom I hope you will speak with today, was part of the Immigrant Workers Freedom Ride, and she spent time going across the country speaking to workers, talking about building power in union, solidarity, and trying to address some of the issues around immigrant rights. You hear about all these other pieces. My personal opinion? The threat isn't terrorism, the threat is racism. And them wanting to keep out anyone that doesn't look like, think like or sound like their community. And it's a really thin veil for that racism, or classism. Poor working people do the jobs other people don't want to do. Look at the percentage of workers doing hard labor, doing field work, doing construction. They're not taking nuclear physicist jobs. They're not taking physician's jobs. What they're doing is the hard labor other people don't want to do. And you know what? Somebody has to do it and they need to face up to the fact that this country, a good percentage of the community runs on undocumented workers, on immigrants, who come here, want to work hard an build their lives. And it just gets harder and harder.

Eleanor: Is that true for the hospital as well? I'm reading about Latinos in the service industry, especially. And in the custodial staff, the dietary staff, is the more of a concentration?

Ray: Yes. I would say in dietary, custodial, CNA, there is a larger concentration of Latinos. Disproportionate concentration of Latinos.

Eleanor: Is that because of access to education?

Ray: I think it's two things, one is access to education, the other is if you're… even with English speaking and writing skills, to navigate the labyrinth that is, you know, financial aid and those other pieces, plus having to work and maintain your family is very hard. You know, I speak… English is my first language. Spanish is…my Spanish could be a whole lot better. I had a hard time with financial aid. I worked and went to school. And if I had that barrier of not speaking English well or not being literate, it's impossible.

Lázaro: Especially in your workforce, the people you work with in the Latino community, is legal status an issue, not only in the workers, but to also unionize?

Ray: Legal status has been a big barrier. I'm going to give you an example, not in this hospital, but I'm going to give you an example of post 9-11, or pre 9-11, I can't remember, SEIU Local 6, who represents mostly janitorial staff, tried to organize (I think it was local 6), tried to organize, I think it was security workers, who really were… I think a big percentage of them were ethnic, different minorities. They did an INS raid on them. Here in the valley people are afraid because some of them are hard working, have established families, that can be taken away by somebody either being malicious, or an employer not wanting to say… you know, you have a big harvest (this would be for farm workers)… you have a big harvest, paychecks are coming a month out. Just before the harvest, what if INS shows up and there goes a large chunk of the payroll you have to pay out? In this environment of working with health care workers, I don't think it's as prevalent because its more in the public image, its out more in the public, and if you had a hospital that called immigration or something like that, it would do a good deal of damage to their public relations. I think the issue is access, more, for the Latinos in health care: access to education and being treated equally. Legal status hasn't been as big of an issue, although for family members of health care workers, it has been.

Austin: What kind of inroads do you see from people that join the union and become politically active? Do you see them getting involved with campaigns or registering to vote?

Ray: I think we're still not in the… we haven't reached the plateau yet, where union workers are as politically active as they could be. Washington State has a pretty good union political get-out-the-vote, door knocking program. Now, there's some issues with the recent split between SEIU and the AFL-CIO, which has thrown some questions up. But I tell you from personal experience, SEIU members do a lot of political work, we get people elected. I'm going to give you two examples: Brian Sullivan in the 21st district. We logged hundreds of hours, if not thousands, with over two-hundred SEIU workers out there door knocking for him. We won pretty handily. In Puyallup, and I can't remember which district, one of the representatives, Dawn Morell, was running against someone named Dave Morell. I think she won by a percentage point. And I personally took

workers and myself and went to door knock for her in Puyallup. I saw other union members, especially SEIU members, come out to do that door knocking, and you can't tell me, theoretically or not, that winning by a percentage point didn't have something to do with workers coming out and doing the support, especially when the majority are SEIU workers who may have worked at the same hospital she did, or does, at Good Samaritan Hospital in Puyallup. It's very visible. We had one of own organizers, who was a member, became and organizer, and is now a state representative. Actually we have a couple. Eileen Cody was a member, she's a state representative, and Tammy Green is still a part time organizer and a state representative. So, I mean, those are really good examples of political power. We need to have more members run because they know how… they know the problems in the health care system and they know how to fix them. That's what we've lost is having people that are involved in issues committed to fix those pieces. We have bureaucrats whose only objective is to get reelected, versus having an interest in what the outcome of legislation is and how it impacts people.

APPENDIX C
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THE STATE OF PUBLIC HEALTH OF WASHINGTON LATINOS

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November 4, 2005

Introduction

The purpose of this project is to compile information regarding the health profile of Washington Latinos and assess the way nonprofit clinics for low-income patients address these specific needs. I gathered information from various published sources, especially the Washington Sate Department of Health and the National Center for Health Statistics. With the help of Margaret Caicedo, a diabetes educator, I conducted interviews with several residents of Walla Walla and College Place, WA. I also chose to focus my attention on the SOS Clinic in College Place, WA and the Quincy Community Health Center in Quincy, WA and compare the way these clinics operate and the services they provide. My research provided some statistics on certain aspects of health in Washington Latinos, and showed that Latinos are receiving disproportionately low medical care. The Latino population has unique health care needs, and they need to be treated accordingly. To accomplish this, more research is needed into the specific health trends of Washington Latinos. And because Latinos are disproportionately in low socioeconomic classes and uninsured, more funding and support is needed for medical facilities providing care for this demographic.

Methods

In creating this report, I gathered information on the health trends of Latinos in the United States and in Washington State in particular from a variety of medical journals, and various branches of the US Department of Health and Human Services and the Washington State Department of Health. I compiled information on incidence of disease, childbirth outcomes, access to health care, and the effectiveness of the primary care safety net for Washington Latinos.

I also chose two case studies to further examine the state of primary care safety net facilities. I looked into the SOS Clinic in College Place, WA, a free clinic run by volunteers, and the Quincy Community Health Center in Quincy, WA, a Federally Qualified Health Center with full-time, paid personnel. I chose these two facilities because they represent two different types of clinics, with different sources of funding and different available services. The Quincy Community Health Center also supports the *Promotores* program, a unique program that works within the Latino community of Quincy to promote better health.

I conducted several interviews to supplement the literature search I performed (Appendix A). I got in contact with three of my interview subjects through Margaret Caicedo, and she guided me in developing interview questions as well. The interview with Elena Enriquez, who has lived in College Place for twenty years, was conducted mostly in Spanish and lasted thirty minutes. She answered my questions directly but did not volunteer any additional information of her own accord. I also interviewed Lourdes and Fernando (they prefer their last names not be used), a married couple who have lived in Washington for thirty years. The interview was conducted in Spanish, and lasted over an hour. They were very open about their experiences and views, and the interview covered

areas not specifically referred to in my prepared questions. The fourth interview I conducted at the SOS Clinic in College Place with "Alvaro" (he prefers his real name not be used). Alvaro is an undocumented resident of the Walla Walla area. His interview lasted only 10 minutes, but I was also present during his preliminary exam at the clinic.

Background Data

There is a significant body of work reporting that Latinos are not receiving the same amount of healthcare coverage and care as the Caucasian American population. In a nationwide study, it was found that Hispanics are 22% more likely to report unmet medical needs.[1] And 37% of Latinos under the age of 65 are uninsured, as opposed to 14% of Whites in the same age group.[2] Yet the specific needs of the Latino population, which can vary drastically from the White population, is not well understood.[3]

One study suggests that the increasing the number of Latino healthcare providers would in part alleviate this discrepancy. Published by Bartman E. Moy in the Journal of the American Medical Association, the study found that minority patients who reported having a "usual-source-of-care physician" were more than four times more likely to have a nonwhite physician than white patients.[4] And patients who visit physicians who are of the same race feel that their physicians have a more participatory decision-making style, a measure of the perceived quality of interpersonal care a patient receives. [5] These findings suggest that increasing the number of Latinos in healthcare positions in will encourage more Latinos to seek medical assistance.

For that proportionately large Latino population without insurance, there are some options available to them. The primary care safety net, the network of medical facilities that provide care regardless of a patient's ability to pay, plays a role in meeting the healthcare needs of uninsured Latinos. In a 2003 study published in *Health Services Research*, the "safety net of communities" – here defined to include both charity care and hospital emergency departments – accounted for 31 percent of the difference in reports of unmet medical care needs.[6] A study published in the *American Journal of Public Health* in 2004 examined the state of health care for Latinos in three Midwestern communities. They found that safety net programs are partially meeting the need for health care among

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[3] Hayes-Bautista, David. "The Latino Health Research Agenda for the Twenty-first Century."

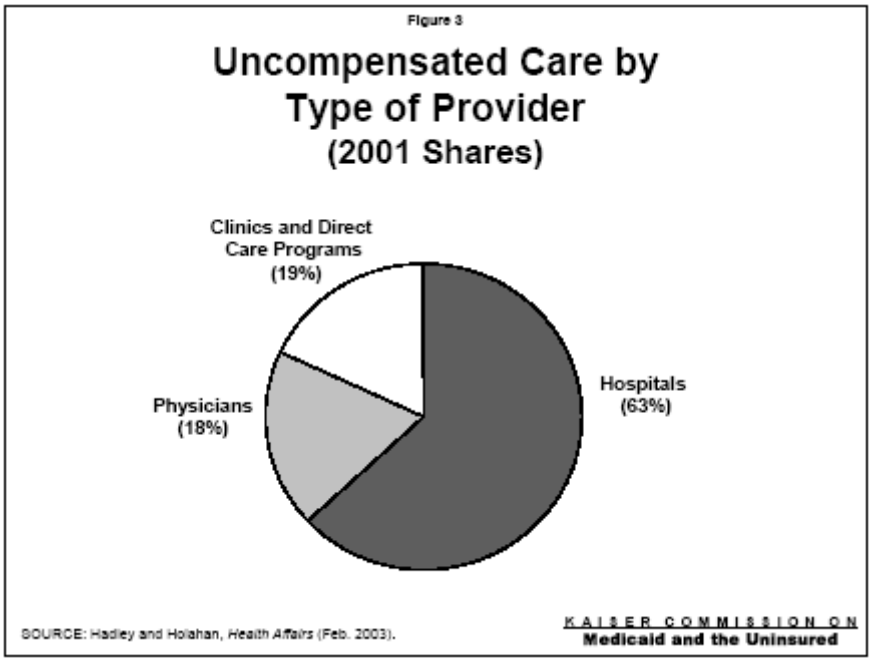
[4] Moy, Bartman E. "Physician Race and Care of Minority and Medically Indigent Patients." Journal of the American Medical Association. 273.19 (May 1995): 1515-1521.

[5] Cooper-Patrick, Lisa, et al. "Race, Gender, and Partnership in the Patient-Physician Relationship." Journal of the American Medical Association 282.6 (11 Aug. 1999).

[6] Hargraves, J. Lee, and Hadley, Jack. "The contribution of insurance coverage and community resources to reducing racial/ethnic disparities in access to care." Health Services Research 38.3(June 2003): 809.

Latino residents. Clinics receiving federal funding are doing especially well. However, there is still a reliance on hospital emergency departments. And there is still a lack of continuous care, which is important for patients with health conditions like diabetes. It also reflects a lack in mental health care, chemical dependency treatments, and prescription drug coverage. And a significant shortage of bilingual medical providers and translators was also noticed.[7]

The cost of providing care to uninsured, however, is felt largely by hospitals, where services are most expensive. Most of the federal funding for uncompensated care is given to hospitals in the form of disproportionate share hospital payments (DSH payments) which compensate hospitals for the expenses of treating patients who are unable to pay their medical bills. The following chart is supplied by The Kaiser Commission on Medicare and the Uninsured shows the nationwide distribution of federal funds for uncompensated care.[8]



Funding emergency room visits at hospitals is a costly and inefficient way of supporting the uninsured. Funding preventative and usual care, such as facilities in the core safety

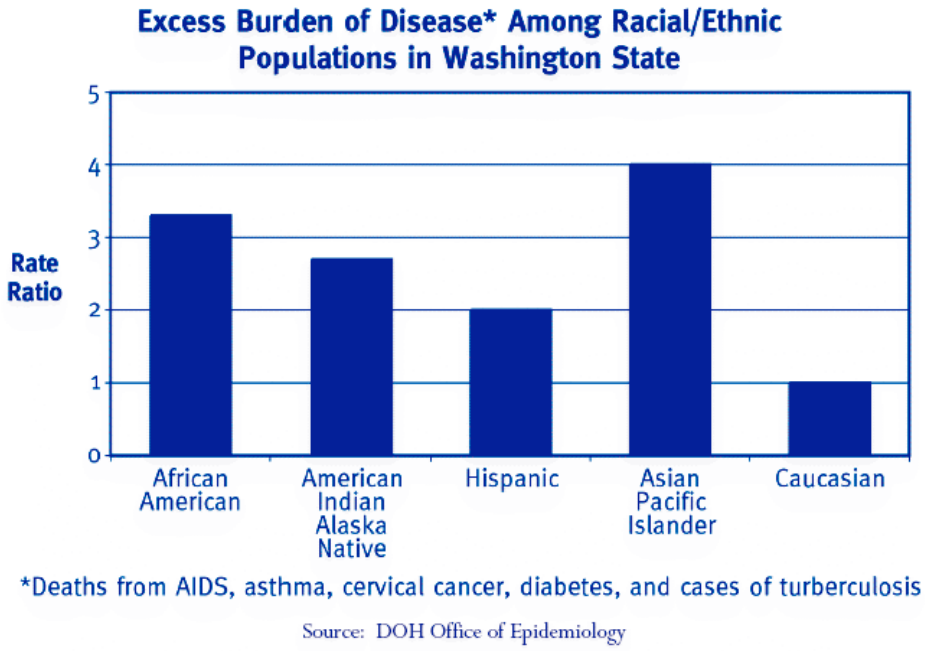
[7] Casey, Michelle M, Lynn A Blewett, and Kathleen T Call. "Providing Health Care to Latino Immigrants: Community-Based Efforts in the Rural Midwest." American Journal of Public Health 94.10 (Oct. 2004) : 1709.

[8] Hadley, Jack, and John Holahan. The Kaiser Commission on Medicare and the Uninsured. The Cost of Care for the Uninsured: What Do We Spend, Who Pays, and What Would Full Coverage Add to Medical Spending? 2004.

net category, would in the long run be cost effective and better serve the uninsured population, of which Latinos make up a significant proportion. [9]

The Situation in Washington State
Health Statistics

A study conducted by the Washington State Board of Health into the "excess burden of disease" for Washington Minorities found that the death rate of Hispanics, while lower than all other minority groups included in the study, is still twice that of Caucasians. The "excess burden of disease" is measured by combining the death rates of five diseases – AIDS, asthma, cervical cancer, diabetes, and tuberculosis.[10]



This study shows that a glaring disparity exists between Hispanics and Caucasians in Washington, a trend that is important consider. However, it only takes into account the five diseases known to show significant disparities among race. There are several areas in which Latinos in Washington fare better than Caucasians.

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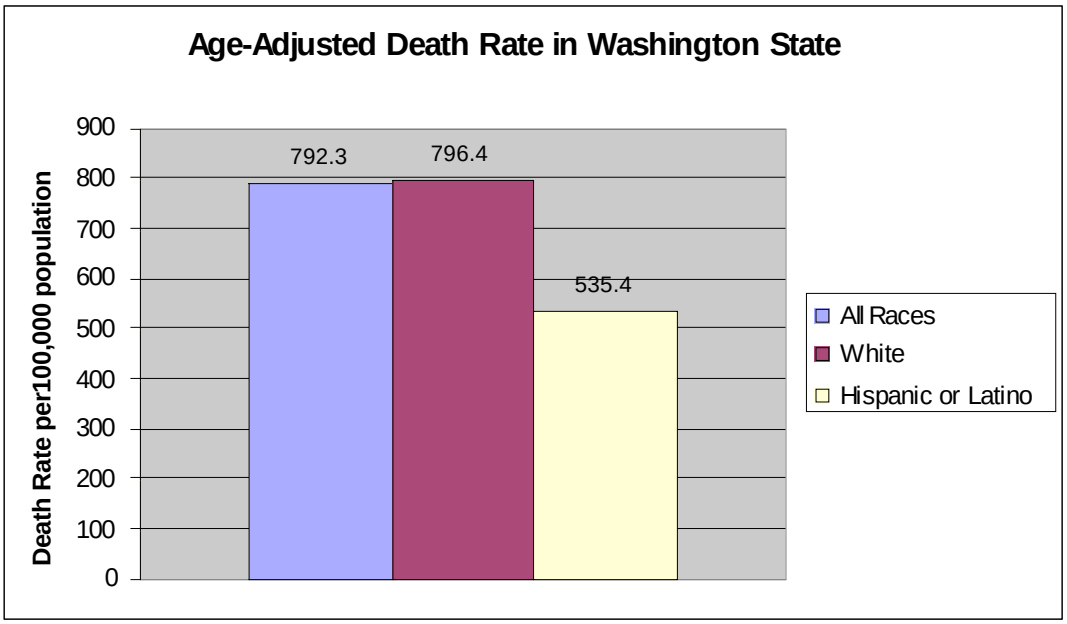
[9] Hadley, Jack, and John Holahan. The Kaiser Commission on Medicare and the Uninsured. The Cost of Care for the Uninsured: What Do We Spend, Who Pays, and What Would Full Coverage Add to Medical Spending? 2004.

[10] Committee on Health Disparities. Washington State Board of Health. Washington State Department of Health. Final Report - State Board of Health Priority: Health Disparities. Olympia, Washington: 2001.

The US Department of Health and Human Services published a report entitled *Health, United States, 2004* in which the following information about Washington Sate was included.[11]

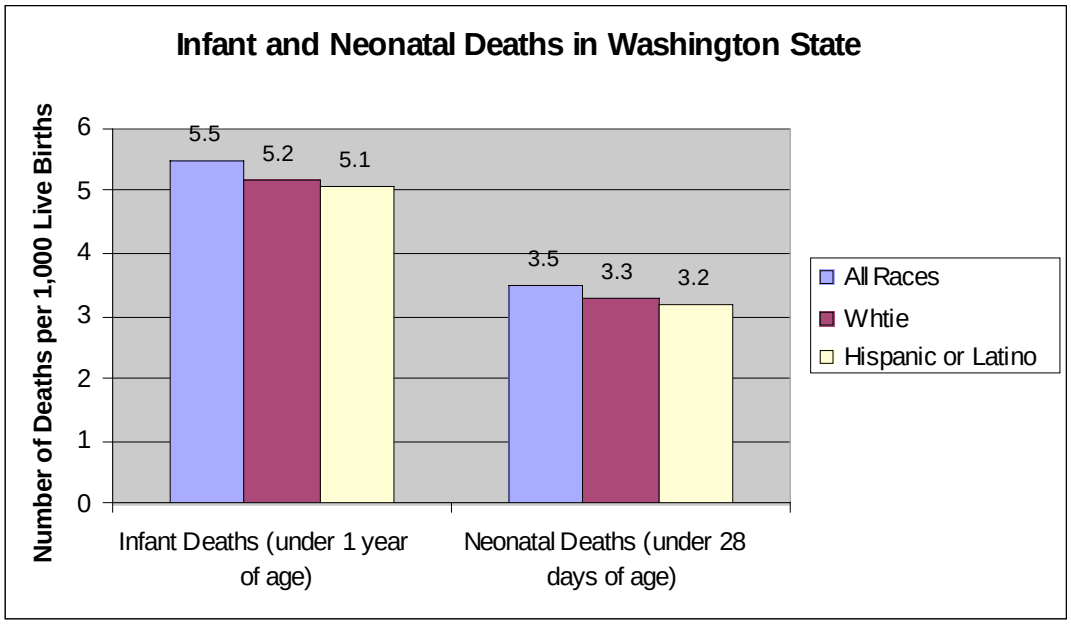


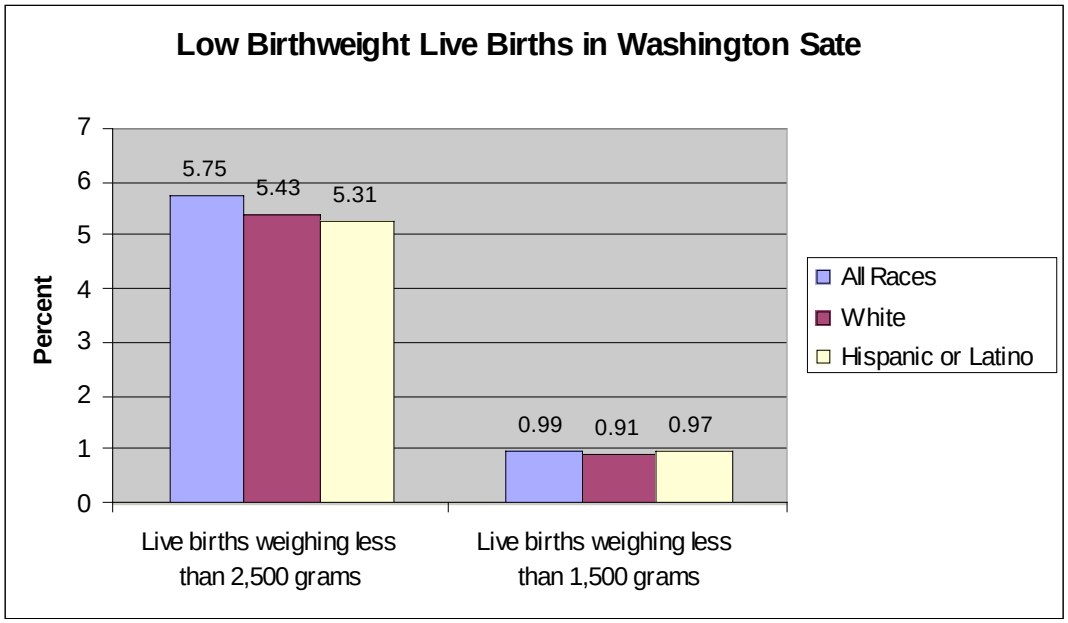
Because the Hispanic Latino population in Washington is younger than the White population, age has been adjusted to provide a more accurate means for comparison. The death rate for Hispanics and Latinos in Washington is significantly lower than that of Whites, which is seemly surprising considering the statistics regarding the excess burden of disease of Hispanics presented earlier.

The percentage of Hispanics and Latinos suffering from infant and neonatal deaths and from low birthweight in live births are also lower than the respective percentages of Whites.[12]

[11] National Center for Health Statistics. Center for Disease Control. US Department of Health and Human Services. Health, United States, 2004. Hyattsville, Maryland: US Government Printing Office, 2004.

[12] National Center for Health Statistics. Center for Disease Control. US Department of Health and Human Services. Health, United States, 2004. Hyattsville, Maryland: US Government Printing Office, 2004.



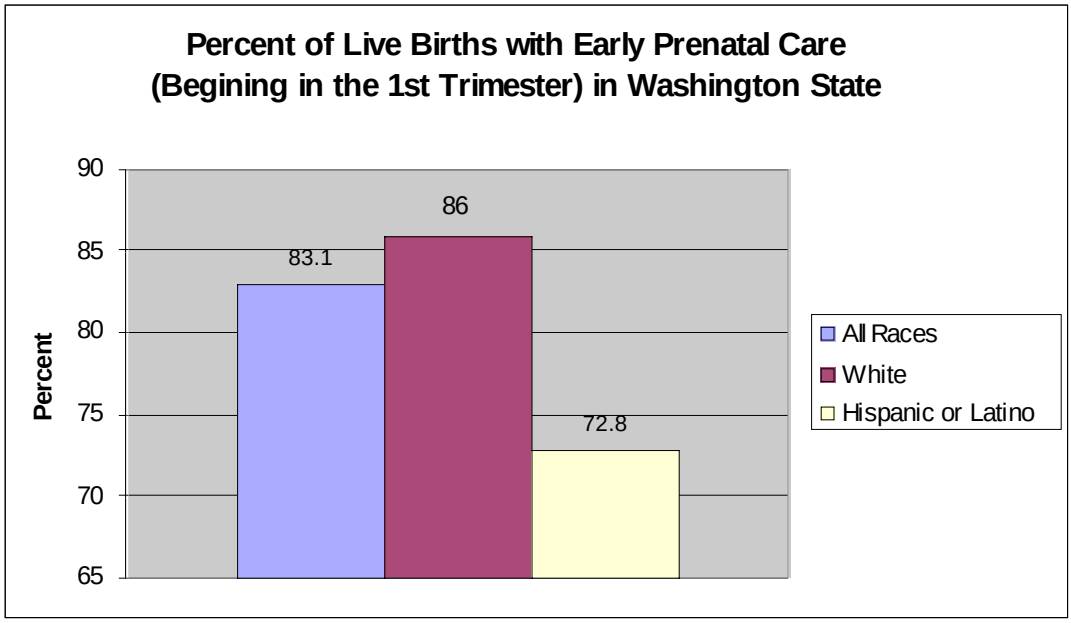


In general, these results show that Hispanics and Latinos in Washington statistically have a better chance of giving birth to a live child with normal birthweight.[13] More research is needed to understand why this disparity exists.

[13] National Center for Health Statistics. Center for Disease Control. US Department of Health and Human Services. Health, United States, 2004. Hyattsville, Maryland: US Government Printing Office, 2004.

Healthcare Access

Latinos in Washington are receiving less healthcare than Caucasians. This may explain in part the discrepancies in the "excess burden of disease" that Latinos face as noted by the Washington Sate Board of Health. However, it only makes the statistics regarding death rate, birthweight, and infant and neonatal mortality in Washington Latinos more surprising. The US Department of Health and Human Services found that the percent of Latinos receiving prenatal care beginning in the first trimester of pregnancy is significantly lower than that of Caucasians in Washington State.[14]



This suggests that something other than medical care is contributing to Latinos' statistically favorable birth outcomes.

Latino children are less likely to have medical care as well. A study published in the American Journal of Public Health in 2000 provides statistics regarding the number of children nationwide receiving medical care by race. The study was based on information of nearly 6900 children under the ages on 18 as reported by the Medical Expenditure Panel Survey. Over 90% of these children had their information reported by one of their parents.[15]

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[14] National Center for Health Statistics. Center for Disease Control. US Department of Health and Human Services. Health, United States, 2004. Hyattsville, Maryland: US Government Printing Office, 2004.

[15] Weinick, Robin M, and Nancy A. Krauss. "Racial/Ethnic Differences in Children's Access to Care." American Journal of Public Health. 90.11 (Nov 2000): 1771-74.

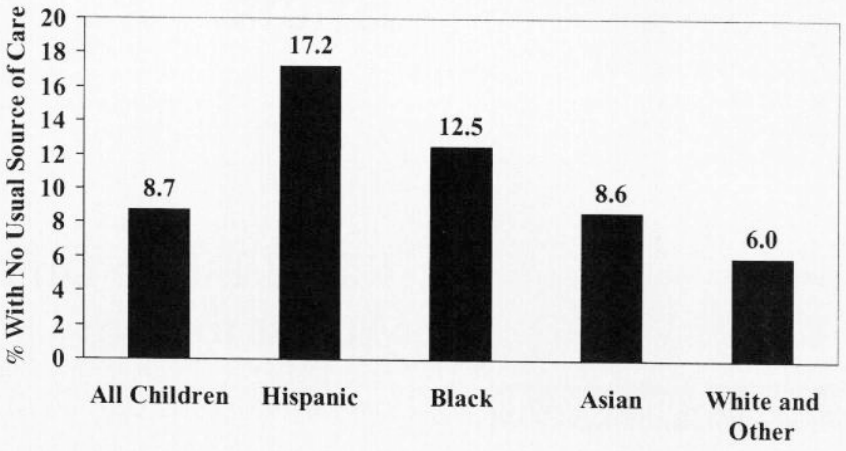


FIGURE 1—Percentages of children with no usual source of care, by race/ethnicity: United States, 1996.

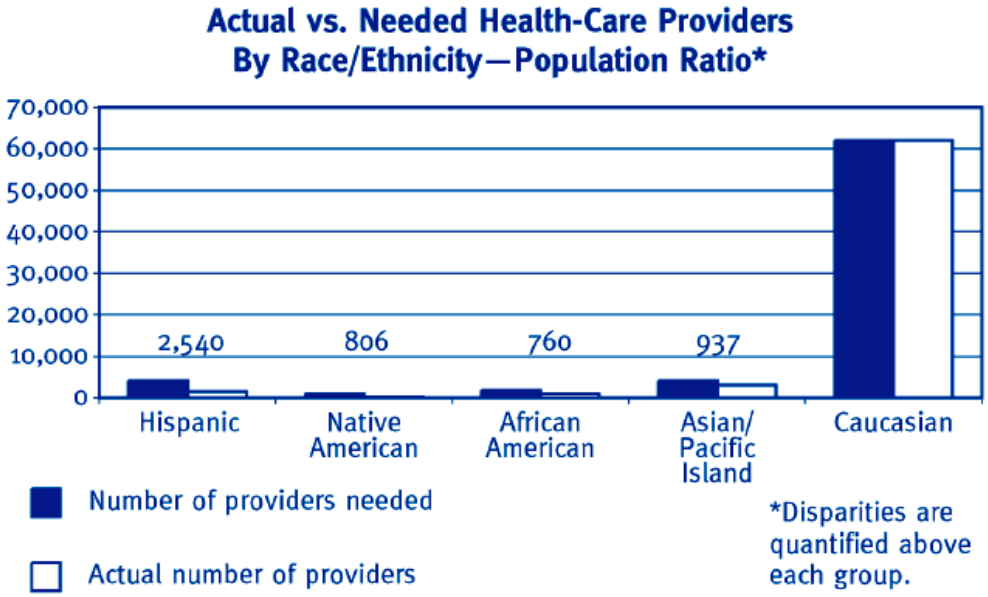
While children of minority groups as a whole are less likely to have a usual source of medical care, Hispanic children are by far the most at risk. Interestingly, Hispanic children whose Medical Expenditure Panel Survey interview was conducted in Spanish were 27% as likely as White children to have a usual source of care, but between Hispanic children whose interview was conducted in English and White children, there was no significant difference. And in comparison with all English speaking children regardless of race, children whose Medical Expenditure Panel Survey was conducted in English were 2.6 times more likely to have a usual source of care than children whose interview was conducted in Spanish. While this does not necessarily mean that English language ability dictates one's ability to access care, it is clear that English language ability is a good indicator of one's likelihood of having a usual source of medical care.[16]

There are significantly less Latinos in healthcare professions in Washington State than there are Caucasians. As Bartman E. Moy's publication suggests, this is likely another reason that Latinos in Washington are not accessing medical care to the extant that Caucasians are. The following graphs, published by the Washington State Board of Health's Committee on Health Disparities show the prevalence of minority healthcare providers in Washington. The term "provider" in this study is used to refer to physicians, physician assistants, nurse practitioners, registered nurses, and practical nurses.[17]

[16] Weinick, Robin M, and Nancy A. Krauss. "Racial/Ethnic Differences in Children's Access to Care." American Journal of Public Health. 90.11 (Nov 2000): 1771-74.

[17] Committee on Health Disparities. Washington State Board of Health. Washington State Department of Health. Final Report - State Board of Health Priority: Health Disparities. Olympia, Washington: 2001.

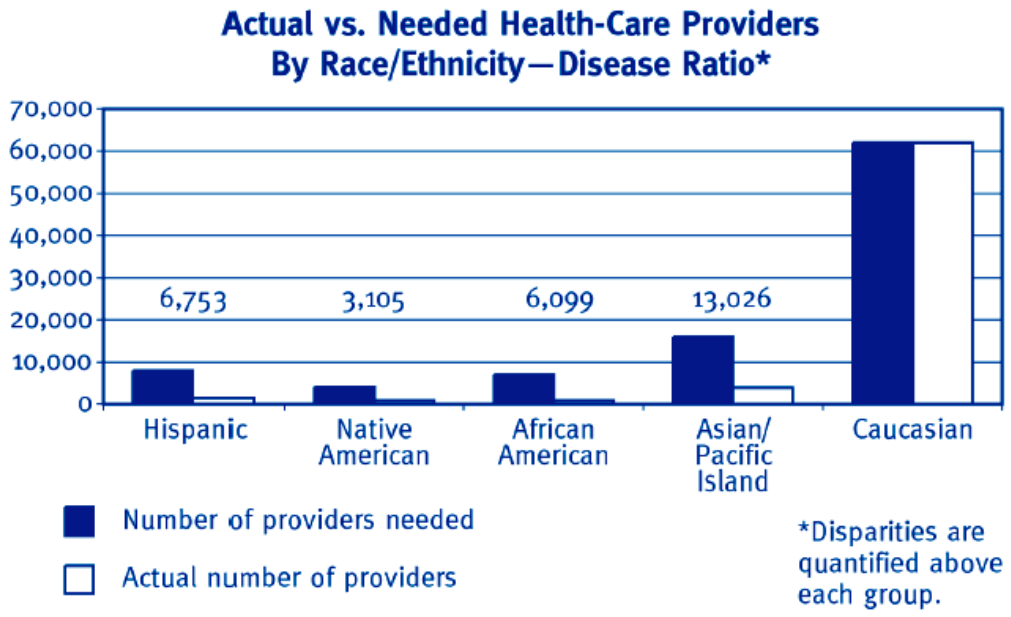
$$\frac{\text{Number of Minority Providers Needed}}{\text{Minority Population}} = \frac{\text{Number of Actual Caucasian Providers}}{\text{Caucasian Population}}$$



In the following graph, the diseases considered were AIDS, asthma, cervical cancer, diabetes, and tuberculosis, the same five diseases the Washington State Board of Health used to calculate "burden of disease."[18]

$$\frac{\text{Number of Minority Providers Needed}}{\text{Cases of Disease in Minority Population}} = \frac{\text{Number of Actual Caucasian Providers}}{\text{Cases of Disease in Caucasian Population}}$$

[18] Committee on Health Disparities. Washington State Board of Health. Washington State Department of Health. Final Report - State Board of Health Priority: Health Disparities. Olympia, Washington: 2001.



The data presented here shows that to equalize the number of Hispanic health care providers and Caucasians based on population, 2,540 Hispanic healthcare providers would need to be hired – a higher number than any other minority group would need. When compared to the incidence of certain diseases, the number of Hispanic healthcare providers needed is significantly more – 6,753. It is clear that the disparity between the ratio of Latinos in Washington State to the number of Latino healthcare providers in the state is significant.

Evidence demonstrating the affinity of Latinos to medical providers of their own ethnic background is further supported by an interview I conducted with Fernando, a resident of Washington State who emigrated from Mexico 30 years ago. He has noticed that many Latinos in his neighborhood choose to drive out of their way to a rural clinic to receive medical attention because they know of a particular Mexican doctor who works there, even though they might speak English or be able to afford to go to a better facility. He also noted that among the Latinos he knows who frequent one of the two hospitals in the area, nearly all prefer to go to St. Mary Medical Center because of its Catholic affiliation as apposed to the Adventist Walla Walla General Hospital. All people, Fernando believes, tend to stick to their comfort zones.[19]

One particular medical care facility that is using this tendency to their advantage is the Quincy Community Health Center in Quincy, WA. The Health Center supports the *Promotores* Program. Natural health promoters, or *promotores*, from the community are given training and resources so that they can combine their traditional medical and healing practices with current information and treatments. These promoters can be anyone, from a nurse trained in Mexico to the grandmother that everyone goes to with

[19] Fernando and Lourdes. Personal Interview. 19 Oct. 2005.

aches and pains. This method of working within the Latino community has been met with positive feedback from the community.[20]

Options for the Uninsured – The Safety Net

In Washington state, 18% of Latinos are uninsured, as opposed to 10% of Whites, closely mirroring the national statistics. [21] This leaves them few options for receiving healthcare. A variety of community health centers that provide care regardless of a patient's ability to pay are available throughout Washington State. The Washington Department of Health calls these health centers Washington's primary care safety net. Of these facilities, the core safety net is made up of community and migrant health centers, free or charity care clinics, and public health clinics. Community and migrant health centers focus on serving patients who are uninsured or on Medicaid or Washington's Basic Health Plan. Those that receive federal grants are referred to as Federally Qualified Health Centers (FQHCs), though federal grants to help the uninsured usually comprise less than 10% of the facility's operating budget. Free or charity care clinics are operated by community organizations, sometimes churches, using donated supplies and labor. This often restricts hours of operation to a minimum. Public health clinics are organized and run by local health jurisdictions, and are scarce in Washington.[22]

In 2003, 548,086 people in Washington were uninsured, and of those, 183,403 received care at Washington's community health centers. That is 33%, a significant number who rely on community health centers for their medical needs.[23] This is consistent with nationwide trends. In a 2005 report, the Department's Office of Community and Rural Health states that "Federally Qualified Health Centers provide the majority of capacity available to serve the uninsured in most Washington counties and are essential providers of care for Medicaid and Basic Health."[24]

The difference in the quality of care between Federally Qualified Health Centers and free or charity clinics is apparent. The Quincy Community Health Center, for instance, has several full time, paid medical staff, including physicians, nurses, and counselors, many of whom speak Spanish, and the Center provides dental and prenatal care and prescription drug coverage. Their staff are knowledgeable about insurance, Medicaid, and Basic Health Plan claims, and can help their patients complete the right measures to receive the most assistance they can. In contrast, the SOS Clinic, a free clinic in College Place, WA, cannot provide as comprehensive of services. The clinic is run completely by

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[20] Ibarra, Mary-Jo. Personal Interview. Oct. 2005.

[21] Office of Financial Management, State of Washington. "Talking Points About Washington's Uninsured." Access to Health Insurance. Aug. 2005 <http://www.ofm.wa.gov/accesshealth/profiles/0805talkingpoints.pdf>.

[22] Schueler, Vince. Office of Community and Rural Health. Washington State Department of Health. Washington's Primary Care Safety Net: Structure and Availability. 9 Jul. 2004.

[23] Save Health Care in Washington. Stretching the Safety Net: The Rising Uninsured at Washington's Community Health Centers. Dec. 2004. <http://www.savehealthcareinwa.org/wedo/research/rsrch00001-exec.php>.

[24] Office of Community and Rural Health. Washington State Department of Health. Health Care Access Research Update. 28 Jan. 2005 < http://www.doh.wa.gov/hsqa/ocrh/har/FQHCRole.doc>.

dedicated volunteers, and as such, can only be open to patients six hours a week. The SOS Clinic still serves a much needed role in its community; it serves patients regardless of insurance coverage or legal status, and charges no fee for visits or medications.

As crucial as the primary care safety net is, it does not completely meet every patient need. The same problems that the 2004 study in the Midwest noted are likely occurring in areas of Washington State as well. The lack of continuous care that was found in patients frequenting the facilities considered in the Midwest case study can also be seen in Washington. [25] The adverse effects of this is especially evident in diabetes patients. In her experience, Margaret Caicedo, a diabetes educator in the Walla Walla area, finds that uninsured Latino patients with diabetes often are not diagnosed with the disease until their symptoms are bad enough that they must seek emergency care. At this point, significant damage to the body has often occurred.[26]

Conclusion

The statistics presented here show that Latinos in Washington are suffering disproportionately from certain diseases, but are faring better than the general population in other aspects of health. More research is needed to understand these discrepancies, both favorable and unfavorable. Latinos in Washington are clearly not receiving healthcare to the same extent that Caucasians are. Reasons for this include a lack of bilingual services for patients who do not speak English, and disproportionately low number of Latinos employed in healthcare professions, both of which make Latinos less comfortable seeking help, and a high percentage of Latinos without insurance. For patients without insurance, their best option seems to be facilities in the primary care safety net, namely community and migrant health centers and free or charity clinics. These facilities serve a vital purpose, serving a population that otherwise would have no usual source of care. More federal and state funding for the primary care safety net is needed to serve the uninsured of Washington. Doing is a cost-effective strategy, because it would cut down on the number of costly emergency room visits to hospitals from people who cannot afford to pay for the service, a bill which the federal government often picks up. And it would aid the Latino community of Washington to have a regular source of care, especially when dealing with diseases that require continuous treatment like diabetes, from which Latinos suffer in higher numbers than Caucasians. The Latino population in Washington State has unique health needs which are not fully understood, and they are disproportionately uninsured and uncared for. It is important to adequately fund the medical facilities that so many uninsured Latinos rely on, while continuing to find ways to better address the medical needs of Latinos in Washington State.

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[25] Casey, Michelle M, Lynn A Blewett, and Kathleen T Call. "Providing Health Care to Latino Immigrants: Community-Based Efforts in the Rural Midwest." American Journal of Public Health 94.10 (Oct. 2004) : 1709.

[26] Caicedo, Margaret. Personal Interview. 20 Sept. 2005.

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3. Casey, Michelle M, Lynn A Blewett, and Kathleen T Call. "Providing Health Care to Latino Immigrants: Community-Based Efforts in the Rural Midwest." American Journal of Public Health 94.10 (Oct. 2004) : 1709.

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5. Cooper-Patrick, Lisa, et al. "Race, Gender, and Partnership in the Patient-Physician Relationship." Journal of the American Medical Association 282.6 (11 Aug. 1999).

6. Enriquez, Elena. Personal Interview. 6 Oct. 2005.

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8. Hadley, Jack, and John Holahan. The Kaiser Commission on Medicare and the Uninsured. The Cost of Care for the Uninsured: What Do We Spend, Who Pays, and What Would Full Coverage Add to Medical Spending? 2004.

9. Hargraves, J. Lee, and Hadley, Jack. "The contribution of insurance coverage and community resources to reducing racial/ethnic disparities in access to care." Health Services Research 38.3(June 2003): 809.

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11. Ibarra, Mary-Jo. Personal Interview. Oct. 2005.

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13. National Center for Health Statistics. Center for Disease Control. US Department of Health and Human Services. Health, United States, 2004. Hyattsville, Maryland: US Government Printing Office, 2004.

14. Office of Community and Rural Health. Washington State Department of Health. Health Care Access Research Update. 28 Jan. 2005 < http://www.doh.wa.gov/hsqa/ocrh/har/FQHCRole.doc>.

15. Office of Financial Management, State of Washington. "Talking Points About Washington's Uninsured." Access to Health Insurance. Aug. 2005 < http://www.ofm.wa.gov/accesshealth/profiles/0805talkingpoints.pdf>.

16. Save Health Care in Washington. Stretching the Safety Net: The Rising Uninsured at Washington's Community Health Centers. Dec. 2004 < http://www.savehealthcareinwa.org/wedo/research/rsrch00001-exec.php>.

17. Schueler, Vince. Office of Community and Rural Health. Washington State Department of Health. Washington's Primary Care Safety Net: Structure and Availability. 9 Jul. 2004.

18. Weinick, Robin M, and Nancy A. Krauss. "Racial/Ethnic Differences in Children's Access to Care." American Journal of Public Health 90.11 (Nov 2000): 1771-74.

Appendix A

Interview Questions

- Estoy haciendo un investigación para mi clase en la universidad de Whitman sobre el estado de Latinos en cuanto al sistema de salud en Washington. Lo que quiero aprender de Ud. es sus experiencias con la salubridad, con compañías de seguros, con hospitales y médicos y todo eso. Si tiene cuentos particulares sería muy ayudante. Entiendo que esta tema es muy personal, y si le pregunto algo a que no quiere responder, por favor, dígame. No quiero ofenderle, y lo siento mucho si lo ocurre.
- Hace cuanto tiempo vive Ud. aquí en Washington?
- Dónde nació?
- Dónde creció? En cuantas lugares ha vivido Ud. antes de Washington?
- Porque mudó a Washington – que pensaba que encontraría?
- Y encontró lo que esperaba?
- Le gusta Ud. viviendo en Washington?
- Usa la palabra "Latino" para describirse, o identificas más con la palabra Mexicano o Hispano, Hispanoamericano, Mexicano Americano, o solamente Americana? Tienen cada palabra sentidos diferentes, o solamente son palabras?
- Háblame, por favor, sobre su familia – tiene esposo, hijas, tiene parientes quien viven cerca?
- Tiene Ud. o su familia algunas problemas medicales?
- Qué medicinas toma(n) para sus enfermedades?
- Necesita(n) medicinas que no reciba(n)?
- Tienen Uds. seguro medico? Reciben el seguro por su trabajo o del trabajo de su esposo? Cubre todo que Uds. necesitan? Ha tenido problemas con los seguros?
- Sabe a alguien que no tiene seguro medico o que ha tenido problemas con su compañía de seguros?
- Esta pregunta es muy personal, y si no quiere contestarla, está bien. Está un ciudadano?
    - (si no) Sienta desaventajada porque no es una ciudadano?
    - (si es) Hay desventajas para los que no son ciudadanos?
- Cuantas veces por mes o por año visita a un doctor? Va al hospital, o un clínico? Va a la sala de emergencia en el hospital? Como le trata allí?
- Prefiere ir con más frecuencia que va ahora?
    - (si así es) Qué no le permite a Ud. ir cuando quiere?
- Tiene UD. un cuento en particular que muestra como funciona o que hace cuando necesita recibir atención medical?
- Hubo un instancia cuando sentía que no estaba recibiendo lo que necesitaba?
- Siente intimidado por algún aspecto de la sistema de salud (compañía de seguros, los doctores y enfermeros, etc.)
- Con que frecuencia asiste a programas educacionales (en el hospital general de Walla Walla, Santa María, u otro clínico)?
- Que inquietudes o preocupaciones tiene Ud. sobre la salud suya y de su familia ambos ahora y en el futuro?
- Habla Ud. ingles?

    - (si no) Hay instancias cuando siente que tiene una desventaja porque no habla ingles?
- En su vecindario, su comunidad, o entre amigos y parientes, que cree Ud. son las problemas medicales más común?
    - Los que tienen estas problemas medicales – pueden recibir la ayuda o tratamiento que necesitan?
- Que cosas, si hay algunas, puede hacer Ud para mejorar la calidad de su salubridad? Necesitas algo para hacerlo?
- Que cambios le quería ver en cuanto al sistema de salud?
- Tiene Ud. preguntas para mi, sobre mi proyecto, sobre sus opciones en cuanto a salubridad en Walla Walla, o

HEALTH INSURANCE AND ACCESS TO HEALTH CARE FOR LATINOS IN WASHINGTON STATE

Benjamin Secord
Politics 402
Whitman College
November 17, 2005

INTRODUCTION

My research is looking at the access to health insurance and access to health care for Latinos in Washington State. Generally, my research aims to provide a general picture of the extent to which the health needs of the Latino community in Washington are being met. Specifically, I examine the rates of health insurance coverage within the Latino community and some possible causal factors that might help to explain those rates. In addition, I aim to present a general picture of the access to health care services within the Latino community in Washington. Much of the following information comes from studies and reports compiled in recent years by a number of scholars, medical professionals and health-oriented organizations. The Henry J. Kaiser Foundation, the U.S. Census Bureau, and the Washington State Department of Health have been particularly helpful in this regard. Another important source of information has come from a local partnership with two medical professionals Dr. Christopher Hall and Benita Aguilar who work at the Walla Walla Clinic. They have provided me with valuable information regarding the intricacies of issues relating to health insurance coverage and have been helpful in explaining local health issues facing the Latino community. They have also been instrumental in contacting local community members for participation in interviews, which also serve as a source of information for this project.

Latinos are more likely to be uninsured than any other racial/ethnic group in the U.S. A number of factors might explain these unusually high rates, including (but not limited to) employment status, income levels and legal status. This lack of insurance, in concert with cultural and/or language barriers, prevents many Latinos from receiving quality health care.

METHODS

Relevant Literature and Databases

While most of the information I have gathered for this project has come from reports and surveys, I have also found academic studies useful. For the most part, these studies serve to confirm the information presented in the following Data section. Some aim to explain the lack of access to insurance and/or care by examining a specific causal factor (such as employer-based insurance), while others document Latino experiences in particular medical settings. Where they seem to be especially useful is in providing suggestions for policy changes that might address some of the specific health issues of the Latino community. Below is a brief discussion of some of the studies that have been particularly informative for this project.

One study shows that racial/ethnic and linguistic minorities face barriers to receiving care, despite efforts to relieve financial barriers through Medicaid services. Both Spanish-speaking and English-speaking Latinos were more likely to report negative experiences with a medical professional than whites.[1] These findings are echoed in the Data section, especially in *Figures 13-15*. A study by Patricia Docúmet and Ravi Sharma on access to health insurance and care among Latinos in Southwestern Pennsylvania notes the importance of recognizing *cultural barriers* to insurance and care. While documenting the more researched financial barriers to insurance and care they also point out that, "even if all had health insurance and no attention was given to cultural issues, there would still be large racial/ethnic disparities in access to health care."[2] Another study examines the extent to which *legal status* serves as a deterrent to seeking care. The study, which sampled undocumented residents in Houston, El Paso, Los Angeles and Fresno, found that 39% of undocumented Latino adults had been afraid of not receiving medical services because of their legal status.[3] When this fear is coupled with the overwhelming uninsured rate of undocumented Latinos (see Data section, *Figure 7*), it is reasonable to assume that many of the health needs of the undocumented community go unmet. Finally, a study by Richard Brown and Hongjian Yu illustrates the comparatively low rates of employer-based insurance coverage among Latinos. They cite a number of factors that might explain this gap, including age, educational attainment, *employment status* and *level of poverty*.[4]

While these studies help to articulate the conditions facing Latinos in the nation as a whole, it has become evident that there have been few (if any) studies conducted that directly address the lack of insurance and access to care among Latinos in Washington State. While there is a wealth of information of Latino experience in regions with more concentrated Latino populations (such as California or Texas), relatively little addresses the specific health issues of the Latino community in Washington.

The most useful source I have located for quantitative data has been the Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation. Their online database is the most extensive I have found

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[1] Robert Weech-Maldonado, et al, "Race/ethnicity, Language and Patients' Assessments of Care in Medicaid and Managed Care," *Health Services Research* (June 2003) v38 i3, p789(20).

[2] Patricia Docúmet and Ravi Sharma, "Latinos' Health Care Access: Financial and Cultural Barriers," *Journal of Immigrant Health* (January 2004) v6 no1.

[3] Marc L. Beck and Claudia L. Schur, "The Effect of Fear on Access to Care Among Undocumented Latino Immigrants," *Journal of Immigrant Health* (July 2001) v3 no3.

[4] Richared Brown and Hongjian Yu, "Latino's Access to Employment-Based Health Insurance," p244.

regarding health related issues. In addition to having an entire department focused on Medicaid and the Uninsured, they have funded numerous in depth reports on racial/ethnic disparities in health care. In addition, they provide recent state and national statistics regarding insurance coverage and access to health care, including information on the many factors that affect access to insurance and care, such as employment status, income relative to the federal poverty level (FPL), and legal status.

The Washington State Department of Health has also been a valuable resource for information. Navigating their webpage and related links, I have found many informative statistics and reports, particularly regarding Latino's access to health care in the state. I have also found useful information from the U.S. Census Bureau, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services and Hispanic-oriented organizations like the National Council of La Raza (NCLR).

Focus of Data Section

The above mentioned resources have been instrumental in locating the specific areas of focus for this project. Based on the existing research, I have organized the Data section of my report into two parts. The first part examines the levels of health insurance coverage for Latinos. Due to previous findings, I have chosen three potential causal factors that are extremely important in determining whether Latinos have health insurance: *employment status*, *poverty* and *legal status*. *Employment status* refers to the amount of time one works (i.e. full time, part-time, etc.) as well as where one works (industry and firm size) and what position one occupies (high-skill, low-skill, etc.). All of these interrelated markers of employment status have an affect on whether one receives health insurance from their employer, which is the most common source of health insurance coverage for all Americans. The *poverty* section details the extent to which poverty within the Latino community affects rates of insurance. Poverty is measured by income in relation to the federal poverty level (FPL). Families who have annual incomes at or below 200% of the FPL are considered low-income. The *legal status* section examines the differences in health insurance coverage among Latinos who are U.S. born citizens, naturalized citizens, legal residents and undocumented residents.

The second part of the data section examines access to health care for Latinos. I focus on two factors that often limit or restrict Latino access to health care services: *lack of health insurance* and *language barriers*. The *lack of insurance* section will examine the extent to which being uninsured deters Latinos from receiving or seeking care. The section on *language barriers* examines the extent to which lack of English proficiency for Spanish-speaking Latinos limits the services available to them and/or negatively affects the quality of care they receive. It also briefly analyzes the various barriers to quality care that exist as a result of cultural differences.

Interviews

The two interviews I have conducted were set up through my contacts Dr. Christopher Hall and Benita Aguilar at the Walla Walla Clinic. The first interview, with Señora Lopez, was conducted on Friday, October 14, 2005 at the Walla Walla Clinic. Fellow student Lázaro Carrion accompanied me as a translator. Due to time limitations, the entire interview was conducted in Spanish, without translation back into English. As a result, I became little more than an observer during the course of the interview. Lázaro

used my prepared questions and added some of his own where he deemed appropriate. The interview lasted about a half hour and was recorded. A woman named Mary, who works as an interpreter (among other things) for the Walla Walla Clinic was also on hand for the interview.

The second interview was conducted on Tuesday, November 1, 2005 at the Walla Walla Clinic with Señora Jimenez. An interpreter from the Walla Walla Clinic named Carolina was on hand to assist with the interview. I asked questions in English, Carolina translated them into Spanish for Señora Jimenez and then translated her answers back to English. The interview lasted roughly a half hour and was recorded.

The central motivation for including interviews as a source of information for this project is to provide specific individual examples that bring the statistics and academic theory presented in my report to life. I was particularly interested in the interviewees' personal experiences with racism and discrimination because of their race/ethnicity or because of their lack of English proficiency. I also hoped to highlight the intricacies of the health insurance system and the tremendous variety that exists between different providers as well as how adequately these insurance plans cover the health needs of their customers. For more information about the interviews used in this report please refer to the Interview Discussion section and the interview transcripts added as appendices A and B.

DATA

Access to Health Insurance

Nationally, Latinos are more likely to be uninsured than any other racial or ethnic group. According to a report compiled by the U.S. Census Bureau, in 2004, 32.7% of the Hispanic population in the United States was without any health insurance, compared to 14.6% of whites, 19.6% of blacks and 18.8% of Asians. Equally as disturbing is the fact that Hispanic uninsured rates have remained basically unchanged for close to 20 years, showing a slight 2% increase since 1987.[5] These extremely high rates can be explained by any number of causal factors including employment status, poverty level and legal status.

In Washington State, the rates of uninsured Latinos are slightly higher than the national averages, as is the gap between white and Latino rates of insurance coverage. According to the Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation, 36% of Latinos in Washington are uninsured compared with only 13 % of whites (See *Table 1*).[6]

Table 1

Rate of Nonelderly Uninsured by Race/Ethnicity, state data 2002-2003, U.S. 2003

Compare

	WA #	WA %	US #	US %
White	567,730	13	21,483,620	13
Black	NSD	NSD	6,728,410	21
Hispanic	154,990	36	13,118,700	34
Other	112,150	19	3,343,570	20
Total	895,220	NA	44,674,300	NA

In order to better understand why these disparities exist, it is first useful to know the most common sources of health insurance. Both nationally and in Washington State, the most common provider of health insurance is one's employer. For those who do not have access to, or chose not to accept, employer sponsored health insurance, many receive some form of federally funded health insurance (Medicaid for all recipients under 65 and Medicare for the elderly population over 65). A smaller percentage of the U.S. population opts for privately purchased insurance.

Nationally, 84.3% of Americans have some form of health insurance, and of those people, 59.8% receive their insurance from an employer or spouse's employer. 12.7%

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[5] See Appendix C: "Health Insurance Coverage by Race and Hispanic Origin: 1987-2004," *Income, Poverty and Health Insurance Coverage in the U.S.: 2004 Report*, U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Survey, 2004.

[6] Source: Urban Institute and Kaiser Commission on Medicaid and the Uninsured, 2004, statehealthfacts.org

are insured by state-run Medicaid programs, 13.7% by Medicare programs and 9.3% purchase private insurance plans.[7]

In Washington, 55% of the entire state population is covered by employer-based insurance while 15% are insured through Medicaid, 10% receive Medicare and 5% purchase private plans. 15% of the state population is uninsured (see *Table 2*).[8]

Table 2

Population Distribution by Insurance Status, state data 2002-03, U.S. 2003

Compare

	WA #	WA %	US #	US %
Employer	3,316,930	55	156,270,570	54
Individual	316,740	5	13,593,990	5
Medicaid	899,830	15	38,352,430	13
Medicare	598,980	10	34,190,710	12
Uninsured	897,130	15	44,960,710	16
Total	6,029,610	100	287,368,410	100

Thus, while examining the lack of health insurance coverage among Latinos as a whole, it will be important to keep in mind these specific types of available insurance. I will now turn to some of the factors that might prevent Latinos from attaining health insurance.

Employment Status

As mentioned above, the majority of Americans receive their health insurance from an employer or a spouse's employer. However, Latinos are far less likely to receive health insurance from their employer than any other group in the U.S. According to a report done by the Kaiser Commission on Medicaid and the Uninsured, just 42% of Latinos receive health insurance from an employer or a spouse's employer, compared to 72% of whites, 53% of African Americans, and 63% of Asians/Pacific Islanders. Only American Indians/Alaska Natives had comparable rates, as 43% received their insurance from an employer or a spouse's employer. (See *Figure 1* below).[9]

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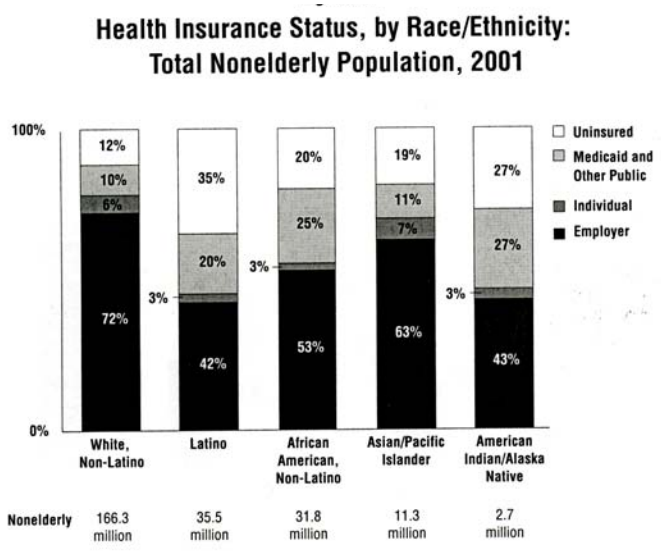
[7] See Appendix D: "Health Insurance Coverage by Race and Hispanic Origin: 1987-2004," *Income, Poverty and Health Insurance Coverage in the U.S.: 2004 Report,* U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Survey, 2004.

[8] Source: Urban Institute and Kaiser Commission on Medicaid and the Uninsured, 2004, statehealthfacts.org.

[9] Source: Kaiser Commission on Medicaid and the Uninsured, *Health Insurance Coverage in America: 2001 Data Update, 2003*.

Figure 1



In Washington, the rate of Latinos who receive health coverage from their employer is well below the national level. As *Table 3* indicates, only 35% of Latinos receive health insurance from their employers, compared to 66% of whites.[10]

Table 3

Rate of Nonelderly with Employer Coverage by Race/Ethnicity, state data 2002-2003, U.S. 2003

Compare

	WA #	WA %	US #	US %
White	2,789,510	66	114,780,870	69
Black	67,170	35	15,490,570	48
Hispanic	147,690	35	15,466,660	40
Other	314,680	54	9,625,630	58
Total	3,319,050	NA	155,363,720	NA

Based on these low numbers of employer insurance the assumption could be made that many Latinos do not work and therefore are less likely to receive employer-based insurance plans. However, this is probably far from the truth. The overwhelming majority (about 87%) of uninsured Latinos come from working families.[11] Thus, it is

[10] Source: Urban Institute and Kaiser Commission on Medicaid and the Uninsured, 2004, statehealthfacts.org

[11] From: National Council of La Raza, *State of Hispanic America 2004: Latino Perspectives on the American Agenda* (Washington, DC, 2004). Cited Source: Richard E. Brown et al, *Racial and Ethnic*

important to further examine Latinos' employment status (i.e. the amount one works and the kind of jobs one occupies).

Members of a family in which one person or more is a full time worker are the most likely to receive health insurance from their employer. As *Table 4* indicates, 70% of full time workers in Washington receive employer coverage compared to only 32% of part time workers and 14% of unemployed.[12]

Table 4

Rate of Nonelderly with Employer Coverage by Employment Status, state data 2002-2003, U.S. 2003

Compare

	WA #	WA %	US #	US %
At Least 1 Full Time Worker	3,092,860	70	145,561,120	71
Part Time Workers	147,750	32	5,314,230	30
Non Workers	78,450	14	4,488,380	15
Total	3,319,050	NA	155,363,720	NA

However, while these statistics reflect the rates for the entire state, it is important to note that Latinos have far lower rates of employer coverage in each category, especially in relation to their white counterparts. According to a report compiled by the UCLA Center for Health Policy Research and The Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation in 2000, only 58% of full-time, full-year Latino employees received insurance from their jobs compared to over 85% of whites. In addition, only 29% of full-time, part-year Latino employees and 25% of part-time Latino employees had access to employer health insurance compared to 58% and 51% of whites, respectively**.** Thus, even while full-time workers are most likely to receive employer-based insurance coverage, 42% of full-time Latino workers do not. (See *Figure 2* below).[13]

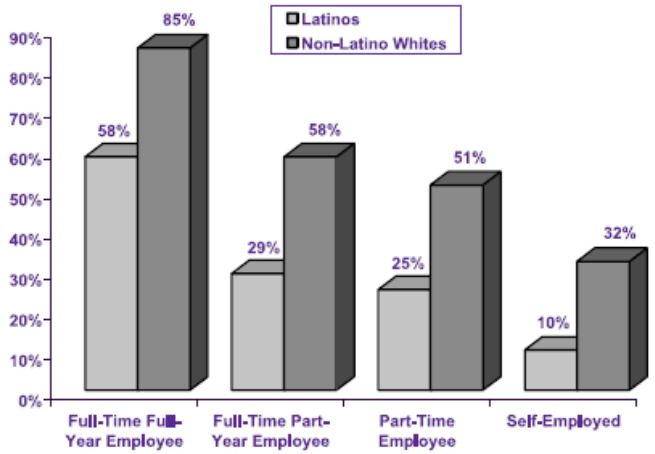
Disparities in Access to Health Insurance and Health Care (Los Angeles, California: UCLA Center for Health Policy Research and the Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation, April 2000).

[12] Source: Urban Institute and Kaiser Commission on Medicaid and the Uninsured, 2004, statehealthfacts.org

[13] Richard E. Brown et al, *Racial and Ethnic Disparities in Access to Health Insurance and Health Care* (Los Angeles, California: UCLA Center for Health Policy Research and the Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation, April 2000).

Figure 2

Job-Based Insurance by Work Status of the Primary Earner, Latinos and Non-Latino Whites, Ages 0-64, U.S., 1997



This troubling gap between Latinos and whites could possibly be explained by the fact that Latinos tend to occupy low-skill, low-wage paying positions that might not offer health benefits. Research shows that U.S. agricultural, manufacturing, construction and service industries are dependent on a foreign born work force, which, more often than not are Mexican immigrants. Firms within these industries are able to pay immigrant workers less and often take advantage of the vulnerable social position these immigrants tend to occupy.[14] As a result, many of these workers are not offered health benefits from their employers. Due to the low wages these workers receive, most are unable to purchase health insurance plans on their own.

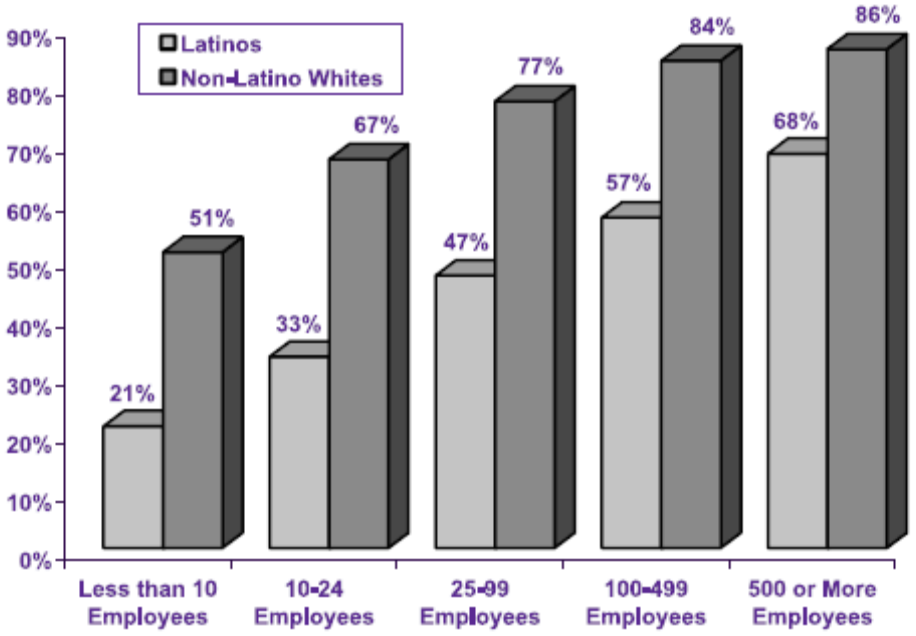
Another possible explanation for the lack of employer-based insurance could be in the size (number of workers) of the employer. Statistically speaking, the larger the employer, the more likely it is that employees will receive health insurance. In the U.S. firms are not required to offer employees health benefits. Thus, smaller firms, who presumably have less profit margin than larger firms, are not as likely to offer their employees insurance. In addition, employees working in larger firms might be more inclined to organize for collective rights, including benefits and working conditions (via union formation or through other means). Yet, regardless of firm size, in every case Latinos are far less likely to receive health insurance from their employer than are whites. The same report by the UCLA Center for Health Policy Research and the Kaiser

[14] Wayne A. Cornelius, "The Structural Embeddedness of Demand for Mexican Immigrant Labor: New Evidence from California," *Crossings: Mexican Immigration in Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, ed. Marcelo M. Suárez-Orozco (Cambridge, Mass. : Harvard University, David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, 1998), p119-120.

Foundation found that in firms with less than 10 employees only 21% of Latinos had employer based insurance, while 51% of whites received insurance from their employer. This enormous gap remained virtually unchanged in firms with 10-499 employees and only dropped slightly in firms of 500 of more employees (68% of Latinos received employer based insurance compared to 86% of whites). (See *Figure 3* below).[15]

Figure 3

Job-Based Insurance by Firm Size of the Primary Earner, Latinos and Non-Latino Whites, Ages 0-64, United States, 1997



As *Figures 2* and *3* illustrate, Latinos are far less likely to receive employer-based insurance than are whites. However, the story doesn't end here. There is also a considerable number of working Latinos who are unable to accept the insurance plans offered by their employers. Of Latinos who are offered employer-based insurance, only 72.3% are able to accept the offer, compared to 83.6% of blacks and 92.2% of whites. Among low-income working Latinos, only 53.6% take up the insurance plans offered by their employer, compared to 64.4% of blacks and 76.8% of whites.[16] This can be explained in large part by the lack of financial resources available to many working Latinos, who in some cases are unable to afford the monthly insurance payments that often accompany employer insurance offers.

Another important issue regarding employer coverage is that it often doesn't cover all of the workers' dependents. Some plans only cover the worker, others the

[15] Richard E. Brown et al, *Racial and Ethnic Disparities in Access to Health Insurance and Health Care* (Los Angeles, California: UCLA Center for Health Policy Research and the Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation, April 2000).

[16] Lee J. Hargraves, "Trends in Health Insurance Coverage and Access Among Black, Latino and White Americans, 2001-2003," (Washington D.C.: Center for Studying Health System Change, 2004).

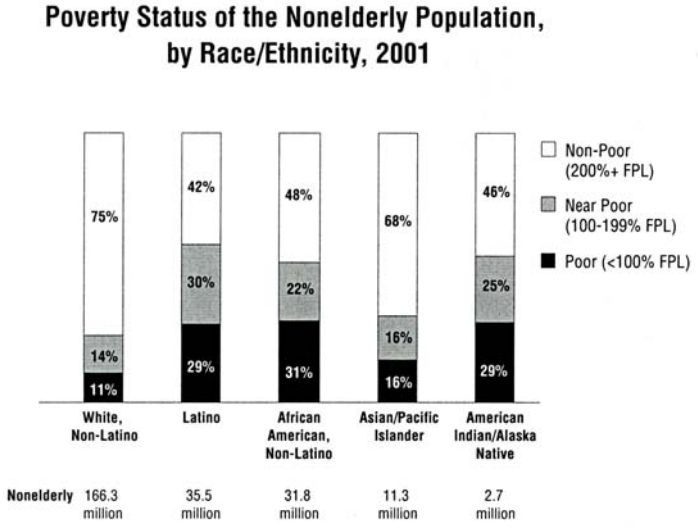
worker and his/her spouse, while others include some or all of the workers children. In addition, the insurance plans offered by employers often lack coverage for important services and can be accompanied by expensive co-pays or monthly bills. (For a more in-depth discussion of these issues refer to the Interview Discussion section of this report).

Here I will turn to another factor that will help to explain the high uninsured rate among Latinos, both in Washington State and in the U.S. as a whole: *poverty*.

Poverty

In the U.S. nearly 60% of the Latino population is either poor or near poor. (Poor is measured as less than 100% of the federal poverty level (FPL from here on), near poor is 100-199% of the FPL). This widespread poverty can severely limit access to medical insurance and quality medical care. *Figure 4* shows the poverty status among racial/ethnic groups in the U.S.[17]

Figure 4



While the number of poor or near poor African Americans and American Indian/Alaskan Natives are high as well, statistically, Latinos are the poorest racial/ethnic group in the U.S. Compared with the nearly 60% of Latinos who qualify as low-income, only 25% of whites fall into these categories. In Washington, these same disparities exist. As *Table 5* shows, almost a third (29%) of Latinos in Washington are at or below the FPL, compared to only 13% of whites.[18]

[17] Source: Urban Institute and Kaiser Commission on Medicaid and the Uninsured, 2002.
[18] Source: Urban Institute and Kaiser Commission on Medicaid and the Uninsured, 2004, statehealthfacts.org

Table 5

Poverty Rate by Race/Ethnicity, states (2003-2004), U.S. (2004)

Compare

	WA #	WA %	US #	US %
White	591,840	13	23,226,560	12
Black	52,190	26	11,548,010	33
Hispanic	131,100	29	12,099,170	29
Other	171,110	25	3,607,660	19

However, this only paints half the picture, as these numbers do not reflect the percentage of the Latino population that is near poor. Taking this into consideration, the number of Latinos in Washington that qualify as low-income most likely reflects the national averages.

As stated earlier, this high level of poverty within the Latino community presents a significant barrier to attaining some form of health insurance. *Figure 5* shows the health insurance status of the low-income (less than 200% of the FPL) population in the U.S. by race and ethnicity. Nearly half of low-income Latinos (45%) are completely uninsured compared to only 26% of low-income whites and 28% of low-income blacks. Low income Asian/Pacific Islanders and American Indian/Alaskan Natives have slightly higher uninsured rates compared to blacks and whites, but they don't begin to approach the uninsured rates among poor Latinos.[19]

Figure 5

Health Insurance Status, by Race/Ethnicity: Low-Income Nonelderly Population, 2001

[19] Source: Urban Institute and Kaiser Commission on Medicaid and the Uninsured, 2002.

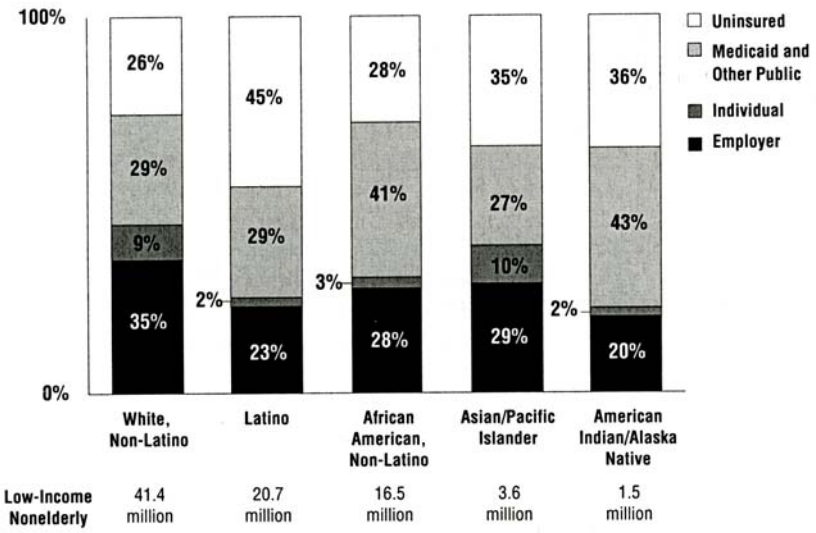


Figure 5 also shows that low-income Latinos are less likely to receive employer-based insurance than are whites, blacks and Asian/Pacific Islanders. Only 23% of low-income Latinos receive health insurance from their employer, compared with 35% of whites, 28% of blacks and 29% of Asian/Pacific Islanders. American Indian/Alaskan Natives are the only racial/ethnic group that has a lower rate of employer coverage.

In Washington, 34% of the population at or below the FPL is uninsured and 28% of the population at less than 200% of the FPL is uninsured, while only 10% of the population above 200% of the FPL is uninsured (See *Table 6*).[20]

Table 6

Rate of Nonelderly Uninsured by FPL, state data 2002-2003, U.S. 2003

Compare

	WA #	WA %	US #	US %
Under 100%	286,780	34	15,988,500	36
100-199%	241,420	28	13,241,060	30
--Low Income Rate	528,200	31	29,229,560	33
200% or more	367,020	10	15,444,740	9
Total	895,220	NA	44,674,300	NA

Table 6 illustrates that in Washington State the poor are far more likely to be uninsured than those who are above 200% of the FPL. Because Latinos have such high rates of poverty, in Washington and in the U.S. as a whole (see Figure 3 and *Table 5*), it follows that the high uninsured rates within their community can be at least partially

[20] Source: Urban Institute and Kaiser Commission on Medicaid and the Uninsured, 2004, statehealthfacts.org

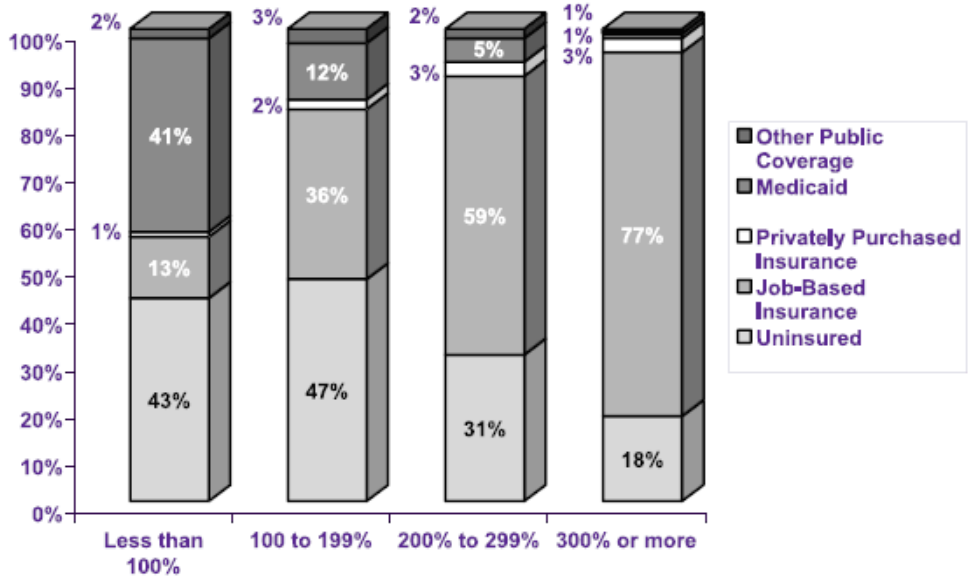
explained by their poverty status. It is also important to note that the widespread poverty of the Latino community is directly related to their tendency to occupy low-paying jobs.

The Importance of Medicaid

For the poor, Medicaid provides an important safety net for health insurance. As *Figure 6* notes, 41% of Latinos in the U.S. from families at or below the FPL depend on Medicaid for their health insurance coverage.[21]

Figure 6

Health Insurance Coverage by Family Income Relative to Poverty, Latinos, Ages 0-64, United States, 1997



In Washington, 26% of Latinos are enrolled in Medicaid.[22] However, proposed federal budget cuts to Medicaid could have serious implications on the health insurance status of America's poor, a large percentage of whom are Latino.[23]

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[21] Richard E. Brown et al, *Racial and Ethnic Disparities in Access to Health Insurance and Health Care* (Los Angeles, California: UCLA Center for Health Policy Research and the Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation, April 2000).

[22] Source: Urban Institute and Kaiser Commission on Medicaid and the Uninsured, 2004, statehealthfacts.org

[23] Robert Pear, "Congress Weighs Big Cuts to Medicaid and Medicare," *The New York Times*, October 30, 2005, www.nytimes.com/2005/10/30/politics/30health.html.

Legal Status

Legal status is another key determinant in whether or not Latinos have health insurance. *Figure 7* shows that 74% of Mexican undocumented residents are uninsured, compared with 44% of Mexican born legal residents, 35% of naturalized citizens and 27% of U.S. born citizens. Despite the fact that the overwhelming majority of undocumented Mexicans work, only 23% receive employer-based insurance, compared to about 47% of naturalized and U.S. born citizens of Mexican origin. In addition, because of their legal status, undocumented Mexicans are usually denied access to government insurance, which is reflected by the very small number covered by Medicaid or other Public sources.[24]

Figure 7

Insurance Coverage by Citizenship and Immigration Status, Latinos of Mexican Origin, Ages 0-64, United States, 1997

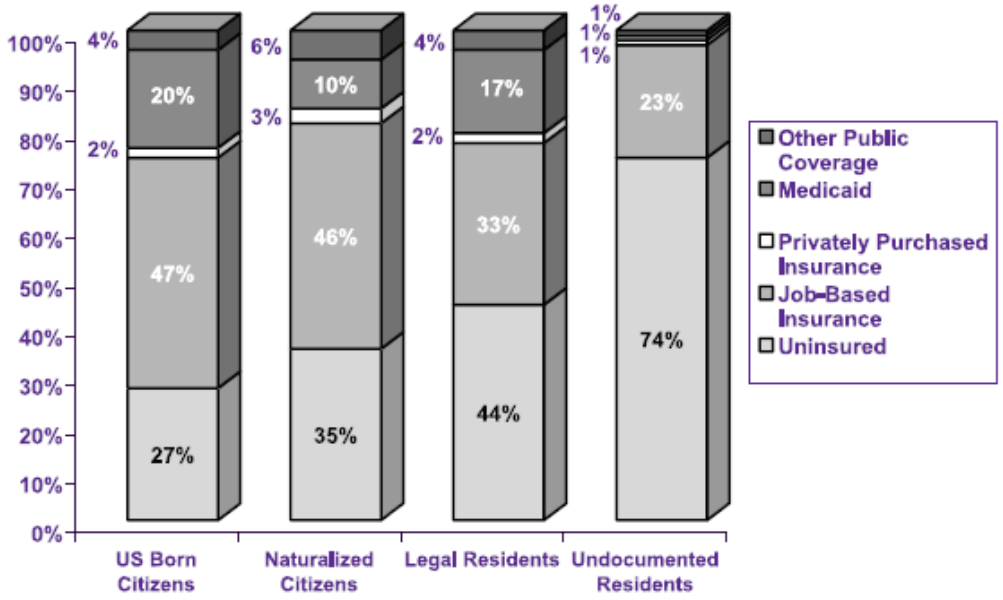


Figure 7 focuses only on people of Mexican origin because Mexican Americans and Mexicans comprise 70% of the entire Latino population in the U.S.[25] While it neglects the significant Cuban, Puerto Rican and other central and South American

[24] Richard E. Brown et al, *Racial and Ethnic Disparities in Access to Health Insurance and Health Care* (Los Angeles, California: UCLA Center for Health Policy Research and the Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation, April 2000).

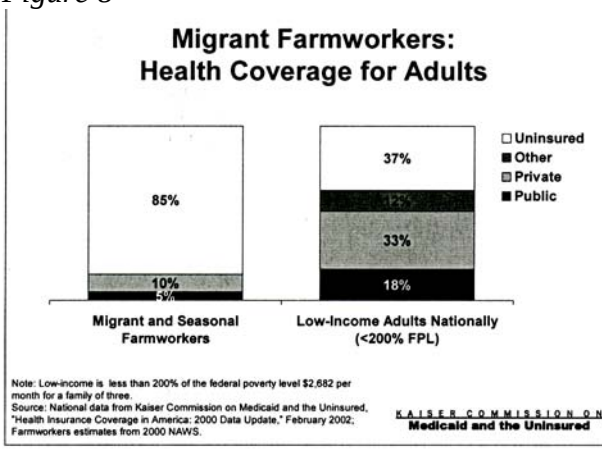
[25] Richard E. Brown et al, *Racial and Ethnic Disparities in Access to Health Insurance and Health Care* (Los Angeles, California: UCLA Center for Health Policy Research and the Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation, April 2000).

populations in the U.S., it might be a particularly good indicator of the conditions facing Latinos in Washington as the overwhelming majority (roughly 75%) are of Mexican origin.[26]

We know that undocumented Latinos are far more likely to be uninsured than U.S. born citizens, naturalized citizens and legal residents. However, determining the number of undocumented Latinos in the state of Washington is quite difficult. In their report *Racial and Ethnic Disparities in Access to Health Insurance and Health Care*, Brown et al estimate that 15% of all Mexican origin residents in the U.S. are undocumented.[27] While only 7% of the Washington population are estimated to be non-citizens[28], it is reasonable to assume that a significant number of them are Latinos. In addition, because of the large agricultural industry in Eastern Washington, which depends on immigrant labor (often undocumented Mexicans), it might be useful to look specifically at the experience of farm workers.

A recent report funded by the Kaiser Commission on Medicaid and the Uninsured shows that in the U.S., a staggering 85% of migrant farm workers are uninsured, compared to 37% of the low-income population (see *Figure 8*).[29]

Figure 8



Undocumented status might help explain the low levels of employer based insurance among Latinos. Undocumented workers often find themselves at the whim of employers eager to take advantage of an exploitable workforce. Without legal recognition and because of the intimidation and unjust treatment often used by employers to instill fear in their workers, many undocumented workers fail to receive any job associated benefits whatsoever. Thus, employer-based insurance among undocumented

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[26] Source: Commission on Hispanic Affairs, State of Washington, "Washington State Demographic Highlights."

[27] Richard E. Brown et al, *Racial and Ethnic Disparities in Access to Health Insurance and Health Care* (Los Angeles, California: UCLA Center for Health Policy Research and the Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation, April 2000).

[28] Source: Urban Institute and Kaiser Commission on Medicaid and the Uninsured, 2004, statehealthfacts.org

[29] Sara J.D. Rosenbaum, and Peter Shin, *Migrant and Seasonal Farmworkers: Health Insurance Coverage and Access to Care*, (Center for Health Services Research and Policy: The George Washington University, 2005).

workers is almost non-existent. In addition, because of their legal status, they are usually not eligible for Medicaid or other publicly offered health insurance plans. As a result, the overwhelming majority of undocumented Latinos have no health Insurance.

To make matters worse, in 2002 the Washington state legislature eliminated a medical assistance program that provided immigrants who did not qualify for Medicaid because of their immigrant status with comparable health coverage. These immigrants were supposed to be transferred to coverage under Washington's Basic Health Plan, but due to the increased costs and inferior coverage, many could not afford to make the switch. As of 2004, according to a report by the University of Washington Health Policy Analysis Program and Northwest Health Law Advocates, more than 17,000 immigrant children and parents in Washington have lost their health insurance.[30]

Access to Health Care

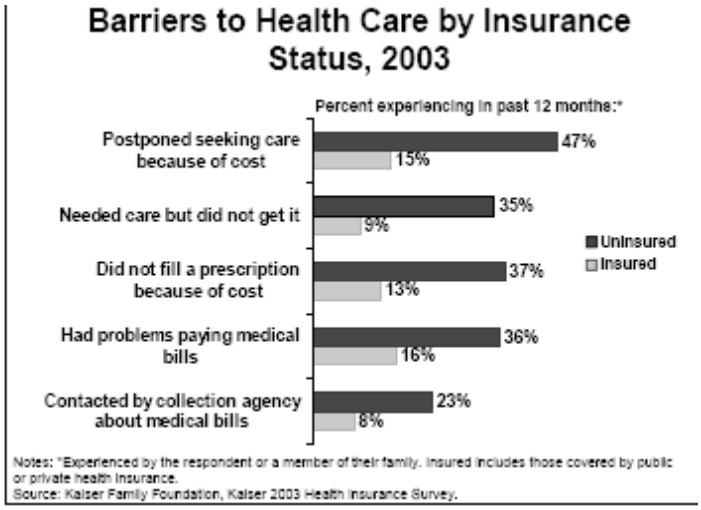
In this section I will examine two significant barriers that often prevent Latinos from accessing care and/or receiving quality care: *lack of health insurance* and the *language barrier*.

Lack of Health Insurance

As documented above, the high uninsured rates for Latinos have very real consequences regarding access to health care. Without insurance, the exorbitant costs of health-related visits, services and medications often discourage people from seeking much needed care. People who lack insurance are less likely to visit a medical professional, to have a usual source of care and to seek preventative care. *Figure 9* below lists indicators of quality health care and compares access among the uninsured and the insured in the U.S. According to *Figure 9*, 47% of uninsured people said they postponed seeking care because of cost, compared to only 15% of the insured population. 35% of the uninsured needed care but did not get it, while only 9% of insured folks passed up care and 37% of the uninsured did not fill a prescription due to cost as opposed to 13% of the insured. Further, of the uninsured, 36% claim to have had difficulties paying medical bills and 23% had been contacted by collection agencies about medical bills, compared to only 16% and 8%, respectively, of their insured counterparts.[31]

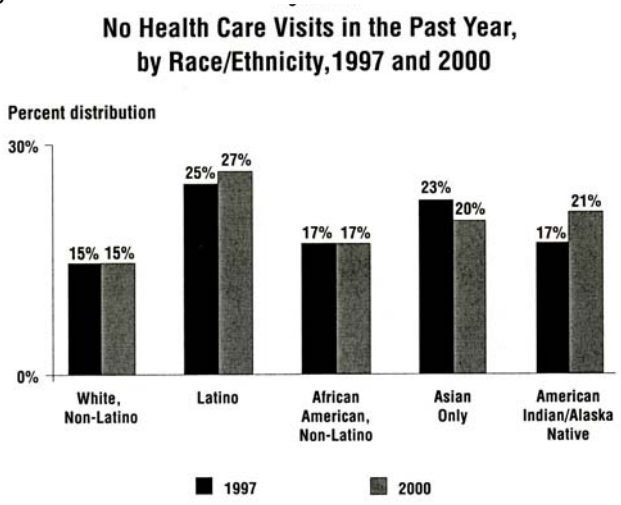
Figure 9

[30] Walter Neary, "Cost and Confusion Deprive 17,000 Immigrant Children and Parents of Insurance in Washington," *Health and Medicine* (2004).
[31] "The Uninsured and Their Access to Health Care." Kaiser Family Foundation, Kaiser 2003 Health Insurance Survey.



Because Latinos are more likely than any other racial/ethnic group to be uninsured, it should come as no surprise that in key indicators of access to health care, they are disproportionately underrepresented. *Figure 10* shows that more than a quarter (27%) of the Latino population in the U.S. had no health care visits during the course of the year in 2000, compared to 15% of whites, 17% of African Americans, 20% of Asians and 21% of American Indian/Alaskan Natives. What is perhaps even more telling is the fact that only Latinos and American Indian/Alaskan Natives saw an increase in these numbers from 1997-2000.[32]

Figure 10

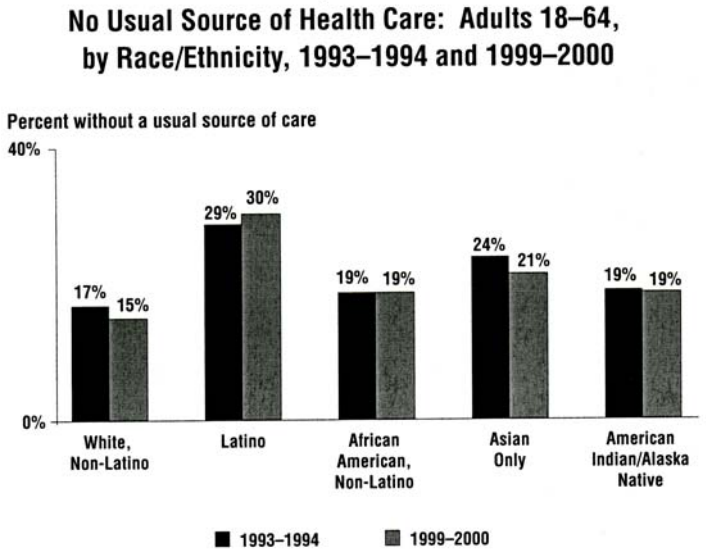


Regular health visits are one of the key indicators of preventive care. Regular health visits can help detect potentially serious medical concerns in their early stages and are considered essential to maintaining lasting good health. The large percentage of the Latino population that goes without annual health visits is troubling to say the least.

[32] Source: Health, United States, 2002, Table 72. Data: "National Health Survey," National Center for Health Statistics (2000).

Figure 11 illustrates that in 2000 in the U.S., 30% of Latinos had no usual source of care, compared to 15% of whites, 19% of African Americans, 21% of Asian/Pacific Islanders and 19% of American Indian/Alaskan Natives. In this case, Latinos were the only group who saw an increase from 1993-1994 to1999-2000.[33]

Figure 11

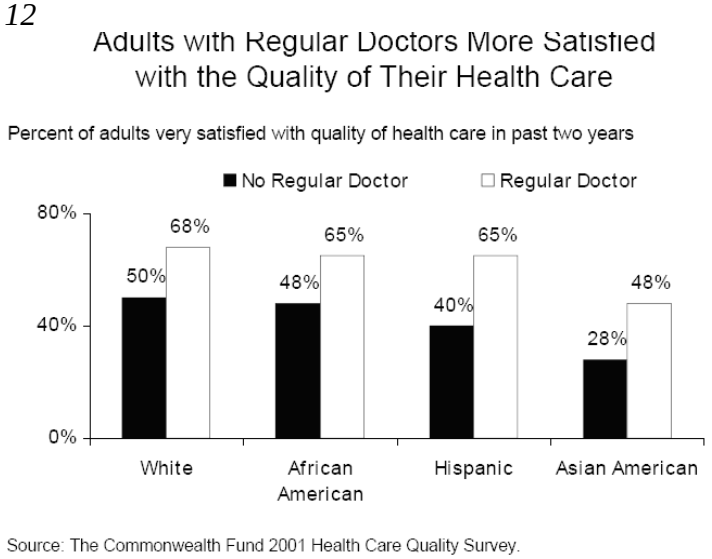


Such high percentages of Latinos reporting no usual source of health care is troubling not only because it indicates that many Latinos are not receiving regular medical care, but also that they are failing to form personal relationships with medical professionals which can be essential to assuring quality care. *Figure 12* shows that across the board, patients are more satisfied with their care when they have a regular

[33] Source: Health, United States, 2002, Table 72. Data: "National Health Survey," National Center for Health Statistics (2000).

doctor. For Latinos, 65% who have a regular doctor are very satisfied with the quality of care they receive, compared to only 40% of patients without a regular doctor.[34]

Figure 12



The high rates of Latinos who did not make an annual health visit and who have no usual source of care (*Figures 10 and 11*, respectively) imply that many Latinos have no regular doctor. As *Figure 12* shows, they are more likely to be unsatisfied with the quality of care they receive. The lack of health insurance among the Latino community can help explain these findings.

The following tables compiled by the Center for Health Statistics present a general picture of the access to health services for Latinos in Washington State.[35]

Table 7

Have no personal health care provider by Hispanic : BRFSS 2001

Hispanic	Number in Sample	Number in Population	Percent for Hispanic	Lower CI	Upper CI
Hispanic	45	61,815	34	23	45
Non Hispanic	758	843,104	20	18	21

According to *Table 7*, 34% of Hispanics have no personal health care provider. This has important implications for the quality of health care Latinos receive. Developing a personal relationship with a health care provider seems essential to maximizing quality care. Not only will the health care professional have a comprehensive understanding of an individual's past medical history, but they will also

[34] "The Commonwealth Fund 2001 Health Care Quality Survey," (Princeton Survey Research Associates, 2001).

[35] Source for *Tables 7-11*: Center for Health Statistics: BRFSS 2001, (Washington State Department of Health: Olympia, WA, 2001).

probably be more likely to be invested in seeing that their patient receives the best care available.

Table 8

Where do you go most often for Health Care - Doctor's office or HMO by Hispanic : BRFSS 2001

Hispanic	Number in Sample	Number in Population	Percent for Hispanic	Lower CI	Upper CI
Hispanic	62	62,515	45	35	55
Non Hispanic	2121	2,186,904	60	58	62

Table 9

Where do you go most often for Health Care - Clinic or Health Center by Hispanic : BRFSS 2001

Hispanic	Number in Sample	Number in Population	Percent for Hispanic	Lower CI	Upper CI
Hispanic	50	61,047	44	34	54
Non Hispanic	1111	1,146,226	31	30	33

Tables 8 and *9* indicate that Hispanics in Washington are less likely to receive care from a doctor's office and more likely to go to a clinic or health center for medical services when compared to their non-Hispanic counterparts. These statistics could also have some important implications for the quality of care Latinos receive. While certainly not always the case, patients receiving care from a doctor's office are probably more likely to develop a personal relationship with their provider than patients receiving care at a clinic. Also, a doctor's office might have better access to resources and services than a community clinic or health center.

Table 10

Did not visit health care professional in past 12 months by Hispanic : BRFSS 2001

Hispanic	Number in Sample	Number in Population	Percent for Hispanic	Lower CI	Upper CI
Hispanic	20	26,718	65	48	82
Non Hispanic	317	349,422	36	32	39

Table 10 shows that about two thirds of the Hispanic population in Washington did not visit a health care professional in 2000, nearly two times the rate of their non-Hispanic counterparts. This number is also twice the rate for Latinos in the U.S. This could be explained, in part, by the large numbers of uninsured Latinos in Washington State. But it might also be a reflection of language or cultural barriers facing Latinos in the health care system (discussed briefly below).

Table 11

Could not afford to see doctor in last 12 months by Hispanic : BRFSS 2001

Hispanic	Number in Sample	Number in Population	Percent for Hispanic	Lower CI	Upper CI
Hispanic	28	32,048	19	12	27
Non Hispanic	320	332,774	8	7	9

Table 11 shows that Hispanics are twice as likely to be unable to afford to see a doctor compared to their non-Hispanic counterparts. Many Latinos in Washington State work low wage paying jobs that don't provide health coverage and the expensive cost of most doctor visits prohibit them from receiving care.

Obviously, lack of health insurance presents a significant barrier to accessing health care. But it isn't the only barrier contributing to the disparities in health care access between Latinos and other racial/ethnic groups. Another important factor is the language barrier many Latinos face when trying to access health services.

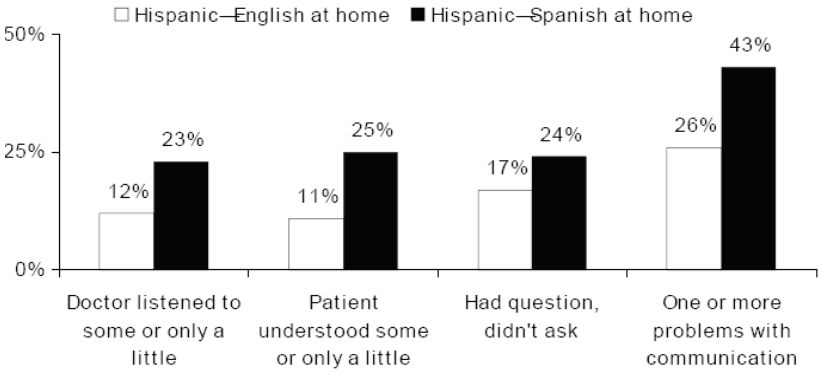
Language Barriers

Statistics show that the language barrier experienced by many Latinos when seeking health care services can affect the quality of care they receive. *Figure 13* below shows that 43% of Spanish-speaking Latinos had one or more problems communicating

with their physicians compared to 26% of Latinos who spoke English fluently. In addition, nearly a quarter of Spanish-speaking Latinos had a question for their physician but didn't ask, had difficulty understanding some or only a little of what their physician was saying, and/or felt that their physician listened to some or only a little of what they had to say.[36]

Figure 13

Hispanics Who Speak Spanish as Primary Language Have More Problems Communicating with Their Physicians



Base: Hispanics with health care visit in past two years.

Source: The Commonwealth Fund 2001 Health Care Quality Survey.

On the whole, Latinos are more likely to have difficulty communicating with their physician than any other racial/ethnic group. *Figure 14* shows that 33% of Hispanics had one or more communication problems with their physicians, compared to 16% of whites, 23% of African Americans and 27% of Asian Americans. [37]

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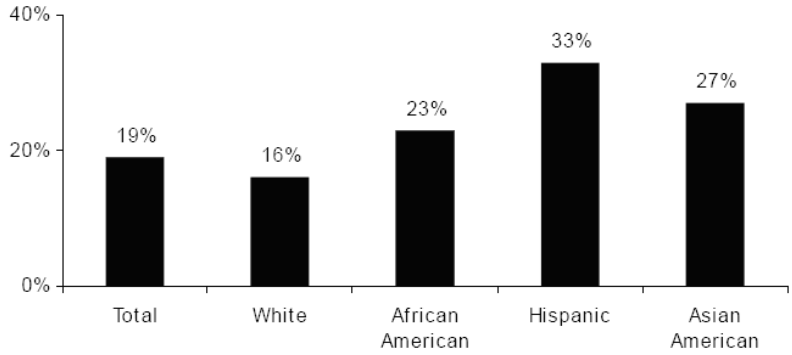
[36] "The Commonwealth Fund 2001 Health Care Quality Survey," (Princeton Survey Research Associates, 2001).

[37] "The Commonwealth Fund 2001 Health Care Quality Survey," (Princeton Survey Research Associates, 2001).

Figure 14

Minorities Face Greater Difficulty in Communicating with Physicians

Percent of adults with one or more communication problems*



Base: Adults with health care visit in past two years.
* Problems include understanding doctor, feeling doctor listened, had questions but did not ask.

Often exacerbating the existing language barrier between patient and professional is the lack of staff that can assist with translating and interpreting. Especially for Spanish-speakers living in areas with a small Latino population, interpreters can be hard to come by. In the U.S., the Commonwealth Fund reports that only 48% of patients who require an interpreter actually get one most of the time. Furthermore, 43% of those who used an interpreter relied on a family member or friend, while 53% were aided by a staff person. Only 1% of respondents said they were helped by a trained medical interpreter. (See *Figure 15*).[38]

Figure 15

Use of Language Interpretation Services

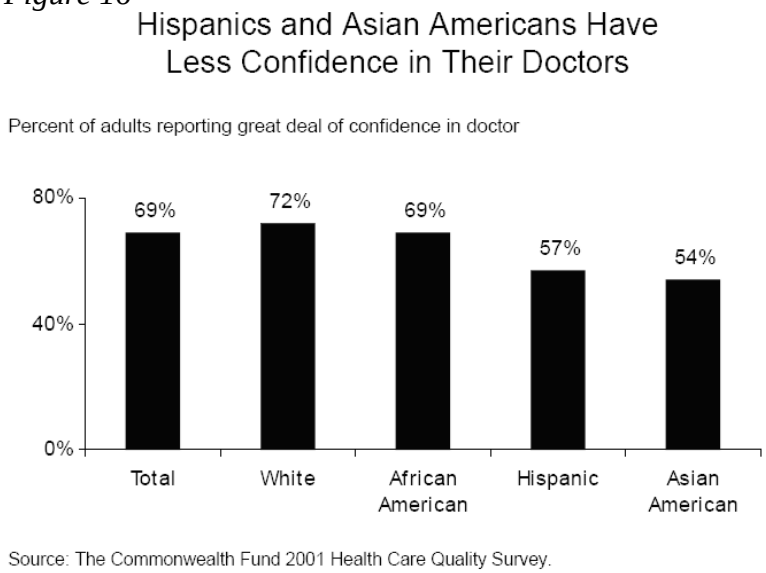
Of those who need interpreter, percent who always or usually get interpreter	48%
With interpreter's help, fully understood what doctor was saying	70%
Usual interpreter:	
Staff person	53%
Family or friend	43%
Trained medical interpreter	1%
Person usually available	74%

[38] "The Commonwealth Fund 2001 Health Care Quality Survey," (Princeton Survey Research Associates, 2001).

Often times, patients rely on their children (who in some cases have attained more English-speaking ability) to serve as an interpreter. This can have two negative outcomes. First of all, young children, who might not have a very sophisticated understanding of the English language (especially scientific and medical vocabulary), often make mistakes when translating information back to their parents. Secondly, children used as interpreters are often forced to confront what can be traumatic news about their parents or other family members before relaying the information to them.[39]

The language barrier, and the lack of interpretive services provided to Spanish-speakers, discourages many Latinos from seeking care. Those who do seek care are often less confident that their health needs will be met. *Figure 16* shows that only 53% of Latinos have a great deal of confidence in their doctor, compared to 72% of whites and 69% of African Americans.[40]

Figure 16



These findings can be explained in part by the lack of Hispanic medical professionals. Research suggests that Hispanic physicians improve Hispanic patients' access to care because they can relate to their patients both culturally and linguistically.[41]

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[39] The Associated Press, "California Seeks to Stop the Use of Child Medical Interpreters," printed in *The New York Times*, October 30, 2005, http://www.nytimes.com/2005/10/30/national/30interpreter.html.
[40] "The Commonwealth Fund 2001 Health Care Quality Survey," (Princeton Survey Research Associates, 2001).
[41] Zulema E Suárez, "Hispanics and Health Care," *Hispanics in the United States*, ed. Pastora San Juan Cafferty and David W. Engstrom (Transaction Publishers: New Brunswick, 2004) p210-211.

Thus, as the above information clearly illustrates, cultural issues and lack of English proficiency present significant barriers to health care for some Latinos. These issues must be addressed as we seek solutions to the various health issues facing the Latino community in Washington.

DISCUSSION OF INTERVIEWS

Health Insurance Coverage

The two interviews I conducted with Señora Lopez and Señora Jimenez help confirm some of the findings presented in the Data section. In addition, they shed light on other factors that might affect Latino experiences in health care, especially with regard to access to quality care.

Both women were married to men who worked full-time and had young children. Neither Señora Lopez (who had worked in fast food restaurants in the past) nor her husband (I don't know where he worked) receive health insurance from their employers. This confirms the findings in the Data section which shows that Latinos are far less likely to receive employer-based health insurance than their white and black counterparts. Señora Lopez' statements also reinforce the statistics that claim that low-skilled, low-paying jobs are less likely to come with health benefits. Señora Jimenez, her husband (who works at Tyson) and one of her four children are covered by the group insurance plan offered by Tyson. Her other three children, including her youngest son who needs special counseling services, are covered under MOLINA. The fact that Señora Jimenez' husband is offered an insurance plan by Tyson is perhaps a reflection of the fact that larger firms are more likely to offer their employees health benefits than small firms (see *Figure 3*).

Although both women seemed to come from poor or working class backgrounds, neither cited any specific instances in which they did not seek care because of the costs (although Señora Jimenez did seem anxious about whether the costs of her son's counseling would be covered in the future). In both cases, public health insurance

(MOLINA and Basic Health) effectively filled the void that otherwise might have existed given that both women are from presumably low-income families. Because of the sensitivity surrounding issues of legal status for some Latinos in the U.S., I did not ask the participants of these interviews about their legal status.

Interestingly, within both Señora Lopez' and Señora Jimenez' immediate families, there are different sources of insurance for different family members. As mentioned above, Señora Jimenez, her husband and one of her children are covered by her husband's employer-based insurance while her three other children are covered by Medicaid. In Señora Lopez' immediate family, she is insured under Washington State's Basic Health Plan (which provides subsidized health insurance to low-income individuals not eligible for Medicaid or Medicare), her two daughters are insured by MOLINA and her husband is uninsured. The fact that both families have numerous insurance providers indicates the complexities of the health insurance system in America. Needless to say, all of these separate plans and providers are often accompanied by confusion and frustration about what services are available to which family members and who can receive care at what facilities.

The level of coverage provided by the different insurance plans also varies greatly. Señora Lopez' husband, who is uninsured, has very little access to health services. He is forced to go to the Family Medical Center (a local community clinic that serves many Latinos in Walla Walla) on open clinic days, which usually happen once a week for a few hours. Señora Lopez, who is covered by Washington's Basic Health Plan, is also limited to receiving care at the Family Medical Center, however, she has more access to the medical professionals and health services at the clinic than her husband. Señora Lopez' children have the most options available to them. Because they have MOLINA, Señora Lopez can choose their health care provider (although some clinics and hospitals are reluctant to accept Medicaid). They receive care at the Pediatrics department of the Walla Walla Clinic (where my community partners Dr. Hall and Benita Aguilar work).

Señora Jimenez highlighted the shortcomings of the insurance plans covering her family. Much of the information presented in the data section focuses on the rates of insurance among Latinos and the factors causing these rates. But another interesting component of insurance related issues is the coverage that is actually provided. The extent of coverage varies significantly from provider to provider, and particular plan to plan. The interview with Señora Jimenez illustrates the shortcomings of the insurance coverage that low-income people often receive (whether it's from their employer or the government). When Señora Jimenez went to the emergency room because of an eye infection, they told her that her insurance [she is covered under her husband's job-based insurance plan] would not cover the visit. She recalls: "They said my plan would only cover me if my illness was life threatening. In this case, they told me, you are not in a very dangerous situation. That's what they told me. This insurance only covers for emergencies. The people who have this insurance work very hard and it's not fair because the benefits are very restricted." Thus, the inadequate coverage provided by some employers, coupled with the low rates of insurance coverage among Latinos in general, can have profoundly negative effects on the quality of care many poor Latinos receive.

Señora Jimenez also drew attention to the limitations of coverage provided through MOLINA. Her son has some kind of mental illness and needs to see a psychologist on a regular basis but MOLINA has failed to cover the necessary number of visits. This is perhaps a reflection of the limited services that state-run Medicaid programs (like MOLINA) often offer to their customers. While Señora Lopez didn't want to go into specifics, throughout the interview she labeled her son's mental health issues as severe and in need of much treatment. However, under MOLINA, he is only covered for 13 visits a year. She became very emotional on a number of occasions as she began to speak of how badly he needs care from a specialist, and how unfair it is that MOLINA doesn't offer sufficient treatment to those it covers. She said:

> He needs a specialist, a psychologist, but MOLINA would only cover 13 sessions for the whole year. My son needs more than 13 sessions. The doctor said she knows for sure that my son needs more than 13 sessions… And I think it's not fair. Because this is a big problem and he needs help, but they won't cover it. It's not fair.

Access to Care

Both Señora Jimenez and Señora Lopez are Mexican Americans with limited English proficiency. As noted in the Data section, lack of English ability can have negative affects for Latinos with regard to accessing quality care. When I asked Señora Jimenez if she felt as though some medical professionals did not value her as a patient because of her race/ethnicity or lack of English proficiency, she replied that these were not really issues for her. She said that she has never felt like the language barrier has ever prevented her from receiving medical care or affected the quality of care she has received and noted that interpreters have always been provided for her. In contrast, when Lázaro asked Señora Lopez a similar question about discrimination based on her race/ethnicity and/or her lack of English proficiency, she provided personal experiences of discrimination with regard to both.

Interestingly, the instance of racism she described occurred in an interaction with another Latina woman (a receptionist at the Family Medical Center). She had this to say about her experience with the receptionist while trying to get her daughter in to see a doctor: "I would call them [Family Medical Center] and ask for care for my daughter and they would tell me to wait until there was an available doctor. So I kept calling for a doctor but the racist receptionist wouldn't put me through." What is interesting here, and indeed troubling, is that there seems to be a current of racism among some of the more established Latinos in the Walla Walla community towards those who have come to the area more recently. When asked why she thought this problem of second and third generation Latino discrimination towards comparatively recent Latino immigrants existed, she replied: "I don't know, that's one thing I want to understand… It's an example of discrimination within one's race that exists not only in the clinics but everywhere. Instead of being united as Latinos—I can't believe people are like this. It's incredible really, how some people treat others." This inter-Latino racism (and perhaps classism as well) presents a barrier to accessing health care that is not discussed in the Data section of this report. More research on this issue is needed.

Señora Lopez also articulated experiences in which she felt discriminated against because she spoke Spanish. Although her stories about incidents at work do not deal directly with health care, they are still informative in as much as they provide an example

of the kinds of discrimination Latinos often face in any number of social situations/interactions. She had the following to say about an encounter with a customer while she was working at McDonalds:

> One time, I was working at McDonalds and here comes a man and I wasn't offending him—nothing, nothing—and I was talking and asking a question to a co-worker in Spanish and he called me out and pointed at me and said, 'Here in my country one has to speak English.' And I told him, 'Why? This is a free country.' He said, 'But you have to speak English in this country… and I'm going to tell your manager to fire you.'

The above incident reflects the ways in which Spanish-speaking Latinos are often made to feel that they don't belong in the U.S. because they don't speak English. With respect to health care, when medical services are not provided in Spanish, some Latinos are made to feel that they can't access necessary resources. When asked if she thought she would receive better treatment if she spoke English she replied immediately, "Oh yes, I would defend myself right away. The treatment would be better." It is somewhat unclear in the context of the interview whether she is referring to her experiences at the Family Medical Center or whether she is referencing her experiences at work. But regardless, her statement strongly asserts that speaking English would make it easier for her to take care of her needs while receiving the respect and treatment she deserves.

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In sum, as documented in the Data section, Latinos are more likely than any racial/ethnic group in the U.S. to lack health insurance. These high uninsured rates can be explained (at least in part) by the inter-related factors of employment status, poverty, and legal status. Lack of insurance presents one of the major barriers to accessing medical care. Due to the high costs of medical services, those without insurance often forgo medical care. However, as important as having health insurance is to receiving quality care, it isn't the only determining factor. Cultural issues and the language barrier also play a role in determining one's access to health care.

The interviews I conducted with Señora Lopez and Señora Jimenez confirmed many of the findings presented in the Data section. In addition, the interview with Señora Jimenez illustrated the limitations of some insurance plans. Whether private (i.e., employer-based) or public (i.e., MOLINA), many plans fail to adequately meet the health needs of the people they serve. Furthermore, the interview with Señora Lopez demonstrated the existence of discrimination within the Latino community and the ways in which it hinders access to care for some Latinos (especially recent immigrants).

Addressing the health needs of the Latino community in Washington is complicated. Solutions must be found not only within medical institutions and legislative policies affecting health practice, but must also draw from resources and strategies outside of the health spectrum. Health issues are just one of many concerns facing the Latino population in Washington. Addressing issues of education, poverty and

immigration (to name a few) within the Latino community will simultaneously move us in the right direction as we try to better meet the health needs of Latinos. Below are some recommendations that might help to improve health conditions for Latinos in Washington.

Improving Access to Health Insurance

There are many ways to address the high uninsured rates among Latinos. One approach would be to enforce an employer mandate in the state, requiring all employers to provide employees *and* their dependents with health insurance. Because an overwhelming majority of the uninsured Latinos in the U.S. come from working families, this could drastically increase insurance rates. However, currently employers are not obligated to provide health benefits of any kind to their employees, and due to the increasing costs of insurance, it might be unrealistic to expect employers (especially smaller firms) to shoulder that burden on their own. To solve this problem, the government could subsidize a substantial part of the cost or provide meaningful incentives to firms who covered their employees.

To further increase the insured rates among Latinos, public insurance offered through state run Medicaid programs like MOLINA could be offered to more people, regardless of legal status. Since 1996, with the passage of the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act, legal immigrants' access to social services (including Medicaid) has been severely limited and undocumented residents have become completely ineligible.[42] Poor people and undocumented residents alike deserve comprehensive health insurance, and the state should cover all persons who don't receive employer-based insurance or who can't afford to purchase an insurance plan on their own. As noted in the Data and Interview Discussion sections, having insurance does not always guarantee that one's health needs will be sufficiently met. In addition to expanding Medicaid coverage to more people, it is equally important that all plans adequately and efficiently meet the health needs of the people they serve (the same goes for employer-based insurance).

Another approach to solving the insurance problem in the U.S. would be to offer federally funded health insurance to all U.S. residents. This would alleviate the burden on employers to cover their employees, while allowing for standardized coverage for all people living in the U.S. Having one, uniform system would no doubt increase efficiency and more effectively meet the health needs of the entire U.S. population. While this approach seems perhaps too idealistic to be taken seriously, it is important to note that many western countries have similar systems in place. Why shouldn't everyone in the U.S. be given comprehensive health insurance coverage? It can be argued that it is in the state's best interest to provide all people with health insurance. Brown and Yu note that "diminished access to health insurance for any large group can have significant consequences for the nation, potentially increasing the amount of uncompensated care rendered by health care providers, decreasing the group's contributions to the economy, and boosting social tensions."[43]

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[42] Suárez, Zulema. "Hispanics and Health Care." *Hispanics in the United States.* Edited by Pastora San Juan Cafferty and David W. Engstrom. Transaction Publishers: New Brunswick, 2004, p208.
[43] Richard Brown and Hongjian Yu, "Latinos' Access to Employment-Based Health Insurance," p249.

Improving Access to Care

Aside from increasing access to health insurance, there are many ways to improve access to care for Latinos. Because many Latinos speak Spanish as their primary language, services need to be provided in medical facilities serving Latino populations. Spanish-speaking Latinos have a right to quality care and this cannot be achieved without extensive bilingual services. This includes providing medical information in Spanish as well as having trained medical interpreters on hand to meet the needs of Spanish-speaking Latinos.

In addition to offering medical services in Spanish, medical institutions must make an effort to employ a diverse workforce, especially Latino medical professionals. Due to shared culture and language, Latinos often feel more comfortable receiving care from fellow Latinos. Because Latinos are underrepresented in medical professions, health institutions must make a concerted effort to recruit Latino professionals.

Using community networks as a source of information about the health care options available to the Latino community is also essential. In many cases, Latinos don't know what programs they are eligible for or what services are available to them. Informal social networks and community-based outreach programs can be effective resources for passing along this kind of information. In whatever ways we can, we must facilitate these community networks and work towards educating members of the Latino community on their options for care. More research in this area is essential.

Appendix A: Interview Transcript #1

This interview was conducted Friday, October 14, 2005 at the Walla Walla Clinic with Señora Lopez. She is indicated below as SL. Señora Lopez is married and has two young daughters. She speaks some English but her first language is Spanish. The questions were asked by Lázaro Carrion in Spanish and her answers were translated into English by Lázaro at a later date. An employee of the clinic named Mary who works as an interpreter was also present during this interview and she is indicated below as M.

Q: Can you give us some background on your family?
SL: I have two daughters, they are both under the same insurance company. I live with my husband. One is two years old the other is five months old.

Q: So you have medical insurance?
SL: Yes, but my insurance is different than the insurance my daughters have. They have MOLINA (Medicaid). I have Basic Health. My husband doesn't have insurance.

Q: Who provides the insurance, the government or do you pay for it?
SL: The government.

Q: So you don't receive health insurance from your job?
SL: No.

Q: Do you feel like you have a good understanding of the insurance options available to you?
SL: Before I didn't but now I do.

Q: Do you feel like you have a choice regarding different health insurance providers available to you, or do you only have one option given to you?
SL: Right now, I have no option for myself, the plan is given to me, but I can chose for my daughters.
M: But don't you have to qualify for it?
SL: Yes. You do have to qualify for the insurance and it all depends on what one earns at work.

Q: And why is that?
SL: Because they charge me [according to level of income].

Q: Do you feel like you have a good understanding of the services that come with your insurance?
SL: Yes, the social worker over there [Family Medical Center] explained it to me very well.

Q: Is there a pamphlet or written info that helps explain the services available?
SL: Every six months or year, a paper comes home regarding the services. One also comes for my daughters insurance.

Q: Are there any services not covered by your insurance?
SL: As of right now, not yet, but I don't know what restrictions exist.

Q: So you don't know what restrictions exist?
SL: No, I don't know.

Q: Overall are you satisfied with your health plan?
SL: Right now, yes.

Q: If you could change anything about your plan, or your children's what would it be?
SL: I would like for it to cover more, because right now it doesn't cover enough. Because the appointment, I have to pay for it, so every time I go to the doctor I have to pay for it out of my pocket.

Q: And what about your daughters insurance?
SL: Nothing, everything is fine.

Q: Where does your family receive medical attention, here or at the other clinic [Family Medical Center]?

SL: My daughters get it here and I get it at the other clinic.

Q: So your husband doesn't go to the other clinic because he doesn't have insurance?
SL: Even though he doesn't have insurance, he does go.

Q: Can you compare the treatment or services that you received at Family Medical Center with the care provided to your daughters [at Walla Walla Clinic]?
SL: Ever since I have been coming here [Walla Walla Clinic], the service has been good. I've had a good experience with my daughters here. The treatment here has been better because… I had an experience with my daughter where she was throwing up, she was sick and would throw up the food and suero [evidently similar to penicillin] and I would call them [Family Medical Center] and ask for care for my daughter and they would tell me to wait until there was an available doctor. So I kept on calling for a doctor but the racist receptionist wouldn't put me through. I would have to go to the general [director of the clinic?] and then they would check my daughter, finally, and would say there's nothing wrong with her. That same day I went to Saint Mary's and they checked my daughter… and I had to come back home that same night and… so the next day I went back and a doctor came and treated my daughter and they finally told me what was wrong with her. At the other clinic they wouldn't check my daughter, they told me there were no doctors available. They made me wait when my daughter was dehydrated, sick. When they didn't treat her that's when I went to this clinic [Walla Walla Clinic].

Q: So now that you're coming to this clinic, what differences have you found?
SL: The treatment is completely different. The service is quicker, their not telling me when a doctor is going to be available, when I go they attend to me right away.

Q: So is the doctor prescribing the right medicine and giving the correct treatment?
SL: Yes. Over there they did too, but the receptionist would be the one saying the doctor was not available, or the doctor wasn't there, or to wait, that kind of thing.

Q: Do you or anyone if your family have a personal provider?
SL: I have my own personal doctor over there [Family Medical Center]. And my daughter's doctor is Dr. Hall.

Q: Has there ever been a time where did not seek care because you could not afford the cost?
SL: No, everything has been fine. The medical coupon and insurance has covered enough. I didn't struggle to get this kind of insurance.

Q: Are your families health needs adequately met?
SL: Yes, everything is fine.

Q: Have you ever experienced discrimination, poor treatment because of race?
SL: Up until now, the doctors have treated me well, and the doctor over there did as well. Only when I was pregnant, the receptionist did not want to get me through.

Q: Do you think if you spoke English well enough to defend yourself it would help you to get better service?
SL: Oh yes, I would defend myself right away. The treatment would be better. Because even at work they shut one up if one doesn't speak English.

Q: Has there ever been a case where the language barrier has kept you from getting any service whatsoever?
SL: As of right now, no. But the receptionist makes the process really slow.

Q: Do those receptionists speak Spanish?
SL: Yes, they speak it very well.

Q: So why do you think that problem exists, with them being Spanish speaking Latinos or Mexican receptionists.
SL: I don't know, that's one thing I want to understand, or know, I guess in this case. It's an example of discrimination within one's race. That exists not only in the clinics but everywhere. Instead of being united as Latinos—I can't believe people are like this. It's incredible really, how some people treat others.

Can I say something about my job? One time, I was working at McDonalds and here comes a man and I wasn't offending him—nothing, nothing—and I was talking and asking a question to a co-worker in Spanish and he called me out and pointed at me and said, 'Here in my country one has to speak English.' And I told him, 'Why? This is a free country.' He said, 'But you have to speak English in this country… and I'm going to tell your manager to fire you.'

Q: Really, did he tell you this in Spanish or English?
SL: He told me in English. I don't see any document here at work that says I have to speak in English. But he continued on threatening me, telling me he was going to get me fired. And even as he was leaving, he would continue pointing at me in a threatening manner.

In my current job, at a restaurant, the manager, she never tells her people, the Americans, to shut up when they are talking.

Q: They are trying to force you into becoming "American"?
SL: Well, yes. This is my culture and my native tongue is Spanish. And you can't tell me I can't speak Spanish because this is a free country.

Q: So do you feel like the definition of American does not necessarily mean losing ones culture and language?
SL: No. It doesn't have to mean that. It doesn't mean that.

Q: If you could talk to a politician in relation to the needs of the Latino community, ask them a question, what would it be?
SL: Well, questions, I have too many. But whether they know the value of them ….

Q: But if you talk to a politician and they would listen to you, what would you tell them?
SL: I would share with him my experience at the restaurant and ask him why such things exist. Why do these things happen? Because of what I know of the history of the United States—more or less the American people are not from here. Why did that man treat me that way? Because he is not from here. Yes he was born here, but he is not from here. I don't know if I'm wrong, but I do know that the Indians are the rightful owners of this land. I really did feel bad, him pointing a finger at me like that.

Q: Do you think if you spoke English really well, these kind of things would continue to happen?
SL: Not as much, but they get offended when one doesn't speak English. But just like they are offended when we speak Spanish in front of them, it's the same when they speak English to someone who doesn't know it. How am I going to know when someone is speaking behind my back and I tell that to my manager, because when I walk by, those workers they laugh. So I know they are talking behind my back in English, it's the same thing. She (manager) only shuts us Hispanics up, and not them. They'd always do that to us at McDonalds. They always have done that. That what I would tell them. We ask them for a law that prohibits that. That way we have proof and they won't tell us anything (about speaking Spanish).

-- At this point we concluded the interview, asking Señora Lopez if she had any questions for us or about my project and then thanking them for their time.

Appendix B: Interview Transcript #2

The following interview with Señora Jimenez took place on Tuesday November 1, 2005 at the Walla Walla Clinic. She is indicated below as SJ. An interpreter named Carolina (an employee of the Walla Walla Clinic) served as the interpreter.

Q: Tell me about your family, are you married, do you have any kids?
SJ: I am married and I have 4 kids.

Q: Do you work and does your husband work?
SJ: I don't work, I stay at home, my husband works and he has this insurance [Señora Jimenez passes me a Blue Shield Insurance card].

Q: Where does your husband work?
SJ: At Tyson

Q: And they provide insurance?
SJ: Yes, they provide insurance for him and for the family. The insurance that my husband has is just for him, me and one child. His insurance doesn't cover my other children, because they are older. Only my youngest child is covered.

Q: Do you have a good understanding of the services provided by your insurance plan?

SJ: Actually, I don't understand exactly what the benefits are. One time I had to go to the emergency room because I was very very sick, something in my eye, and they told me that my insurance doesn't cover this. I felt very frustrated about this, because I didn't know about this. And after that they prescribed the wrong medication to me, and I had to go to a specialist to fix all of this.

Q: So they wouldn't accept the insurance you had [Blue Shield, plan for Tyson workers]?
SJ: No. I'm so sure what this insurance covers. With this plan, we pay a little bit more, but have more benefits.

Q: You mentioned MOLINA (Medicaid) earlier, do you have MOLINA in addition to your husband's insurance?
SJ: I've had a bad experience with MOLINA, too. MOLINA is what I have for my kids, for my youngest, and I had a bad experience with it because I've had a lot of trouble with him [her son], I don't want to explain about that, but I've had lots of trouble with him. He needs a specialist, a psychologist, but MOLINA would only cover 13 sessions for the whole year. My son needs more than 13 sessions. The doctor said she knows for sure that my son needs more than 13 sessions. She said she would continue seeing my son without payment. And I think its not fair. Because this is a big problem and he needs help, but they won't cover it. Its not fair.
I'm really angry with this country because this is a country where they say that they care about the kids and all the people who live here. But sometimes I feel like they care about animals than people, because in my case, my kids need a lot of help… and I understand in some cases, they might say, it isn't that serious, and they can say, just take this for this year. But in my case it is a very very serious problem, with my kid, and he needs a lot of therapy. I think it's unfair because I know this country has many resources to help people.

Q: What are some of the things you would change about your medical plan if you could?
SJ: Other than the issue with my son, my coverage has been OK. I really think it has a lot to do with the physician, because some physicians really want to help, but others just say, 'OK, you're fine, you're son is fine, he doesn't need anymore specialists.' But then there are those like Dr. Hall [physician at the Walla Walla Clinic, my community partner] who say, 'OK we can try it this way, and if that doesn't work we can try this.' I think it depends on the physician.

Q: Do you think some physicians or other medical professionals have not valued you as a patient because of your race/ethnicity or because you speak Spanish?
SJ: I don't think this a problem for me, because I've had good experiences with physicians. When I go to some appointment, they provide me with an interpreter.

Q: Where do you receive your care?
SJ: I go to the Women's clinic, and I also receive care here [Walla Walla Clinic]. I really haven't had any experiences with discrimination because I speak Spanish. My only complaint is that my insurance only gave my son 13 sessions of therapy.

Q: And this is because your plan doesn't cover anything more?
SJ: Yes, and I don't think this insurance has very good coverage. When I went to the emergency room because I had problems with my eyes, they told me my insurance wouldn't cover it. They said my plan would only cover me if my illness was life threatening. In this case, they told me, you are not in a very dangerous situation. That's what they told me. This insurance only covers for emergencies. The people who have this insurance work very hard and it's not fair because the benefits are very restricted.

Q: You mentioned earlier, that you didn't know exactly what your insurance plan covers. Does Tyson do anything to provide you with this sort of information, of the exact services available to you?
SJ: Yes. Tyson provides a document for us to read, they explain all the benefits. But we don't know exactly how much services will cost. When I had to go to the emergency room, I wasn't sure that it was not going to be covered. When I got the bill a few weeks later, my insurance company said that they wouldn't pay it.

Q: Going back to the psychologist, you mentioned that she was going to cover additional sessions with your son after the 13 sessions covered by your insurance. Has there ever been a time when you did not seek care because of the cost?
SJ: I'm not sure what's going to happen. I only have one session left under my insurance. She [psychologist] told me not to worry, that she would continue seeing my son and that next year, she would write a letter to the insurance company telling them that my son needed special attention.

Recently things have gotten worse for my son. I have court protection for me and my son from a man, a young man. My son is 14, but in my mind he's 11. The man is 19 years old. He can't come within 500 feet of my son or me, but this weekend he was only 5 feet from my son. I had to call the police, and my son was very scared, I was very scared. It has been a huge problem between this guy and my son, a very serious problem. And they said just 13 sessions. And in this case, it is not fair, because my son is sick and he needs to stay close to the specialist.

At this point I thanked Señora Jimenez for her time and asked her if she had any further questions. She did not, but said that she was glad to see students taking an interest in these issues and that she hoped to helpful in any way she could.

Appendix C

Health Insurance Coverage by Race and Hispanic Origin: 1987 to 2004—Con.

(Numbers in thousands. People as of March of the following year)

Race and Hispanic origin and year	Total people	Covered by private or government health insurance								Not covered
		Total	Private health insurance			Government health insurance				
			Total	Employment based	Direct purchase	Total	Medicaid	Medicare	Military health care[1]	
HISPANIC (ANY RACE)										
Numbers										
2004	41,839	28,160	18,714	17,208	1,698	11,462	9,123	2,618	694	13,678
2003	40,425	27,188	18,183	16,788	1,551	10,716	8,505	2,462	639	13,237
2002	39,384	26,627	18,108	16,714	1,469	10,280	7,946	2,535	724	12,756
2001	37,438	25,021	17,322	15,965	1,390	9,227	7,074	2,295	704	12,417
2000[2]	36,093	24,210	17,114	15,893	1,337	8,566	6,552	2,141	682	11,883
1999[3]	34,773	23,311	16,634	15,275	1,398	8,168	6,253	1,979	626	11,462
1999	32,804	21,853	15,424	14,214	1,264	7,875	5,946	2,047	589	10,951
1998	31,689	20,493	14,377	13,310	1,133	7,401	5,585	2,026	503	11,196
1997[4]	30,773	20,239	13,751	12,790	1,028	7,718	5,970	1,974	526	10,534
1996	29,703	19,730	13,151	12,140	1,105	7,784	6,255	1,806	474	9,974
1995	28,438	18,964	12,187	11,309	1,011	8,027	6,478	1,732	516	9,474
1994[5]	27,521	18,244	11,743	10,729	1,208	7,829	6,226	1,677	630	9,277
1993[6]	26,646	18,235	12,021	9,981	(NA)	7,873	6,328	1,613	530	8,411
1992[7]	25,682	17,242	11,330	9,786	(NA)	7,099	5,703	1,578	523	8,441
1991	22,096	15,128	10,336	8,972	(NA)	5,845	4,597	1,309	522	6,968
1990	21,437	14,479	10,281	8,948	(NA)	5,169	3,912	1,269	519	6,958
1989	20,779	13,846	10,348	8,914	(NA)	4,526	3,221	1,180	595	6,932
1988	20,076	13,684	10,188	8,831	(NA)	4,414	3,125	1,114	594	6,391
1987[8]	19,428	13,456	9,845	8,490	(NA)	4,482	3,214	1,029	631	5,972
Percents										
2004	100.0	67.3	44.7	41.1	4.1	27.4	21.8	6.3	1.7	32.7
2003	100.0	67.3	45.0	41.5	3.8	26.5	21.0	6.1	1.6	32.7
2002	100.0	67.6	46.0	42.4	3.7	26.1	20.2	6.4	1.8	32.4
2001	100.0	66.8	46.3	42.6	3.7	24.6	18.9	6.1	1.9	33.2
2000[2]	100.0	67.1	47.4	44.0	3.7	23.7	18.2	5.9	1.9	32.9
1999[3]	100.0	67.0	47.8	43.9	4.0	23.5	18.0	5.7	1.8	33.0
1999	100.0	66.6	47.0	43.3	3.9	24.0	18.1	6.2	1.8	33.4
1998	100.0	64.7	45.4	42.0	3.6	23.4	17.6	6.4	1.6	35.3
1997[4]	100.0	65.8	44.7	41.6	3.3	25.1	19.4	6.4	1.7	34.2
1996	100.0	66.4	44.3	40.9	3.7	26.2	21.1	6.1	1.6	33.6
1995	100.0	66.7	42.9	39.8	3.6	28.2	22.8	6.1	1.8	33.3
1994[5]	100.0	66.3	42.7	39.0	4.4	28.4	22.6	6.1	2.3	33.7
1993[6]	100.0	68.4	45.1	37.5	(NA)	29.5	23.7	6.1	2.0	31.6
1992[7]	100.0	67.1	44.1	38.1	(NA)	27.6	22.2	6.1	2.0	32.9
1991	100.0	68.5	46.8	40.6	(NA)	26.5	20.8	5.9	2.4	31.5
1990	100.0	67.5	48.0	41.7	(NA)	24.1	18.2	5.9	2.4	32.5
1989	100.0	66.6	49.8	42.9	(NA)	21.8	15.5	5.7	2.9	33.4
1988	100.0	68.2	50.7	44.0	(NA)	22.0	15.6	5.5	3.0	31.8
1987[8]	100.0	69.3	50.7	43.7	(NA)	23.1	16.5	5.3	3.2	30.7

NA Not available. Respondents were not asked detailed health insurance questions about direct-purchase coverage before the 1995 Current Population Survey (CPS) Annual Social and Economic Supplement (ASEC).

[1] Military health includes: CHAMPUS (Comprehensive Health and Medical Plan for Uniformed Services)/Tricare and CHAMPVA (Civilian Health and Medical Program of the Department of Veterans Affairs), as well as care provided by the Health and Medical Program of the Department of Veterans Affairs, as well as care provided by the Department of Veterans Affairs and the military.

[2] Implementation of a 28,000 household sample expansion.

[3] Estimates reflect the results of follow-up verification questions and implementation of Census 2000-based population controls.

[4] Beginning with the 1998 CPS ASEC, people with no coverage other than access to Indian Health Service are no longer considered covered by health insurance; instead, they are considered to be uninsured. The effect of this change on the overall estimates of health insurance coverage is negligible; however, the decrease in the number of people covered by Medicaid may be partially due to this change.

[5] Health insurance questions were redesigned. Increases in estimates of employment-based and military health care coverage may be partially due to questionnaire changes. Overall coverage estimates were not affected.

[6] Data collection method changed from paper and pencil to computer-assisted interviewing.

[7] Implementation of 1990 census population controls.

[8] Implementation of a new CPS ASEC processing system.

Appendix D

Health Insurance Coverage by Race and Hispanic Origin: 1987 to 2004

(Numbers in thousands. People as of March of the following year)

Race and Hispanic origin and year	Total people	Covered by private or government health insurance								Not covered
		Total	Private health insurance			Government health insurance				
			Total	Employment based	Direct purchase	Total	Medicaid	Medicare	Military health care[1]	
ALL RACES										
Numbers										
2004	291,155	245,335	198,262	174,174	26,961	79,086	37,514	39,745	10,680	45,820
2003	288,280	243,320	197,869	174,020	26,486	76,755	35,647	39,456	9,979	44,961
2002	285,933	242,360	198,973	175,296	26,639	73,624	33,246	38,448	10,063	43,574
2001	282,082	240,875	199,860	176,551	26,057	71,295	31,601	38,043	9,552	41,207
2000[2]	279,517	239,714	201,060	177,848	26,524	69,037	29,533	37,740	9,099	39,804
1999[3]	276,804	236,576	198,841	175,101	27,415	67,683	28,506	36,923	8,648	40,228
1999	274,087	231,533	194,599	172,023	26,179	66,176	27,890	36,066	8,530	42,554
1998	271,743	227,462	190,861	168,576	25,948	66,087	27,854	35,887	8,747	44,281
1997[4]	269,094	225,646	188,532	165,091	27,158	66,685	28,956	35,590	8,527	43,448
1996	266,792	225,077	187,395	163,221	28,335	69,000	31,451	35,227	8,712	41,716
1995	264,314	223,733	185,881	161,453	30,188	69,776	31,877	34,655	9,375	40,582
1994[5]	262,105	222,387	184,318	159,634	31,349	70,163	31,645	33,901	11,165	39,718
1993[6]	259,753	220,040	182,351	148,318	(NA)	68,554	31,749	33,097	9,560	39,713
1992[7]	256,830	218,189	181,466	148,796	(NA)	66,244	29,416	33,230	9,510	38,641
1991	251,447	216,003	181,375	150,077	(NA)	63,882	26,880	32,907	9,820	35,445
1990	248,886	214,167	182,135	150,215	(NA)	60,965	24,261	32,260	9,922	34,719
1989	246,191	212,807	183,610	151,644	(NA)	57,382	21,185	31,495	9,870	33,385
1988	243,685	211,005	182,019	150,940	(NA)	56,850	20,728	30,925	10,105	32,680
1987[8]	241,187	210,161	182,160	149,739	(NA)	56,282	20,211	30,458	10,542	31,026
Percents										
2004	100.0	84.3	68.1	59.8	9.3	27.2	12.9	13.7	3.7	15.7
2003	100.0	84.4	68.6	60.4	9.2	26.6	12.4	13.7	3.5	15.6
2002	100.0	84.8	69.6	61.3	9.3	25.7	11.6	13.4	3.5	15.2
2001	100.0	85.4	70.9	62.6	9.2	25.3	11.2	13.5	3.4	14.6
2000[2]	100.0	85.8	71.9	63.6	9.5	24.7	10.6	13.5	3.3	14.2
1999[3]	100.0	85.5	71.8	63.3	9.9	24.5	10.3	13.3	3.1	14.5
1999	100.0	84.5	71.0	62.8	9.6	24.1	10.2	13.2	3.1	15.5
1998	100.0	83.7	70.2	62.0	9.5	24.3	10.3	13.2	3.2	16.3
1997[4]	100.0	83.9	70.1	61.4	10.1	24.8	10.8	13.2	3.2	16.1
1996	100.0	84.4	70.2	61.2	10.6	25.9	11.8	13.2	3.3	15.6
1995	100.0	84.6	70.3	61.1	11.4	26.4	12.1	13.1	3.5	15.4
1994[5]	100.0	84.8	70.3	60.9	12.0	26.8	12.1	12.9	4.3	15.2
1993[6]	100.0	84.7	70.2	57.1	(NA)	26.4	12.2	12.7	3.7	15.3
1992[7]	100.0	85.0	70.7	57.9	(NA)	25.8	11.5	12.9	3.7	15.0
1991	100.0	85.9	72.1	59.7	(NA)	25.4	10.7	13.1	3.9	14.1
1990	100.0	86.1	73.2	60.4	(NA)	24.5	9.7	13.0	4.0	13.9
1989	100.0	86.4	74.6	61.6	(NA)	23.3	8.6	12.8	4.0	13.6
1988	100.0	86.6	74.7	61.9	(NA)	23.3	8.5	12.7	4.1	13.4
1987[8]	100.0	87.1	75.5	62.1	(NA)	23.3	8.4	12.6	4.4	12.9
WHITE ALONE[9]										
Numbers										
2004	234,077	199,289	165,327	144,246	23,511	61,311	25,586	34,084	8,567	34,788
2003	232,254	198,270	165,852	144,780	23,253	59,495	23,959	33,765	8,105	33,983
2002	230,809	198,103	167,151	146,210	23,511	57,072	22,171	33,135	8,065	32,706

Perspectives on Housing in Washington State: Conditions in Walla Walla

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November 17, 2005

Abstract

Housing is an issue that affects everyone, regardless of race or class, thus current disparities in statistics such as home ownership and community quality between Latinos and whites are especially troubling. With the help of Ruben Garcia, a local real estate agent, and Ben Hooper and Ishbel Dickens of the Columbia Legal Services, I have pursued reasons behind these discrepancies in the Walla Walla region. Basic findings are in line with scholarly literature on the subject, citing a lack of education and some measure of steering beyond simply economics. Additionally, Latinos are at a higher risk to be pushed out of the home buying potential by market shifts towards more expensive houses. Main recommendations of this paper are that home buying information should be available in Spanish as well as English, that governmental data be re-envisioned so as to better capture the actual climate, and that tenant rights be strengthened through acts of legislature.

Scholarly Research on the Issue

According the U.S. Census Bureau, in 2003 the national homeownership rate was at 68.2%[1]; broken down into racial and ethnic categories, the rate was a rather stark 72.2% for whites as opposed to 47.6% and 46.3% for blacks and Latinos respectively. When such a discrepancy occurs, obviously it is going to raise some questions concerning why such a difference occurs. Scholarly literature, as well as advocacy groups, industry professionals, and governmental institutions have been grappling with the answers to these very questions.

The fact that less Latinos and blacks own homes than whites could mean several different things. It could mean that there is an inadequate supply of houses which fit the needs and desires of certain buyers more than others, and proportionally more of these buyers fall into Latino and black categories. It could mean that Latinos or blacks are, relative to whites, less able to afford the costs of home ownership, which could mean qualifying for loans or having money available for down payments and closing costs. It could mean that there is some form of institutional or personal discrimination, which is favoring white home buyers over Latino or black.

Authors and organizations, through their studies, tend to fall on one side or another of the debate which has been formed about the causes of this housing discrepancy. On one side, there is a school of thought which tends to emphasize the socioeconomic factors, citing discrepancies in income levels (median income in 2002 was $54,633 for white families, as opposed to $33,525for black and $34,185 for Latino[2]), education, and other factors, as the keys which causes the split. For example, one study in 2004 used Census microdata for the San Francisco Bay area to evaluate home ownership discrepancies. By correcting for socioeconomic factors, they were able to explain the majority of the discrepancy: "Sociodemographic characteristics, including education, income, language, and immigration status, have the potential collectively to explain almost 95 percent of the segregation of Hispanic households"[3].

This same argument is made by lending institutions, which explain the difference as the result of being economic actors, which will obviously act in their economic best interest and favor those clients which appear to be better financial investments. In other words, those who have characteristics which banks could view as financial liabilities (lower income, unsteady work, lack of education, etc) explain the discrepancy in terms of loan applications which are

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1 United States. Census Bureau. Statistical Abstract of the United States. N.p.: U.S. Census Bureau, 2004-05 (Chart No. 950).

2 United States. Census Bureau. Statistical Abstract of the United States. N.p.: U.S. Census Bureau, 2004-05 (Chart No. 670).

3 Bayer, Patrick, Robert McMillan, and Kim S. Rueben. "What Drives Racial Segregation? New Evidence Using Census Microdata." Journal of Urban Economics 56. 2004: 514-535.

accepted between races. Simply put, this rationale gives institutions the benefit of the doubt, suggesting that unless large studies are able to prove otherwise, it makes more sense to see lending agents as economically rational entities[4]; basically meaning that if a minority and a white applicant have the same risk level, they will get equal acceptance.

One of the main ways in which this viewpoint is backed up is by what is actually missing from governmental data[5]. The Home Mortgage Disclosure Act (HMDA), which was originated in 1975 by Congress and is enacted through the Federal Financial Institutions Examination Council (FFIEC) to collect public data about lending institutions "that can be used to assist: in determining whether financial institutions are serving the housing needs of their communities... and in identifying possible discriminatory lending patterns"[6]. Essentially the data which is collected includes quantity of loan applications (and subsequent acceptance or refusal) sorted by income and race, as well as other statistics about the types of loans desired and types of financing being done. What is not included are statistics about the applicants themselves, beyond simply their race, income bracket, and whether they are approved or not. The data does not include "the borrower's credit history, debt load, and overall risk profile, the value of the property, or the documentation supporting the application information [and] also does not include the many other factors each lender considers in setting its prices, including cost of funds, prepayment risk, overhead expenses, loan-servicing costs, variations in the channels through which a loan may be processed, and the supply and demand of a particular type of loan in the secondary market"[7]. Without this data, which would enable analysts to compare approval and denial rates of similar customers, some theorists claim that we simply cannot make that judgment and must instead rely on the financial institutions to do that themselves. Essentially, the assumption is, again, that if all the factors are the same, then acceptance rates would be identical.

In opposition to these approaches, other theorists have attempted to show that there are factors beyond simple socioeconomics that lead to the home ownership disparity. Basically, these arguments state that there is a fundamental difference in the ways in which minorities and whites are treated throughout the process, which cannot simply be explained by running a statistical correction on income or educational attainment. This difference is attributed to an institutional and personal prejudice which alters the way in which minorities and whites are given access to and treated within the home buying process.

For example, the majority of home buyers utilize the services of a realtor, and by doing so become vulnerable to prejudicial steering, which is the process by which buyers are segregated by real estate agents into communities that they *should* live in. A study published in 2005 by Glaster and Godfrey[8] analyzed the presence of steering in the Housing Discrimination Study (HDS) of 2000 conducted under the Fair Housing Act of 1968, which they then compared to a similar study conducted in 1989. Using paired-tests, in which members of different race groups with similar credentials go to identical lending agencies and compare treatment, this study found steering present in both white-black and white-Hispanic comparisons, though to a lesser extent in the latter. The most prevalent form of steering among Latinos was at the census

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4 Bergman, Hannah. "HMDA Data Shows No Bias, Law Firm Concludes." American Banker 170.104 1 June 2005: 3-3.

5 Zindler, Ethan. "Fed: HMDA Data Explain Most Variations in Price." American Banker 170.177 14 Sept. 2005: 1.

6 Background and Purpose of HMDA. n.d. Federal Financial Institutions Examination Council. 3 Nov. 2005. <http://www.ffiec.gov/hmda/history.htm>.

7 Kolar, Joseph M. "HMDA Data Should Spur Financial-Literacy Efforts." American Banker 23 Sept. 2005: 184-184.

8 Galster, George and Erin Godfrey. "By Words and Deeds: Racial Steering by Real Estate Agents in the U.S. in 2000." Journal of the American Planning Association 71.3 Summer 2005: 251-268.

tract level through segregation into neighborhoods; basically, agents are limiting the properties which they are showing prospective buyers on the basis of racial conglomeration. Additionally, they have found that there has not been a significant decrease in the occurrence of such steering, which is surprising given that the Fair Housing law was strengthened in 1988.This implies that the enforcement is inadequate or that the possible deterrent factor is outweighed by something else.

Utilizing the same data (HDS 2000 and 1989) Zhao made similar conclusions, which found that even when correcting for socioeconomic status, blacks and Hispanics were shown 30 and 10 percent fewer units respectively than whites[9]. Zhao then further manipulated the data to isolate the ways in which prejudice was acting in the encounters. He found that among real estate brokers, there is a certain degree of prejudice which has gone unchanged even with the enforcement of the FHA, including ways in which minority brokers are prejudiced against other minority groups, which stresses the importance of not lumping all minority groups into the same category. This has been echoed in other essays, which stress the ways in which each racial group has different experiences of discrimination, and to simply apply findings about one to another would be incorrect[10]. Zhao's other main finding was that the strongest evidence of prejudice was a result of the bias of a broker's white customers. In other words, the main reason that brokers engaged in steering mechanisms was because of the racist prejudices of the white customers which were shown other neighborhoods.

Another common theme of the critiques lies in the arena of cultural capital, which essentially alleges that the differences in home ownership and loan acceptance could be somewhat explained by looking at the presence of education about the process and general understanding of the process by the buyers. A recent study by the FDIC exposed that there is a general misconception within the Latino community about the process of home ownership:

> "The FDIC said many Latino renters and first-time homebuyers frequently held misconceptions about the purchase process. For example, the report said, a recent study found that 73% of the general population but only 22% of Latinos knew that borrowers do not need a perfect credit rating to qualify for a mortgage. Similarly, 74% of the general population but only 27% of Latinos were aware that borrowers do not have to take a 30-year mortgage loan."[11]

Similar conclusions were reached by Pliagas[12], though with a different motivation. She claimed that the primary reason for the discrepancy was an educational deficiency, but she said that this proved that the process was non-discriminatory. DiPasquale and Kahn[13] went the opposite route with their study of housing choice. They examined the choice of communities by people moving into the Los Angeles area, then controlled for income and other factors to compare the places where different races ended up. They concluded that universally people of all races strove to live in the highest quality communities possible, but that minorities ended up in substandard communities based on their means at a disproportionately often rate. Further, they explain that this difference could be explained by institutional discrimination or that it could be found based upon the understanding and education of the different buyers:

> "This gap may reflect differences in preferences between majority and minority households, but our data do show that as minority income rises minorities choose higher-quality communities. This evidence suggests to us that the gap in community expenditures is unlikely to be explained by differences in preferences. This gap would result if minorities lack information about potential opportunities because they

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9 Zhao, Bo. "Does the Number of Houses a Broker Shows Depend on a Homeseeker's Race." Journal of Urban Economics 57. 2005: 128-147.

10 Krivo, Lauren J. "Immigrant Characteristics and Hispanic-Anglo Housing Inequality." Demography 32.4 Nov. 1995: 599-615.

11 Blackwell, Rob. "FDIC: Bridge Hispanic Info Gap." American Banker 170.59 29 Mar. 2005: 4-4.

12 Pliagas, Linda. "The Real Deal." Hispanic Washington 18.1/2 Feb. 2005: 30-32.

13 DiPasquale, Denise and Matthew K. Kahn. "Measuring Neighborhood Investments: An Examination of Community Choice." Real Estate Economics 27.3 Fall 1999: 389-424.

use different resources in their search than majority households."

The implications of a cultural capital explanation are paramount. That means that while there may be institutional segregation, even if there was not, Latinos would be at a disproportionate risk to be denied or abused by the system.

Finally, several authors stress that cultural perceptions and experiential predispositions can also influence the socioeconomic status of Latinos, as well as their access to home ownership opportunities. One such study has stressed the absolute importance of demographics, but simultaneously has recognized the way in which perceptions of the process are a key factor which exacerbates the discrepancy: "Whether it's due to cultural or historical factors, minority consumers often feel like foreigners in the U.S. when they're in the market for a mortgage loan"[14]. The author then proceeds to explain that this is due to either misconceptions about the ways in which their credit histories and other factors match up with other consumers or that it can be developed by a cultural mistrust of banking institutions. By feeling outside the system, minorities are less likely to establish long-running affiliations with banking institutions, which directly impacts their ability to build sufficient credit histories. In a study of the discrepancy between assets of minorities and whites, Cloudhury echoes the sentiment[15]. Analyzing similar discrepancies in the presence of non-home liquid assets among minorities and whites, which along with home ownership constitute a household's primary means of wealth generation, she attributed the differences to both access to institutions and cultural differences in the perception of investment and savings. Both of these views explore the ways in which socioeconomics might describe the discrepancies in housing, but go beyond that to analyze the ways in which the socioeconomic status is shaped and reinforced by cultural and discriminatory boundaries.

It is for these reasons, that I have chosen to focus my research in several ways. First, I wanted to illustrate the ways in which socioeconomic discrepancies (for example, income) can play a large role in the presence of available housing on the market, which leads to exclusion and competition. Secondly, I wanted to find the ways in which that discrepancies was made more prevalent by the lack of access to basic information about the process, which would have given Latinos a disadvantage in this competitive market. And finally, I wanted to illustrate the ways in which the lack of data, in HDMA data for example, make isolating true causes of the housing discrepancy difficult.

Methods

In terms of quantitative data, I relied heavily upon the U.S. Census Bureau's public data[16] to gather information on the conditions nationwide and within Washington state for the Latino community. Unfortunately, I was unable to use HMDA data, since it is broken down into Metropolitan Statistical Area/Metropolitan Division (MSA/MD), which refers to an area with at least one metropolitan area of 50,000+ population[17], which Walla Walla does not qualify as. Thus, for governmental data, the smallest unit that I was able to deal with was Washington state, or another metropolitan area. It would have been greatly useful to have been able to obtain governmental statistics for Walla Walla as a city, as the simple lack of data makes it nearly impossible to isolate issues in the Walla Walla region.

To relate the data back to Walla Walla, I used several sources. One such source was a

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14 Yin, Sandra. "The Title Wave That Isn't." American Demographics 25.8 Oct. 2003: 32-36.

15 Choudhury, Sharmila. "Racial and Ethnic Differences in Wealth and Asset Choices." Social Security Bulletin 64.4 2002: 1-14.

16 United States. Census Bureau. Statistical Abstract of the United States. N.p.: U.S. Census Bureau, 2004-05.

17 HMDA Glossary. n.d. Federal Financial Institutions Examination Council. 3 Nov. 2005. <http://www.ffiec.gov/hmda/glossary.htm>

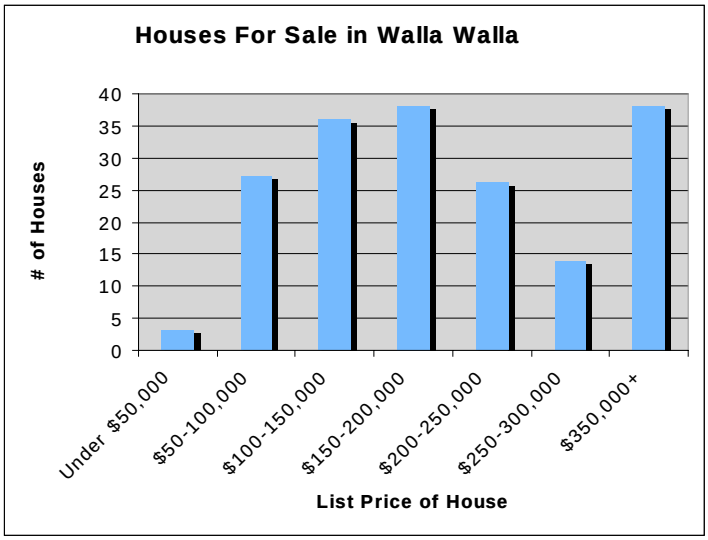
affordability calculator[18] available on a local realty website, which would calculate based upon income, level of debt and down payment the most expensive house that you could hope to afford. Next, I established basic income brackets, based upon the ways in which the Census Bureau divides the data, and plugged mean income for that bracket into the calculator. Then I looked within local realty search engines to view available properties. Additionally, I kept track of the web sites locally which had basic information about the process, as well as special programs for first time buyers and an optional Spanish language setting. Finally, I obtained information from the Columbia Legal Services about mobile home legislature and park information for the area, which set the basis for my case study, which was the mobile home situation in Walla Walla.

It was through this case study that I conducted my interview with a tenant at the Kings Mobile Manor, as well as several conversations with residents at Sterlings Mobile Home Park. The interview at Kings was conducted in Spanish via a translator, Lazaro Carrion. I found my interviewee by going door-to-door in the park, and he happened to be outside and available for a couple minutes. For this interview I recorded what was said, and it was later translated by Lazaro Carrion into the form that is included in this paper. The tenant has asked that identity be left out of the report, for fear of retaliation by the park owner for speaking to us. The conversations at Sterlings were very brief and were conducted in English. The process for finding interviewees was identical, but no one was able to give more than a minute or two commentary, thus a complete transcript has not been included. A thorough discussion of the findings of this case study will be explored in a later section.

Data

Based upon a search of the MLS databases at Coldwell Banker[19] and Windemere Real Estate[20], below is a chart and graph showing the current availability of houses in Walla Walla, current as of 11/3/05.

Housing Cost	Quantity
Under $50,000	3
$50-100,000	27
$100-150,000	36
$150-200,000	38
$200-250,000	26
$250-300,000	14
$350,000+	38



18 Mortgage Tools: Affordability. n.d. Century 21. 10 Oct. 2005. <http://www.netmovein.com/info/landscape?jpid=MortgageTools2>.

19 Walla Walla, WA Real Estate Homes Properties and Lots. n.d. Coldwell Banker First Realtors. 3 Nov. 2005. <http://www.wallawallaidx.com/index.asp?site_id=217>.

20 Windemere Real Estate. n.d. Windemere Real Estate. 3 Nov. 2005. <http://www.windermere.com/index.cfm?fuseaction=listing.searchPropertyMapv2>.

This chart shows that currently within Walla Walla, the price range which has the highest concentration is between $100-200,000. With fewer houses available in the lower price ranges, one could clearly conclude that competition for said houses, if an equivalent number of potential buyers were interested, would be greater than the brackets with more available houses.

Next, using the Century 21 calculator mentioned above, maximum price that could be afforded for various income brackets has been calculated. All interests have been held constant (at 5%, which is currently below market, but the interest rate only factors into monthly payment). Additionally, all buyers are assumed to have no monthly debts. This means no car payments, credit card bills, or other recurring payments, which is obviously an overly ideal and unrealistic assumption. Then, based upon what percentage of annual income could be available for the down payment, loans were calculated.

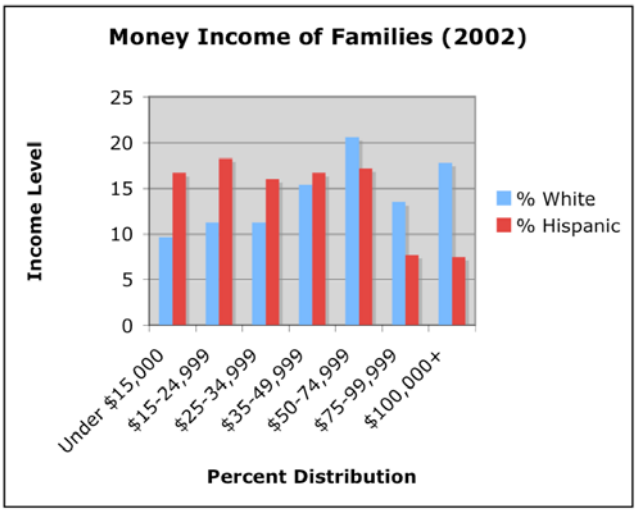
Family Income	% Available	Max. Loan Amount	Monthly Payment	Max. House Afford
$10,000	5%	$8,818	$47	$9,091
$10,000	10%	$17,636	$95	$18,182
$10,000	25%	$40,749	$219	$42,194
$20,000	5%	$1,736	$95	$18,182
$20,000	10%	$35,273	$189	$36,364
$20,000	25%	$81,499	$438	$84,389
$30,000	5%	$26,455	$142	$27,273
$30,000	10%	$52,909	$284	$54,545
$30,000	25%	$122,248	$656	$126,583
$42,500	5%	$37,477	$201	$38,636
$42,500	10%	$74,995	$402	$77,273
$42,500	25%	$173,185	$930	$179,327
$62,500	5%	$55,114	$296	$56,818
$62,500	10%	$110,227	$592	$113,636
$62,500	25%	$254,683	$1,367	$263,715
$87,500	5%	$77,159	$414	$79,546
$87,500	10%	$154,318	$828	$159,318
$87,500	25%	$356,557	$1,914	$369,202
$100,000	5%	$88,182	$473	$90,909
$100,000	10%	$176,364	$947	$181,818
$100,000	25%	$407,493	$2,188	$421,945

Remember, once again, that these are above ideal conditions, since the majority of families would have some sort of debt, and would probably not be able to get the maximum which the bank is calculating. Keeping in mind that the majority of houses in Walla Walla fall between $100-200,000 and that there are very few houses under $50,000 many income brackets, even under ideal conditions, would not be able to afford a house in Walla Walla. This can lead to several different options: renting, saving for a longer time, purchasing a mobile home, etc. These options will be discussed with the implications of this chart in a later section.

To continue this line of thought to its conclusion, here is the U.S. Census Bureau data of the "Money Income of Families" for 2002[21], compared between white and Latino. The data is in percent distribution.

21 United States. Census Bureau. Statistical Abstract of the United States. N.p.: U.S. Census Bureau, 2004-05 (Chart No. 670).

Family Income	% White	% Hispanic
Under $15,000	9.7	16.7
$15-24,999	11.3	18.3
$25-34,999	11.3	16
$35-49,999	15.4	16.7
$50-74,999	20.6	17.2
$75-99,999	13.5	7.7
$100,000+	17.8	7.5



Evident in this data is that Latinos across the U.S. are more likely to fall in the lower economic brackets than whites. This means that more Latino families are going to be unable to afford the houses within Walla Walla, and will be relatively more excluded from homeownership chances.

Furthermore, in order to assess the educational opportunities available to home buyers, I went to the website of every real estate agency in the city of Walla Walla to see what kinds of services they offered[22]. The basic goal of such a survey was to figure out, if I was a prospective home buyer, what information is readily available to me, without actually contacting a realtor. I looked for basic information or descriptions of the process, special help for first time buyers, financial services (such as the loan calculator at Century 21), and whether or not a Spanish language version of the information existed.

Realtor	Basic Info	First Time Buyer	Financing Help	Spanish
Century 21	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Christy's Realty	No	No	No	No
Coldwell Banker	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Hepler-Jackson Realty	No	No	No	No
Linscott, Wylie & Blize, Inc.	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Lloyd's Real Estate	No	No	No	No
Paradise Real Estate	No	No	No	No
Peterson Properties	No	No	No	No
Windemere Real Estate	Yes	Yes	Yes	No

While this does not actually assess the knowledge of the process within the Latino community(such information would be useful, but a large scale survey was impractical given time constraints), it sheds some light on the way in which Latinos could educate themselves prior to going to a realtor.

Case Study: Mobile Home Ownership

Mobile homes are a considerable option when determining housing. Given that one of the major benefits of owning a home is that it is an asset, whereas renting is a one-way payment which will not be returned in any measure , mobile homes are an appealing middle ground. Statewide, mobile homes make up 10.2% of all homes owned, and 4.6% of all homes rented[23].

22 Website listings in Appendix E
23 American Factfinder. n.d. U.S. Census Bureau. 20 Sept. 2005.

According to listed capacities of the 12 existing parks in Walla Walla and College Place, as many as 967 families may be living in mobile home parks. Unfortunately, though data on total population of mobile homes in available, this data is unsorted by demographics, which does not allow specific commentary on the precise ways in which mobile home conditions affect Latinos with respect to other races. However, due to the fact that mobile homes are cheaper than traditional homes (according to the Census Bureau, the average sales price for a brand new mobile home unit in 2003 was $54,900[24] with older homes fetching a much smaller price typically) filling somewhat the gap in the housing market for those unable to afford a $100,000+ investment. And as was shown earlier, Latinos are disproportionately represented in the income brackets that would be excluded from home ownership. A logical correlation would be that Latinos will be disproportionately represented in alternatives to home ownership, such as mobile homes. The typical arrangement for someone living in a mobile home is to be the actual owner of the home itself but to be renting the land on which the home is resting (hence the business of mobile home parks).

This case study primarily focuses on the problems within landlord tenant relations which have arisen due to lax enforcement of the Manufactured/Mobile Home Landlord Tenant Act, which outlines the rights and responsibilities of both landlords and tenants. According to a flier distributed by the Office of Manufactured Housing[25] these rights of tenants include a "written one year lease, privacy, sell home within a community, freedom of choice, request landlord to comply with laws, utilities provided by lease and roads maintained" as well as other rights outlined in detail. According to Ben Hooper and Ishbel Dickens of the Columbia Legal Services, who have been researching violations of this act across the state, landlords who violate the act are able to do such because tenants live in fear of eviction and the law is ineffectively enforced. Such infractions include not offering a one year lease, but instead a monthly lease, which allows the landlord to raise the rent more often, since one must merely give a 90 day notice prior to the raise on that month's bill, instead of the single time provided under a yearly lease; some landlords have been reported to be blocking sales of homes within a park, justifying the blockage on the grounds that they would not allow the buyer into the park under normal circumstances, and then months down the road, these landlords make offers to purchase the home at rock-bottom prices from the tenant. While the Manufactured/Mobile Home Landlord Tenant Act has provisions which prevent the eviction of tenants as retaliation for complaining about mistreatment, since the law is not widely understood or enforced, tenants do not feel protected enough to speak out. When I spoke to a tenant in Kings Mobile Manor, he desired that his identity be left out of the report simply because he was complaining about the park owner and the way in which the park tenants had been mistreated and was worried that exposure of his identity could lead to eviction. He articulated this fear, even after we had discussed his rights under the law, which would guarantee his protection from such retaliation. Obviously, this tenant is not putting too much faith in the law to protect them.

At the prompting of groups, such as Columbia Legal Services, the state of Washington passed House Bill 1640 on April 19th of this year[26]. This bill requires the Office of Manufactured Housing to maintain records of complaints filed against landlords by tenants, and then to use this information to recommend a strengthening or weakening of the Landlord Tenant Act in 2006. However, one of the problems is that no one is being told about the law; not a single

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<http://factfinder.census.gov/home/saff/main.html?_lang=en>. (Chart QT-H10)

24 United States. Census Bureau. Statistical Abstract of the United States. N.p.: U.S. Census Bureau, 2004-05 (Chart No. 935).

25 See appendix A

26 State of Washington Legislature. State of Washington Legislature. Engrossed Substitute House Bill 1640. Olympia, WA: n.p., 19 Apr. 2005.

tenant, out of the five which I spoke to, or the single park manager knew that they could file a complaint with the government. Additionally, even if tenants did know about this law, the process of filing a complaint makes it very difficult to do. One must first notify, in writing, the landlord about the problem which they are complaining about. Then, the landlord must be given adequate time to deal with the problem, and if they do not, at that point, the tenant may go online or call an 800 number to receive a form that they can fill out and send into the Office of Manufactured Homes. However, when visiting the Office of Manufactured Housing website[27] there is no mention of this new law. It is possible to find the complaint form, but not instructions on how to go about filing a complaint. On the form itself, it says that "your complaint will be investigated when we receive documentation that you have notified the other party in writing of your complaint(s)"[28]. Is it the landlord's responsibility to notify the government that they have been served notice of a complaint? If so, what is the incentive to do such, when the only way in which you can be investigated is by doing such? Additionally, there is no form in Spanish or any explanation of rights in Spanish on the website. There is a flier which the Office of Manufactured Housing claims to have been distributing, which outlines the new law and gives the procedure for filing complaints, in both English and Spanish[29], when I showed the flier to tenants, none had seen one before.

A striking example of the problems facing mobile home tenants is exemplified clearly in a comparison of conditions in two parks (Kings Mobile Manor and Sterlings Mobile Home Park) which are conveniently across the street from one another, giving a visual comparison as well[30]. Sterlings, which is a very small park, housing only 7 homes, is set up in a neat loop, with the road paved. Walking between the homes, you can tell that it is well cared for; it is clean and there is not a piece of trash in sight. When I went to visit, I stopped first in with the manager, who lives on site. They were unable to talk for very long, since they were busy working on repairs and such. They did tell me that average rent was $150 per month for the piece of land, and every tenant brought their own park. Walking around the park, I encountered another resident, who I questioned about the conditions in the park. He told me basically, that if I was looking for problems, I had come to the wrong park, and that the landlord "is simply a great person;" the only problem he could remember was a disruptive tenant who was forced to leave. While he had not heard of the new law about filing complaints, he was uninterested in hearing about his rights, stating that it was a very good place to live and that he was very well cared for. The landlord lives in a house across the street and thus is constantly in communication with the tenants, and is readily available. All the tenants encountered were white.

Now, walk across Melrose St. to the other mobile home park in the area. Kings Mobile Manor is a much larger park, housing 58 homes. Immediately, you are struck by how, though there is more land, the homes seem closer together, the roads are unmaintained and full of potholes, and trash is littered all throughout the park. None of the tenants which I spoke with knew about the new law. The tenant which agreed to a quick interview[31] was unaware of his rights under the law, but didn't feel like he needed to have them explained. He was, however, thrilled that I had brought several copies of the Spanish flier which the Office of Manufactured Housing had made, and suggested that I leave a copy at every house. His opinion of the park were much less than ideal. He claimed that the landlord promised to install speed bumps, street

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27 Mobile/Manufactured Housing. n.d. Office of Manufactured Housing. n.d. <http://www.cted.wa.gov/portal/alias__CTED/lang__en/tabID__480/DesktopDefault.aspx?tabID=0&alias=CTED&lang=en>.

28 See Appendix B

29 See Appendix C

30 See Appendix D

31 See Appendix E

lights, and other safety issues, but never got around to it. She had fired the last manager, but had decided not to hire another afterwards. When incidents of crime occur on the property, she tells tenants to simply call the police, that it isn't her problem. The basic theme of the conversation was that of distrust on the part of the tenants, for the landlord had not done anything which made them believe that she cared. In fact, she lives in California and only makes a visit roughly once a year to the premise. This tenant suggested that if she actually did the things that she promised, things would be a lot better, and that if they could have a manager, conditions in the park would improve greatly. Finally, he explained that the rent ranges from $185-250 for a spot in the park. As with Sterlings, the majority of tenants own their own homes and are simply renting the land. All tenants encountered were Latino and the majority spoke only Spanish.

Clearly, several conclusions can be drawn from this analysis. The first is that tenants are unaware of their rights, and the passage of a law which allows for the filing of complaints without telling tenants about that new right, will obviously skew the amount of actual complaints which are received. Additionally, something beyond economics is definitely going on in this comparison of two parks. Latinos are living in the higher priced, larger, worse conditioned park, while whites live in the cheaper but nicer park with both an on-site manager and landlord. Perhaps this can be explained by the fact that Sterlings is a much smaller park, and thus has fewer vacancies, though it seems like in such a case, there would at least be some Latinos in Sterlings, and some whites in Kings (which there may be, but they were not present, and when speaking to tenants of Kings, they identified the park as primarily Latino). Further conclusions will be drawn in the next section.

Results and Implications

The scholarly debate on the subject of housing discrimination combines with the experience in Walla Walla to create a couple glimpses into the condition of housing in Washington state. The first is that simply put the current conditions in the housing market have stacked the odds against the lower income bracket in terms of being able to afford to buy a house. This is problematic for many reasons. If you are unable to purchase a house, you are forced into a renting experience, which is essentially a capital drain, as instead of accumulating wealth as you pay off loans, you merely pay your monthly rent. Additionally, the fact that Latinos are disproportionately represented in the lower economic brackets is troubling, when studies have shown that there are incredible disparities in terms of loan acceptance rates between minorities and whites[32] and that 20.8% of Latinos are lured into overpriced loans, as opposed to 8.7% for whites[33]. With an inability to get loans, and typically getting worse prices for loans, Latinos are pushed towards alternative housing options, such as mobile home parks.

The next key issue is that of education. The simple fact that no real estate agent has a Spanish language website for the city of Walla Walla, that the Office of Manufactured Housing does not have a Spanish language form for complaints, and other forms of assistance (for example, the Walla Walla Housing Authority[34]) do not have a Spanish language site, point to a linguistic disadvantage for Spanish speakers, who even if they speak English may be more comfortable speaking in Spanish. A rather simple step to leveling this dilemma of access to information is to provide more bilingual information in readily available places, such as the internet.

Insofar as language is an issue, one recommendation to address barriers confronted by

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32 Squires, Gregory D. “HMDA Disparities or Discrimination.” American Banker 27 Sept. 2005: 8-8.
33 Anonymous, “Lenders Charge Minorities More For Loans: Federal Study.” Jet 108.14 3 Oct. 2005: 20-20.
34 Walla Walla Housing Authority. n.d. Walla Walla Housing Authority. 3 Nov. 2005. <http://www.wallawallaha.org/>.

individuals dominant in the Spanish language would be to strengthen civil rights laws and to increase and improve civil enforcement of the laws now in effect. Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964[35], the primary federal civil rights statue, prohibits national origin discrimination by recipients of federal funding. Title VI has been interpreted by courts to impose an affirmative obligation on federal money recipients to ensure meaningful access to persons with limited English proficiency. In many circumstances, this law may require documents, including web site postings, to be translated into Spanish, and for Spanish interpreters to be provided. Title VI has traditionally been underutilized and under-enforced. Greater civil enforcement by the Department of Justice's office of Civil Rights Enforcement and outreach to covered organizations that provide housing services to explain obligations to provide language access to Spanish speakers could help to combat the language barrier.

Additionally, there is a law working at the state level which has similar applicability as the Civil Rights Act. The Washington Law Against Discrimination (WLAD)[36] prohibits discrimination in real estate practices on the basis of national origin. Furthermore, this has been taken by Washington courts to mean that WLAD prohibits neutral practices which may have a discriminatory effect. This could include failure to provide translators or bilingual materials to consumers. By granting greater resources to the Human Rights Commission, which enforces WLAD, the legislature would be strengthening a law that protects the rights of those who traditionally are marginalized on the basis of language.

Furthermore, disregarding the possibility of institutional steering, which I did not study, the case study of the mobile home parks and their segregation implies that housing decisions are not simply economic questions. There must be something else acting on the buyer which is forcing Latinos into substandard communities. This could be a self-steering mechanism, desiring to live with members of one's own racial community, but it could also be a educational deficit or inability to gain access to other options. This feeling of being outside the system is likely to cause an identity to form in which distrust of the system develops and pessimistic complacency may take over. Additionally, if you have seen that you really have no options, the risk of being evicted from your current place becomes more important. It is due to reasons such as this that a further study into the motivations behind community choice must be undertaken, to develop the rationale with which minorities tend to live in substandard housing. It is understanding the motivation that can best get us to the heart of the issue.

Additionally, laws like the Mobile Home Landlord Tenant Act should be strengthened to protect the rights of individuals to obtain fair and reasonable housing. Complaints recorded via House Bill 1640 should be seen as the conclusive, sufficient test of mobile home park problems. Due to the pervasive lack of knowledge about one's rights or of the complaint process within parks in Walla Walla, I have reason to believe that park problems go underreported. This should be taken into account when analyzing the results of House Bill 1640, and should influence the strengthening of the Mobile Home Landlord Tenant Act.

Moreover, more research about the present conditions of mobile home parks and the ways in which conditions vary by race must be conducted. The simple lack of literature on the subject, as well as the lack of sufficient sources of demographic data make the analysis of conditions very difficult. Further studies could increase awareness of problems within the mobile housing and could shed light on ways in which they could be solved.

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35 Civil Rights Act. Pub. L. PL-88 352. 2 July 1964.
36 Washington Law Against Discrimination. Pub. L. RCW 49.60. 1 July 1995

Finally, governmental data, which is the primary source of information about the subject, must be more inclusive. HMDA data must include regions which are not centered around areas with 50,000 people, otherwise all rural and smaller city data is lumped together in an unintelligible mix, which makes it impossible to analyze conditions in a given, lesser populated area. This data also needs to include data about the loan applicant other than simply their race and income, for if the industry can justify the discrepancy as economically viable, there is no reason not to include information such as credit history, size of loan, and other risk factors. This would merely allow analysts to actually interpret the conditions surrounding the current disparity in loan acceptance. When an institution is collecting data to aide "in determining whether financial institutions are serving the housing needs of their communities"[37] and a specific community is being excluded from the home buying process a disproportionate amount, such information becomes a responsibility.

The studies which have been highlighted earlier in this piece shed some light on the problem, but the frustration with data and the sheer lack of study have limited these authors to merely postulating possible causes and interpretations that might occur if more systematic data was available. That said, one of the best ways to change what is occurring is to continue to read and write studies and interpretations.

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37 Background and Purpose of HMDA. n.d. Federal Financial Institutions Examination Council. 3 Nov. 2005. <http://www.ffiec.gov/hmda/history.htm>.

Appendix A – Office of Manufactured Housing Flier

STATE OF WASHINGTON

DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNITY, TRADE AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT
OFFICE OF MANUFACTURED HOUSING

NOTICE

Chapter 429, Laws of 2005 (effective May 13, 2005):

New Legislation for Complaints and Investigation of Landlord-Tenant Disputes

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Ombudsman Complaint Resolution Program (per Chapter 429, Laws of 2005)
1-800-964-0852 or *visit* **www.cted.wa.gov/omh**

The Washington State Legislature expanded the authority and responsibilities of the Office of Manufactured Housing to investigate complaints that allege unfair practices or violations of the Manufactured/Mobile Home Landlord-Tenant Act, Chapter 59.20 RCW.

A Tenant's Right and Responsibility per Chapter 429, Laws of 2005:

RIGHT

- A tenant shall have the right to file a complaint with the Office of Manufactured Housing alleging an unfair practice or a violation of Chapter 59.20 RCW by the landlord.

RESPONSIBILITY

- A tenant must provide the landlord written notice of an alleged unfair practice or violation of Chapter 59.20 RCW and request remedy prior to filing a complaint with the Office of Manufactured Housing.

Rights and responsibilities of tenants are detailed in the Manufactured/Mobile Home Landlord-Tenant Act, Chapter 59.20 RCW, and include:

RIGHTS

- written one year lease
- privacy respected
- sell home within a community
- freedom of choice in purchasing goods or services
- attend meetings of organizations that represent the interest of tenants
- request the landlord to comply with any provision of the law
- utilities provided by lease and roads maintained in good condition

RESPONSIBILITIES

- be current in the payment of rent
- comply with all legal obligations imposed upon tenants
- keep space as clean and sanitary as the conditions of the premises permit
- not intentionally or negligently destroy, deface, damage, impair, or remove any of the landlord's property, or permit any family member or guest to do so
- not permit a nuisance or common waste
- not engage in drug-related activities

Additional rights and responsibilities of landlords and tenants are detailed in the Manufactured/Mobile Home Landlord-Tenant Act, Chapter 59.20 RCW

For information and resources, or to file a complaint, contact the Office of Manufactured Housing at ***1-800-964-0852*** *or* visit ***www.cted.wa.gov/omh***.

August 2005

Appendix B – Office of Manufactured Housing Complaint Form

STATE OF WASHINGTON
DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNITY,
TRADE AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Manufactured/Mobile Home Landlord-Tenant
Unfair Practices Complaint
ASSISTANCE REQUEST FORM

Your complaint will be investigated when we receive documentation
that you have notified the other party in writing of your complaint(s).

1. Contact Information

❑ I am a mobile/manufactured homeowner and park resident. ❑ I am a park manager/owner.

First Name Last Name Day ( ) Evening ( ) Phone Number

Street Address

City State Zip Code

2. Park Information

Park Name Number of homes in park

Street Address

City State Zip Code

Park Manager's First Name Last Name Day ( ) Evening ( ) Phone Number

Park Owner's First Name Last Name Day ( ) Evening ( ) Phone Number

Park Owner's Street Address

City State Zip Code

3. Identify the Issue(s)

Please use the enclosed Index to identify allegations of unfair practices or violations of RCW 59.20 that you believe apply, for example *Abandonment 59.20.030(1).* Attach other documents, such as **copies** of correspondence to fully describe the situation.

1.
2.
3.
4.
5.

Copies of the Mobile/Manufactured Housing Landlord-Tenant Act, Chapter 59.20 RCW, are available at no cost by calling the Washington State Office of Manufactured Housing toll-free 1-800-964-0852.

4. Steps taken to address issues

Describe the steps you have taken regarding each issue. ***Important:*** Include names, phone numbers and/or addresses of organizations and individuals contacted (e.g., Health Department, Building Department, Law Enforcement, Labor & Industries). Include copies of any documentation resulting from the conversation. Describe any conversations you have had about this issue, with whom, contact information, and the date of contact. ATTACH **copies** of any written correspondence, permits, or other documentation (including lease/rental agreement, park rules). **If you specified a time frame for a response, include that information and the date of expiration.**

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

5. Outcome

Briefly describe what you would consider a satisfactory outcome(s) to the issue(s).

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

6. Approval and Signature

I confirm that the information given in this request and any attachments are true and correct to the best of my knowledge. I have included a copy of the written notice I provided to the park resident or park owner. I further understand that no action will be taken on this request for assistance without my signature on this form.

_____ _____

Signature Date

RETURN TO:
Office of Manufactured Housing
Post Office Box 42525
Olympia, Washington 98504-2525

(360) 725-2971 or 1-800-964-0852 (Toll-free within Washington); Fax (360) 586-5880

OFFICE USE ONLY

☐ SV: Date: _____ Staff: _____ Notes: _____

☐ DB: Date: _____ Staff: _____ Notes: _____

Ref: 59.20 §

_____ _____ _____ _____

_____ _____ _____ _____

10/05

Appendix C – Office of Manufactured Housing Flier (Bilingual)

Cuéntenos

¿Tiene usted una queja contra un PARQUE DE CASAS MANUFACTURADAS O MOVILES?

- **Prácticas Injustas**
- **Reglas Irrazonables**
- **Aumentos de Renta Sin Restricción**
- **Posición de Negociación Desigual Después de Tenencia**

La Legislatura de Washington en 2005 aprobó una ley requiriendo que la Oficina de Vivienda Manufacturada (OMH) se mantenga al tanto de quejas registradas por inquilinos en parques de casas móviles. El OMH usará esta información para recomendar a la Legislatura en el 2006 cuales son los cambios necesarios para resolver disputas en los parques y el trato injusto por parte de los administradores/dueños.

Es muy importante que el OMH sepa los problemas que usted esté enfrentando sobre casas móviles – ellos necesitan reunir suficientes datos antes de la sesión legislativa del 2006. Ejemplos de las violaciones incluyen: reglas de parque irrazonables; problemas con garajes/ cobertizos; falta de mantenimiento en áreas comunes; aumentos de renta más de una vez al año; reglas ejecutadas arbitrariamente; falta de reparación de servicios públicos en tiempo oportuno; y falta de renovación automática de contratos de renta. Al compartir su historia nos puede ayudar a obtener un **TRATO JUSTO** para los dueños de casas móviles en Washington.

Necesitamos su ayuda para la lucha en conseguir un TRATO JUSTO para TODOS los Dueños de Casas Moviles

Cuéntenos.

Llame 1-800-964-0852

O visite www.cted.wa.gov/omh

Después de llamar al OMH, le enviaran un formulario de queja. Regrese el formulario al OMH a la siguiente dirección:

Office of Manufactured Housing
PO Box 42525
Olympia WA 98504-2525

Para mayor información llame a:
Mobile Home Owners of America, Inc. (MHOA) al 1-360-377-4004
Mobile Home Tenants Association (MTA) al 1-253-840-4194

Tell your story.

Do you have a MANUFACTURED/ MOBILE HOME PARK COMPLAINT?

- Unfair Practices
- Unreasonable Rules
- Unrestricted Rent Increases
- Unequal Bargaining Position after Occupancy

The 2005 Washington Legislature passed a law requiring the Office of Manufactured Housing (OMH) to keep track of mobile home park complaints. OMH will use this information to recommend to the Legislature in 2006 what changes are necessary to resolve park disputes and unfair treatment by park managers/ owners.

We need your help to fight for a FAIR DEAL for ALL Mobile Home Owners

It is very important that OMH hears about the mobile home problems you are facing – they must collect sufficient data before the legislative session of 2006. Examples of violations include: unreasonable park rules; problems with carports/sheds; failure to maintain common areas; rent increases more than once a year; arbitrarily enforced rules; failure to repair utilities in a timely manner; and failure to automatically renew rental agreements. By sharing your story you can help us get a **FAIR DEAL** for mobile home owners in Washington.

Tell your story.

Call 1-800-964-0852

Or visit

www.cted.wa.gov/omh

After you call OMH, you will be sent a complaint form. Send the complaint form back to OMH at:

Office of Manufactured Housing
PO Box 42525
Olympia WA 98504-2525

For More Information contact:
Mobile Home Owners of America, Inc. (MHOA) at 1-360-377-4004
Mobile Home Tenants Association (MTA) at 1-253-840-4194.

Appendix D – Mobile Home Park Visual Comparison
Sterling's Mobile Home Park

King's Mobile Manor

Appendix E: Kings Mobile Manor Interview

Interview was conducted on 10/22/05 through a translator, Lazaro Carrion.

Interviewer**:** Have you had any problems living here?

Tenant**:** Well, we're only allowed to store two cars here, and two of my cars have already broken down. I didn't want to leave the cars stranded out in the streets so I brought them here. And once I got my third functioning car, the owner complained about me having three cars when we're only allowed to have two. And since I didn't have time to move them, she (landlord) towed one of my cars away. Also, I've asked for speed bumps throughout the park on the streets because too many cars drive fast through here. I have children and I don't want them getting run over. She (the landlord) says that she will get the problem fixed and put those speed bumps but she never does.

Interviewer**:** Did you know that this is something that's covered under the law? You can complain about something like this and submit a written complaint to her and to the state and if she doesn't address it, the state will enforce it.

Tenant**:** Well I've told her.

Interviewer**:** Well the thing is it has to be in written form to her and to the state in order for the law to enforce this complaint. That way there is a record of these kinds of complaints.

Tenant**:** Another problem that we have here is that there are not enough post lights, so it's really dark at night and there are a lot of thefts. Several of my tools that I keep outside have been stolen. We've told the landlord, but she never fixes the problem. Before, we used to have a manager who lived here and took care of this place. He was paid by the landlord and his job was to keep this place clean. He did a good job. But one day, he and the landlord got into an argument or fight and he was fired.

Interviewer**:** How long ago was this manager fired?

Tenant**:** Around two years ago.

Interviewer**:** Do you own your trailer home?

Tenant**:** Yes.

Interviewer**:** So you only pay property rent?

Tenant**:** Yes. I pay 185 dollars. She just recently raised it to 205 dollars, but the new tenants are charged 250.

Interviewer**:** So is the contract yearly or monthly?

Tenant**:** Yearly.

Interviewer**:** So the landlord doesn't live here?

Tenant**:** No, she lives somewhere in California.

Interviewer**:** So how do you pay your rent?

Tenant**:** Through mail.

Interviewer**:** Does she ever come here?

Tenant**:** Yes, she came like two weeks ago. But that was it for the whole year.

Interviewer**:** Do you have any questions regarding this law passed and the rights it entitles you to?

Tenant**:** No. But I do want to say that the landlord has put few people in charge that serve as unofficial managers who were responsible for cleaning up a little and maintaining the park. However, they were the ones causing problems and stealing from abandoned trailer homes. The funny thing is that one day they just took off without paying rent and stole the landlord's tools.

Interviewer**:** So where they the ones who stole from your property?

Tenant**:** No. It was just some punks who came in the middle of the night. So I told the landlord about these problems. But whenever we tell her any complaints, if she says she's gonna fix them, she never does. When it's out of her hands, she just tells us to call the cops. It would be nice if we had a manager living here maintaining the park. I think it would make things better.

Appendix F: Realtor Websites

Realtor	Website
Century 21	http://www.century21rainmakerrealestate.com/
Christy's Realty	http://www.christysrealty.com/
Coldwell Banker	http://www.coldwellbankerfirstrealtors.com/
Hepler-Jackson Realty	http://www.heplerjackson.com
Linscott, Wylie & Blize, Inc.	http://www.lwbrealtors.com/
Lloyd's Real Estate	http://www.wallwallarealty.com/
Paradise Real Estate	http://www.jamesparadise.com/
Peterson Properties	http://www.petersenproperties.com/
Windemere Real Estate	http://www.windemere.com/

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“Making it Count: The Impact of Head Start on Latino Children and their Families”

Danielle Alvarado
Politics 402, Whitman College
November 18, 2005

Hispanic-Americans are currently the most educationally disadvantaged group in America.[1] Minority children and those living below the poverty line enter kindergarten lacking basic literacy and social skills that middle class children develop early on at home.[2] This initial gap persists as children progress through school, often resulting in lower test scores, higher drop out rates, and more restricted economic opportunities[3]. In Washington, Latino children are more likely to be raised in poverty and to later have lower test scores and higher drop out rates than any other group of students. For the past forty years Head Start has been the nation's largest preschool provider for poor children; the proportion of its students who are Latino continues to grow, as does the potential for the program to positively impact the wider Hispanic community if it implemented appropriately. This study evaluates the success of Washington state Head Start operators in the program's two stated areas of focus: preparing children for kindergarten and empowering parents with the skills necessary to become advocates for their families.

I researched published information and studies on the benefits of preschool, the Head Start program, and the educational barriers which face minority and poor children. I collected and compared last school year's National Reporting System test scores from several programs throughout the state, to both each other and to averages from Head Start programs across the country. I also conducted a survey of Walla Walla Head Start parents and two local interviews to supplement discussion of Head Start's impact on the academic performance and home learning environment of Latino students.

My data suggests that Head Start improves the preparation of Latino children for kindergarten by improving letter recognition and vocabulary at relatively the same rate as non-Latino students. In addition, the Walla Walla Head Start program employs successful strategies to improve the ability of parents to support for the education of their children. However, a gap persists between Latino and non-Latino students' test scores in virtually every category tested, particularly English language ability. The data presented here cannot demonstrate that enrollment in Head Start will necessarily prevent poor test performance or low achievement later on; however it can contribute to the argument for a long term impact study which follows program graduates in the interest of exploring such connections. I discuss a few of the specific challenges facing Latino students in Washington and conclude with recommendations to policy makers to improve the ability of Head Start to empower its families to advocate for themselves and for the needs of their children.

From Luxury to Necessity

Just over seventy years ago, only a tiny fraction of the nation's elite youth spent time in a preschool program. Today, the growing consensus among education experts is that participation in early childhood development programs is crucial to preparation for academic success. It is particularly important for poor children, who often lack basic abilities which their middle class peers learn early on. Many have short attention spans,

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[1] Melissa Roderick "Hispanics and Education" in *Hispanics in the United States: An Agenda for the 21st Century* Ed. Cafferty & Engstrom

[2] Kristina Kafer, "A Head Start for Poor Children" Heritage Foundation Reports May 4, 2004.

[3] Roderick

lack language skills, and have difficulty listening to directions.[4] Even at the early age of 4, their vocabulary skills lag behind those of middle class students; this gap continues to grow the longer these students remain in school. The average standardized test scores of students living below the poverty line are lower in every subject in any given year. Literacy, math, and social skills are generally weaker among children living in poverty, weakest of all among poor minority children.[5] The disadvantage poor children are placed at is widely attributed to home environments which are focused on making ends meet and often less conducive to early intellectual development. Given only this general information, the case for preschool can loosely be made: enrollment provides poor children with the opportunity to develop skills crucial to success in kindergarten, which will lead to achievement in later years as well.

One of the few long term impact studies on preschool's influence on the development of poor children is the Perry Preschool Project. The High/Scope Perry study started in 1962 in Ypsilanti, Michigan; over two years one hundred twenty three poor black children were enrolled in a preschool program emphasizing the development of critical life and basic academic skills, in the hopes that it would lead to better academic performances later. Parents and teachers had weekly home visits during which parents were encouraged to have their children count change while shopping and to read to them at night.[6] Enrollment in preschool had drastic short term effects on the performance of these students, in addition to more long term benefits.

The attitudes both of the student and parents towards education improved considerably over time. Preschool attendees were less likely to end up in special education classes, had higher grade point averages, and graduated from high school at a rate twenty one percent higher than those that had not gone to preschool.[7] In their late twenties, Perry graduates performed better on literacy tests, and they have gone onto have higher employment, home and care ownership, and savings account rates[8]. Their odds of being violent offenders have plummeted, and they have done jail time at a rate half of the control group.[9]

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[4] Jeffrey L Katz "For a Brief Part of Each Day, Children Find an Oasis as Head Start" CQ Weekly March 5, 1994

[5] Kafer

[6] David L. Kirp "Life Way After Head Start" The New York Times November 21, 2004

[7] Lawrence J. Schweinhart "The High/Scope Perry Study Through Age 40: Summary, Conclusions, and Frequently Asked Questions" High/Scope Educational Research Foundation http://www.highscope.org/Research/PerryProject/PerryAge40SumWeb.pdf

[8] Schweinhart.

[9] Schweinhart.

Table 1

High/Scope Perry Study 1962-2000: Selected Results

	Perry Students	**Control Group**
High School Graduation Rate	66%	45%
Employment Rate	76%	62%
Incarceration Rate	28%	52%
Average Income	$20,800	$15,300

Source: "The High/Scope Perry Study Through Age 40: Summary, Conclusions, and Frequently Asked Questions" Lawrence J. Schweinhart High/Scope Educational Research Foundation

The ongoing Perry Study highlights the long term benefits of preschool attendance for poor minority children and the need for more long term research on the subject.

A similar study conducted by the Chicago Child Parent Center found that preschool graduates were more likely to have finished high school, less likely to have been held back, and less likely to have been arrested for a crime.[10] Both studies estimated that the investment in preschool provides society with substantial returns, in the forms of higher income and reduced costs of remedial teaching and justice expenditures; the Chicago Study's estimate was $7.00 for each dollar invested and the Perry Study's was $17.07[11]

Missing Out

In spite of a growing consensus among education experts that preschool is crucial to development in the years before kindergarten, poor children are still enrolling in programs to receive preschool and related services at only a fraction of the rate that they are eligible to do so. Estimates are that only one seventh of the children who qualify for federal child care assistance receive it.[12] This is especially true for Latino children, who enroll in early childhood education programs at rates lower than black or white children. In 2001, "36.2% of poor Hispanic children ages three to five were enrolled in early childhood care and education programs, while 60.1% of black and 46.1% of white children of the same age group were enrolled in these programs."[13]

[10] Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory http://www.nrwel.org

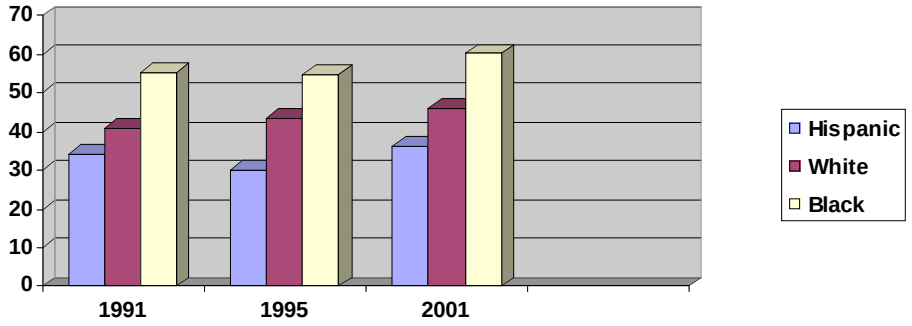
[11] Schweinhart. The differences in the estimated returns to society can at least be partially attributed to the lengths of the studies; return was only calculated through age 20 in the Chicago study, and continues to be calculated in the Perry study.

[12] Center for Law and Social Policy June 2002

[13] National Council of La Raza "Latino Issues and Universal Preschool"

Chart 1

Percentage of Low-Income Children Ages 3-5 Enrolled in Center-Based Early Childhood Care and Education Programs, by Race/Ethnicity 1991,1995, 2001



	1991	1995	2001
Hispanic	**34.4%**	**30.1%**	**36.2%**
Black	**41.0%**	**43.4%**	**46.1%**
White	**55.4%**	**54.9%**	**60.1%**

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics. National Household Education Surveys Program, "Parent Interview" Survey, selected years.

While preschool enrollment has generally increased since 1991, Hispanic children still enroll at rates far below those of Black and White students.

While Latino children are less likely than White or Black children to attend preschool[14], they are twice as likely to be eligible for federally funded anti-poverty programs such as Head Start. This means that they are more likely to be living in poverty, less likely to have adequate housing, and their parents are likely to be employed in low wage or seasonal work.[15] A Latino child in the West is the least likely of any child in America to be enrolled in preschool; in the 1998-1999 school year, 62% of all children in the West attended preschool the previous year. This is the lowest rate in the country, and Hispanics were the least likely of all ethnic groups to have participated. On average they spent three more hours a week in school than the Midwest's Hispanic population, but the percentage of participants was 6% smaller in the West.[16] These statistics demonstrate that Hispanic children are not participating in preschool at the rates of their peers, which can have important and immediate implications for their school performance. The Early Childhood Longitudinal Study suggests that 49% of Hispanic English-speaking children cannot identify letters are the start of kindergarten, double the rate for white English-speaking students.[17]

The national trends and challenges which face Latinos in America are increasingly salient in Washington, the state with the tenth largest Latino population in

[14] Claudia Bustamante "Preschool Gap Among Latinos" The Press Enterprise August 26, 2005
[15] National Council of La Raza State Fact Sheet: Washington
[16] National Center for Education Statistics "Regional Differences in Kindergarteners' Early Education Experiences" June 2005
[17] Miriam E. Calderon "NCLR Head Start Reauthorization: Enhancing School Readiness for Hispanic Children" June 2005

the country. 478,824 Latinos currently live in the state and the population is growing at a rate double the national average. Latinos are twice as likely as the general population to meet the federal standard for poverty and Latino children are three times more likely to live in poverty than other children their age.[18] That Hispanic unemployment is virtually identical to that of the larger population points to the low wage, low mobility service and seasonal work which are the only employment options for many families. Because an entire family is impacted by the employment of the adult worker, a "child's development, health, and overall well being is impacted by the life experience of the adult members in their families"[19]; a parent's long hours and short amount of free time can significantly influence the early development and later educational experience of their child.

Table 2

Selected Washington State Quality of Life Statistics

	Hispanics	**General Population**
Living under the poverty line	24%	11%
Children Living in Poverty	55, 649	203,274
% of Children Living in Poverty	31.2%	13.9%
Unemployment Rate	7.8%	7.5%
% Uninsured	36.0%	16.5%
% That are Homeowners	41.5%	64.3%

Source: National Council of La Raza and U.S. Census information as compiled by NCLR.

Washington's Latinos are disproportionately more likely to live below the poverty line, lack insurance, and not own their home. This can impact the access a child has preschool and to the quality of their education.

That Latino children are less likely than White or Black children to be read a story or taken to the library delineates the tangible effects of a lower quality of life on education[20]. The large education gap between poor and middle class students only becomes more striking when comparing Latino students and their peers. Seventy seven percent of Washington Hispanics are Mexican, the Hispanic subgroup with the lowest average education level[21], and nearly forty percent of the Hispanic population is under the age of 19[22]. As the Latino population continues to grow, the educational performance of Hispanic students will continue to be a critical issue both for schools and for families. The high poverty rates of Latinos make them more likely to live in areas with under funded schools, remedial coursework, and unqualified teachers; often, Latino parents are

[18] National Council of La Raza State Fact Sheet Washington

[19] Migrant and Seasonal Head Start Quality Improvement Center "Migrant and Seasonal Children and Families—Statistics"

[20] National Center for Education Statistics "Status and Trends in the Education of Hispanics" April 2003. http://nces.ed.gov/pubs2003/2003008.pdf

[21] Melissa Roderick "Hispanics and Education" in *Hispanics in the United States* Ed. Caffter & Engstrom

[22] National Council of La Raza State Fact Sheet: Washington

not equipped with the resources to help their children or the knowledge to effectively advocate for them when necessary.[23]

Table 3
Percent of 3-5 year olds not yet enrolled in kindergarten who participated in various home literacy activities with a family member, by race/ethnicity selected years 1991-99.

Activity/Year	Total	White non-Hispanic	Black non-Hispanic	Hispanic
Read to				
1991	72	79	58	**53**
1995	84	89	74	**60**
1999	81	89	71	**61**
Told a Story				
1991	39	40	35	**37**
1995	50	53	43	**42**
1999	50	53	45	**40**
Taken to the Library				
1991	35	40	25	**23**
1995	39	43	33	**27**
1999	36	39	35	**25**

Source: National Center for Education Statistics "Status and Trends in the Education of Hispanics" April 2003. http://nces.ed.gov/pubs2003/2003008.pdf
Latino children are the least likely to participate in home literacy activities which build the foundation for later interest and success in education.

The disbursal of the Latino population to states beyond California, Texas, and New York presents its own challenges. For these parents, there is a much weaker social safety net than in traditionally Hispanic areas, which can put them in an even more tenuous position. It is not surprising that Hispanics complete high school at a rate of 64.1%, compared to 83.7% of Blacks and 91.8% of Whites.[24] Some expect that the introduction of the English-only Washington Assessment of Student Learning (WASL) will only serve to increase the rate at which Latino students drop out of Washington's high schools.[25]

Meeting the Challenge

Head Start was created to address the very issues which Latinos are facing today in ever growing numbers. It was to provide disadvantaged children with access to early education and social services, in an effort to help them begin kindergarten on an equal footing with their classmates. Since its establishment as part of the Johnson Administration's educational reforms in 1964, over twenty one million children have

[23] National Council of La Raza "The State of Hispanic America" 2005
[24] NCLR "State of Hispanic America"
[25] For an in depth discussion on this topic, see the chapter on K-12 education in this report

graduated from the program[26]. Most programs now serve children for a half-day or school day eight or nine months of the year. A quarter of the programs operate full-day, year-round programs[27]. Head Start programs are locally operated by public agencies, school systems, and private organizations with federal grants distributed by the Administration for Children and Families.[28] The primary qualification to enroll is to be living at 100% of the poverty level or below, and since minorities are more likely than Whites to live below the poverty line, it is not surprising that a disproportionate percentage of Head Start students nationally are Black or Latino. For the 2003-2004 school year 908,851 children enrolled: 31.2% were Hispanic, 31.1% Black, and 26.9% White.[29] In Walla Walla, nearly 50% of the students are Hispanic—a rate several times higher than the overall percentage of the population which identifies as Latino.[30]

Head Start's mandate is neither to be just a preschool or a day care. It is expected to be a place for families to gain access to crucial services like health care, food stamps, housing assistance, and counseling. The majority of families which qualify for the program are unable to provide any combination of these services for their families, and Head Start staff work with parents to secure them for the short term and to strategize for keeping them in the long term. Family advocates are assigned to a family with whom they meet once a month; family advocates keep updated on the health status, nutritional intake, and emotional well being of the children as well as the parents. They are the primary connection to social and medical services and maintain close contact with families during their enrollment.[31]

There have been several studies conducted by various organizations on the ability of Head Start to raise test scores and the health status of their pupils. Summarized findings include:

- The Head Start Synthesis Project, 1985: An analysis of over 200 separate studies and reports found that Head Start students made significant short term gains in cognitive and social-emotional test scores and health status. However, the long term scores of Head Start and non-Head Start students did not remain as distinct as in the years immediately following enrollment.
- Head Start students were less likely to be retained or placed in special education, and on average received more medical services[32]
- Family and Child Experiences Survey (FACES): 4 year olds enrolled in Head Start in 1997 and 2000 showed some improvement after one year, but the majority still tested below the 23rd percentile in basic academic skills like vocabulary, writing, and early math mathematics.

A longstanding lawmaker concern was the lack of research on the long term benefits of Head Start enrollment for children and their families. The 1998 Head Start reauthorization mandated that such a study be conducted and the results presented to Congress before more funding would be approved. The National Head Start Impact Study, which started in 2002 and will end in 2006, aims to determine if students have

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[26] Kafer.
[27] Kafer.
[28] Head Start Program Fact Sheet Fiscal Year 2004. Administration for Children and Families.
[29] National Council of La Raza State Fact Sheet: Washington
[30] Demographic statistics provided by the Walla Walla program administration.
[31] Appendix D.
[32] Kafer

"improved cognitive, social, and emotional development; communication and motor skills, knowledge; and health when compared to non-participants. Researchers will also examine head start's impact on families and will identify best practices".[33]

The executive summary of the study so far was released in June 2005; some of its main findings include:

- Head Start reduces the achievement gap in the areas of pre-reading, pre-writing, and vocabulary skills;

- There is a small positive impact on problem behaviors;

- Children enrolled in the program report both improved health status and access to health care.[34]

While these studies suggest that Head Start can positively impact the health status and cognitive development of its students, none of them include long term impact studies which can substantively prove the long term benefits of the program. My work presented here aims to lend support for such research.

Melissa Roderick summarizes the factors which research on this topic generally points to as contributing to poor academic trends among Hispanic students: differences in family resources for education, differences in quality of schools, and cultural differences in views of childrearing and education[35]. In this study the quality of education is less emphasized since all Head Start programs are held to the same quality standards. The influence of cultural differences on educational practices is discussed, but I focus primarily on the ability of Head Start to address the factors which can limit a family's resources for education. When a child grows up in a home that can provide educational resources, she is more likely to be successful in school and graduate. The use of parenting strategies which promote critical thinking and daily interaction between parent and child around schoolwork are both indications that the family is providing educational resources at home. As I have discussed, Hispanic children are less likely to grow up in this sort of environment, for several reasons. The low average educational level of the parent impacts this in two ways: first, by requiring them to work long hours which keeps them away from their homes and second, by limiting the amount of disposable income available to purchase educational tools like books.

These parents are unlikely to have the time to volunteer as a chaperone or to attend parent-teacher conferences, further distancing them from the education of their children. Limited English abilities can directly impact the ability of a child to gain access to preschool, especially for a program like Head Start for which enrollment is primarily based on income. Furthermore, a general unfamiliarity with the American education

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[33] Kafer
[34] U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Administration for Children and Families. Head Start Impact Study: First Year Findings
[35] Roderick in Cafferty and Engstrom

system makes it all but impossible to learn practices for creating an environment which encourages academic success.[36]

Since Head Start's mission is to assist parents in creating the very kind of environment that Roderick describes as central to academic success, it is crucial to evaluate the program's effectiveness in this arena as well. Included in this report is an analysis of Head Start's ability to

- give parents the confidence and tools to contribute to their children's education
- put families in contact with educational materials in the home
- provide opportunities for parents to participate in their children's education outside of the home.

Methods

I contacted Head Start programs throughout the state; from those that responded, I requested their National Reporting System results from August 2005 and any available anonymous demographic information that the program had collected. The NRS reports used included Fall 2004 and Spring 2005 assessments of Head Start students as mandated by the federal government, in addition to national mean scores and averages as provided by the NRS. It took several weeks for many of the programs to get back to me and so, due to the time constraints placed on this research, my discussion includes four programs instead of all of Washington State Head Start. Furthermore, some of the faxed reports were of low quality and some statistics were illegible; in other cases, only the Spring 2005 assessments were included and Fall 2004 assessments were omitted. This made it challenging to compare the data; however it was still possible to draw some conclusions about the performance of Latino Head Start students on the NRS tests.

There are some strong critiques of the National Reporting System in particular being voiced by program administrators. One program refused to send them to me, saying that it was not based in research and provided no information about the accomplishments of Head Start students. Others have suggested that instead of improving performance, tests like the NRS will only drive students away from school and increase drop out rates. With these concerns in mind, I chose to include the test results in my study for two reasons. The first is that they are the most recent program wide sets of data. As flawed as they might be, those tests are the only sets of numbers that many programs have in common. The demographic information collected by programs varies from one to the next and, as the first required standardized testing Head Start has ever conducted, it is important to evaluate it. Analysis of the testing material also demonstrates the growing divide between program administrators and the federal government in regards to the goals and outcomes of the program. Certainly for the rest of the current administration, if not beyond, this will be one of the most compelling conversations had about Head Start and more broadly about the performance expectations of American students. The programs selected for discussion in this report highlight the educational challenges for poor and

[36] Roderick

minority children, in addition to the need for long term impact studies on the impact of Head Start on school performance through high school.

For my analysis of the Walla Walla program, I supplemented testing results with a bilingual survey sent out to all parents of current students. Responses to statements about Head Start's accessibility and the opportunities it is perceived to provide were tabulated by English, Spanish, and overall program responses. These surveys were sent out right before school was recessed for parent-teacher conferences, which I believe contributed to my lower than expected response rate of about 15%. I also analyzed demographic information provided by the administrators, which I used to evaluate the ability of Head Start to put families in touch with needed social and medical services. This information was also used in conjunction with interview statements to delineate the challenges facing enrolled families and to connect those challenges at home with school performance.

My quantitative research was complemented by two interviews conducted in Walla Walla. On the advice of Jan Foster, I interviewed former Head Start parents Juan and Andrea Pedroza on November 7, 2005 from 7:00-8:45 pm at McDonald's. The interview was tape recorded, conducted in English and Spanish, and translated into English by myself. Walla Walla Head Start Family Services Coordinator Diana Cox agreed to arrange an interview between her and me, in addition to one of the Family Advocates, Maggie. The interview took place on November 16, 2005 from 3:00-4:00 at Blue Ridge Elementary School. This interview was held entirely in English. The Pedroza interview provided me with valuable parental insight into the value of education for Latino children in addition to the perceived obstacles which face the community. The families advocate interview expanded my understanding of Head Start's program goals and their vision for its future role in education.

Walla Walla program coordinator Donna Painter and teacher Elisa Weinman-Pogue were my first research contacts. Meetings with them helped narrow the scope of my research and become familiar with the Head Start program; Donna also assisted me in the dissemination and collection of the parent surveys. Jan Foster and those responded to my information requests were all invaluable community contacts that often went out of their way to aid my research. Thomas Kost provided valuable editorial and data collection contributions as my research came to a close.

Data Presentation

National Reporting System Results

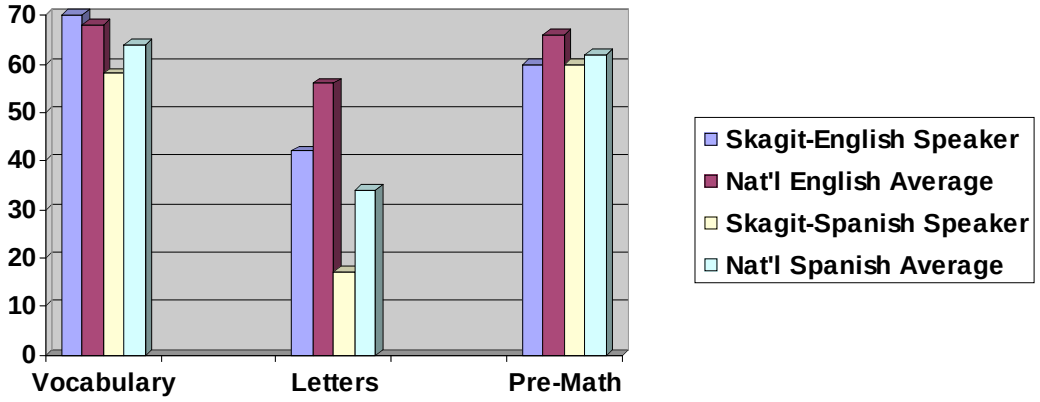
National Reporting System scores from Fall 2004 and Spring 2005 were collected from Skagit/Island, Yakima, Walla Walla, and Bremerton Head Start programs. Bremerton tested no Spanish speaking children, Skagit/Island tested about a third of its students in Spanish, while Walla Walla tested nearly half its children in Spanish and Yakima two thirds. An analysis of these scores demonstrates great strides in preparing English and Spanish speakers for kindergarten; however, it also shows the great disadvantage of Head Start students and the limitations of having a child for only two years.

Skagit/Islands: The Spring 2005 Assessment results placed English test takers on average at level 5 (of 6) in two categories: vocabulary (70% correct) and pre-math skills

(60%). On average Skagit/Islands students placed at level 3 in letter identification (42%). English test results stayed at or above the national Head Start mean score in vocabulary and pre-math skills. Those who tested in Spanish scored at level 3 (58%) in vocabulary, level 2 (17%) in letter recognition, and level 3 (60%) in pre-math skills. Spanish speakers stayed about 2% below the national Spanish average in vocabulary and math all year, but did improve. By the end of the year Limited English Proficiency (LEP) students were meeting the mean score for English assessments vocabulary and were just a few percentage points behind the math skills.[37] There were 140 children who took the test in English and 57 who took it in English and Spanish. Both native and LEP speakers are behind the national average in letter recognition.

Chart 2

Skagit/Islands National Reporting System Results: Spring 2005



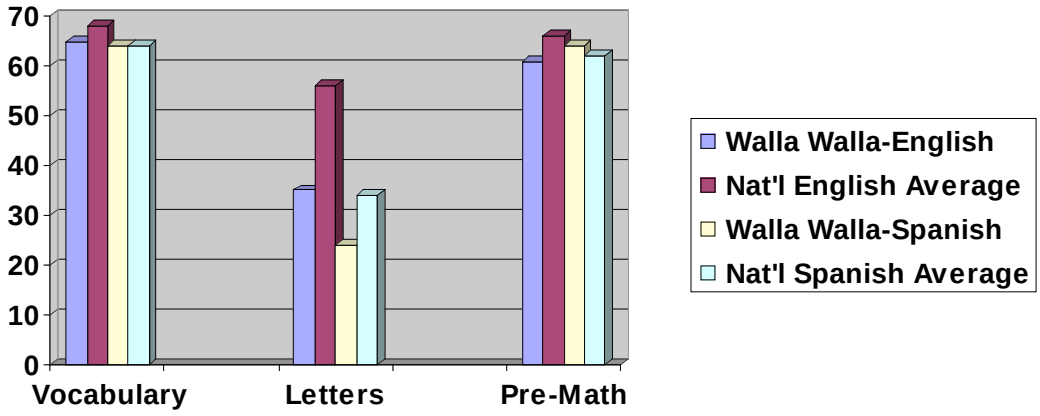
Walla Walla[38]: The Spring 2005 Assessment results placed English test takers on average at level 4 in vocabulary (65%) and pre-math skills (61%), and level 3 (35%) in letter recognition. These results were 3% below the Head Start national average in vocabulary and 5% below national scores in pre-math; the letter recognition score was 17% below the national mean. Those who tested in Spanish scored at level 4 (64%) in vocabulary, level 3 (24%) in letter recognition, and level 3 (64%) in pre-math skills. These students met the national mean in vocabulary and exceeded it in math. English language learners remained just a few percentage points behind averages for English vocabulary and math skills. There were 32 children who took the test in English and 32 who took it in English and Spanish, with 1 testing only in Spanish. Both native and LEP speakers are behind the national average in letter recognition.

[37] Head Start National Reporting System 2004-2005 Program Report Skagit/Islands Head Start August 2005

[38] Head Start National Reporting System 2004-2005 Program Report Walla Walla Head Start August 2005

Chart 3

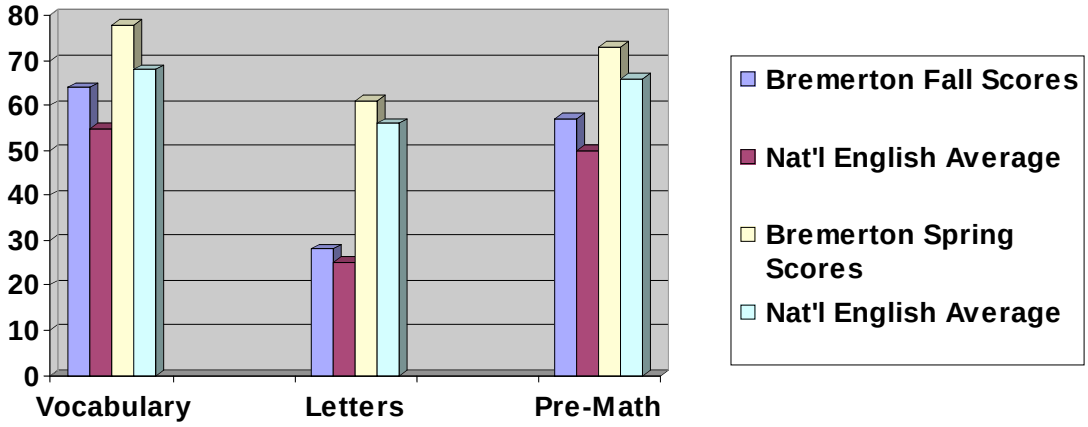
Walla Walla National Reporting System Results: Spring 2005



Bremerton[39]: Fall 2004 Assessment results placed English test takers on average at level 4 in vocabulary (64%), and in the spring the average score was a level 6 (78%), a score 10% above the national average. Fall letter recognition was at level 3 (28%) and improved to level 5 (61%) by the end of the year, 6% above average. Early math skills began at level 3 (57%) and progressed to level 5 (73%). There were no children who tested in Spanish.

Chart 4

Bremerton National Reporting System Results Fall 2004/Spring 2005



[39] Head Start National Reporting System 2004-2005 Program Report Olympic ESD Head Start August 2005

Yakima[40]: English language learners had Fall English scores of: 42% (vocabulary), 20% (letters), and 48% (math); by the spring, those scores had risen to 55%, 60%, and 50%, respectively. Average English test results for vocabulary improved from 46% to 59% over the course of the year; letter recognition moved from 16% to 58%; and early math skills developed from 46% to 65% correct responses. Average Spanish test results for vocabulary went from 54% to 62% correct; letter recognition improved from 15% to 50%; and math scores improved from 43% to 65%. 170 children were assessed, 52 in English and 118 in Spanish.

Chart 5

Yakima National Reporting System Results English Speakers

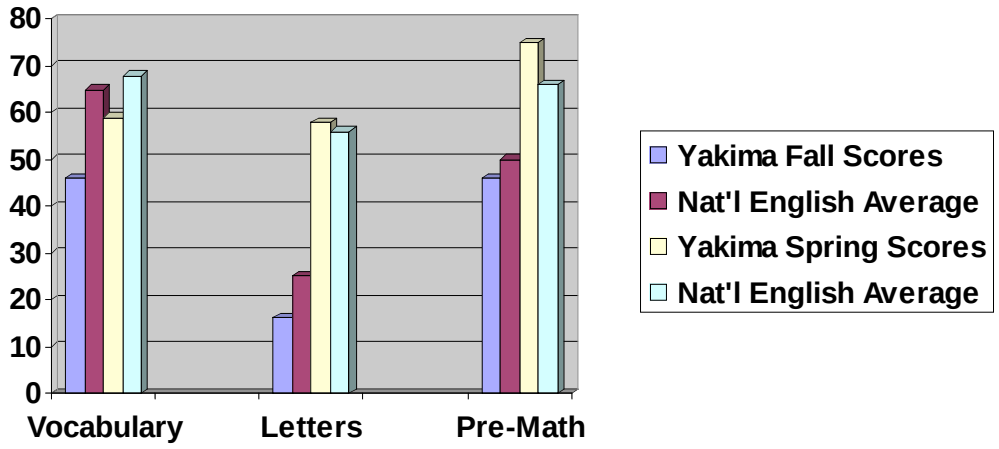
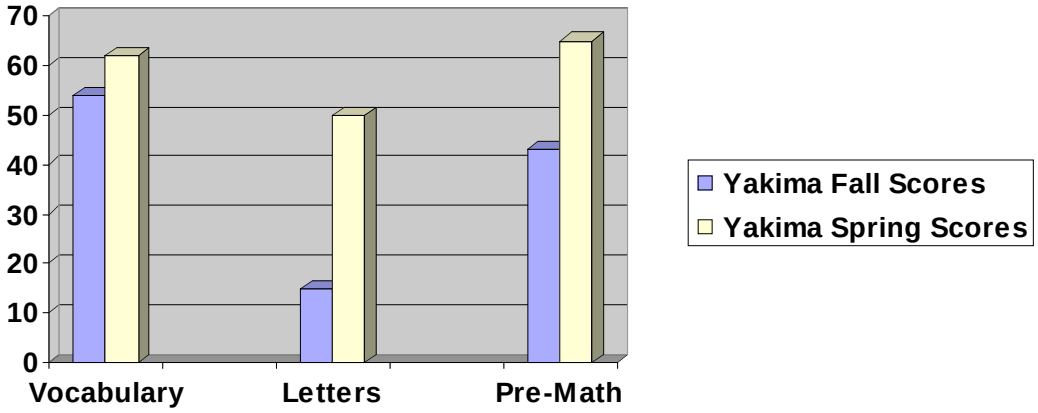


Chart 6

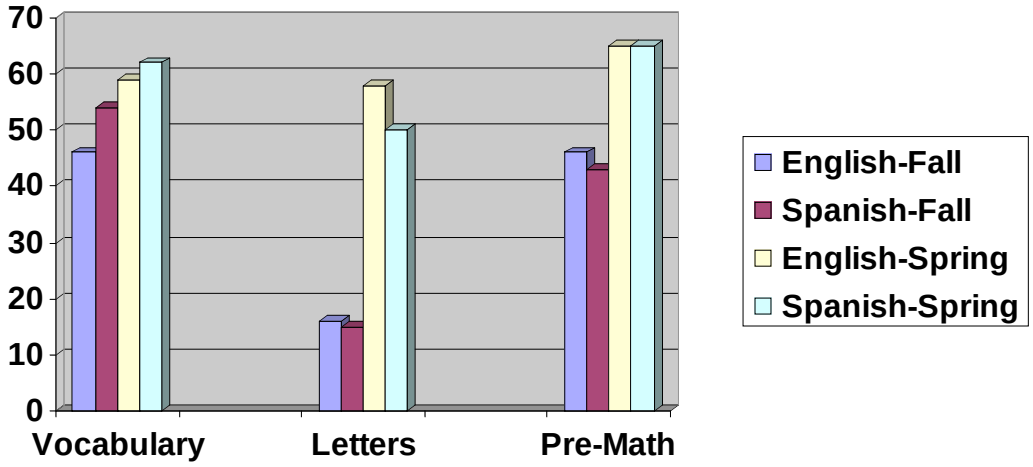
Yakima National Reporting System Results Spanish Speakers



[40] Head Start National Reporting System 2004-2005 Program Report Washington Migrant Council Head Start August 2005

Chart 7

Yakima English and Spanish Results Compared



These numbers are difficult to follow, abstract, and many argue not helpful at all to Head Start teachers and coordinators. There are two key pieces of information to take from them:

- Head Start is able to improve basic pre-academic skills over the course of a year
- Latino students improve, but their test results suggest that they will remain at a disadvantage when they enter kindergarten

Parent Survey Results

Bilingual surveys were distributed to parents with children currently enrolled in Walla Walla Head Start.[41] The responses were sorted by the language in which they were filled out, in addition to an overall program compilation.[42] The following compares the responses of parents to some of the statements.[43]

[41] Appendix E
[42] Appendix F
[43] Refer to Appendix F for complete survey results.

Percentage of Parents who Responded '9' or '10'* to Selected Survey Questions

	All	Spanish	English
I am able to contribute to my child's education and help them with their homework.	86.6%	99.9%	80.8%
Head Start teaches skills that my child would not have otherwise.	53.3%	66.6%	47.6%
Going to preschool will lead to better performance in school later in life.	89.9%	99.9%	85.6%
Equal access to education is a right of all children.	83.3%	99.9%	80.9%
Education will provide my child with opportunities that they would not have otherwise.	76.6%	88.8%	76.2%
I have read to my child in the last month.	100%	100%	100%
I have played with my child in the last month.	100%	100%	100%
Source: Survey sent to	Walla Walla Head	Start parents by	Author Nov. 2005

* Parents were asked to respond to the survey on a scale of 1-10, with 9 and 10 being coded as "I agree completely".

A sample of the responses received to a parent survey distributed in Walla Walla. Parents overwhelmingly agree that education is crucial to their child's success, and Hispanic parents were even more likely to attribute that success to skills promoted and reinforced by Head Start.

Latino parents on average felt more strongly about the connection between education and expanded opportunities than White parents did. Roderick argues that such a response is indicative of the different frames of reference immigrant communities often have.[44] Even for those who were raised in the United States by immigrant parents, current choices are presented as better than any of the options available in the country of origin. Latino parents, therefore, are more likely to envision education as a sure way for their children to succeed. Juan's comments echoed that sentiment:

"In Mexico the rich get their way and the Hispanics here are used to not being equal. What brought them here was a need for a better life; they weren't equal where they came from and even here they get looked down on… If you go to college you get a better job and there are more opportunities for you. That is what we expect will happen. It is an opportunity to be equal to others. The less opportunity you have the worse off you'll be, that's just how it is."[45]

[44] Roderick
[45] Appendix B

Overall, parents were overwhelmingly optimistic about the opportunities enrollment in Head Start would open up for their children. They also reported reading to them at a rate five times the national average.[46] They did not report taking their children to the library at the rates I anticipated, which I attribute to the lending library operated by Head Start in Walla Walla.

Case Study: Walla Walla Head Start/ ECEAP

What makes Head Start stand out among early education programs is its commitment to the cognitive, emotional and social development of its students and families. In order to clearly discuss the methods of the program to encourage this multi-faceted development, this case study divides Head Start's efforts into three roles: Head Start as a space for education, Head Start as a space for services, and Head Start as a space for political empowerment. The program has a long tradition of delivering comprehensive and high quality services designed to spur the development of low-income children. It provides a range of individualized services in the areas of education and early childhood development; medical, dental, and mental health; nutrition, and parent involvement. In addition, the entire range of services is responsive and appropriate to each child's and family's developmental, ethnic, cultural, and linguistic heritage and experience[47]

Head Start as a Space for Education

Walla Walla's Head Start program is run in conjunction with the Washington state funded Early Childhood Education Assistance Program (ECEAP). It operates out of Blue Ridge Elementary School, with one classroom at Green Park Elementary. There are about two hundred students, the majority of them four year olds. There are two half day sessions four days a week, and each session includes a meal and a snack.
There is a great emphasis put on routine and developing skills like brushing teeth, wiping hands, and putting away toys. Each classroom is bilingual and there is always a Spanish speaking volunteer in the classroom; Head Start's emphasis is on intellectual development in a student's primary language versus teaching them a new one.

The program also focuses on individual development and while there are some general outcomes, family advocates work with parents and teachers to assess growth based on the child. For example, even a program wide outcome like 'improved reading' is based on the initial abilities of the student. At the ages during which children are enrolled in Head Start, the developmental differences between a 3 and a 4 year old can either be minute or gargantuan—it depends on the child. During our interview Diana Cox described the different abilities of Head Start students:

"Sometimes we get a four year old for one year, going to kindergarten next year. Get an active parent, a child with few traumas, and we know that [when they leave] they read faster and they're socially and emotionally ready to learn. And if we get a three year old…based on the family life…you never know. At this program we stick very close the mission of Head Start in the sense that we take the neediest of the needy. We help make

[46] National Center for Education Statistics "Status and Trends in the Education of Hispanics" April 2003.
[47] Head Start Information and Publication Center

these kids socially and emotionally sound—and ok, sometimes they won't learn eleven letters of the alphabet."[48]

As our conversation continued, the family advocates and teachers I spoke with made it very clear that Head Start is not a day care—it is preschool, and it prepares children for Kindergarten. However, the program's emphasis is on the education of the whole child, and that includes social and emotional preparation. When asked what that kind of preparation looks like, the reply was "the kid who knows he's loved, he's safe, that there's roof over his head…that knows he can express himself, solve problems, be given choices…[he interacts] with others and is not in fear".

Head Start as a Space for Social Services

Head Start families have a widespread need for assistance in meeting the basic needs of their families. While this may not be unexpected considering the economic qualifications for enrollment, Head Start staffs are alarmed by the impact on school performance of growing up impoverished and without access to basic services. Dental and basic ongoing care are the biggest challenges facing families, according to staff members; not surprisingly it is also a challenge for many families to meet basic daily needs like having enough food, money for rent, and ongoing heating. A Walla Walla family advocate noted during an interview that, "We have families with parents that are seasonal workers; when it's good it's real good and when it's bad it's tough. And there are families where both parents are working and they still qualify for WIC."[49] Head Start puts its families in touch with whatever it is that they are having trouble securing on their own, whether that is mental health services, adequate nutrition, ESL classes, or affordable housing. However, the program's goal is to give parents the skills and resources to secure these services on their own in the future, the implications of which will be discussed in the following section. During her interview Diana Cox articulated Head Start's goal to "not just get them food so that they' they're not hungry right now, we want them to plan on avoiding in the future...our goal is teaching parents how to advocate for themselves and their children."[50] Head Start does not try to do things *for* its parents; instead, the long term goal is to equip parents with the skills and contacts needed to be able to seek out the help they need on their own.

The type of outreach which Head Start provides is largely accomplished via its family advocates. In Walla Walla, each advocate has a caseload of about thirty-five families with whom they visit once a month. In addition, each November the program closes for four days so that teachers can accompany family advocates on home visits to each of their students' homes. These annual visits focus exclusively on the educational goals and progress of students, and the monthly visits conducted by the family advocate serve to monitor the progress of the family in other arenas. For example, when a child enters the program the advocate has a two hour intake meeting which includes a nutritional assessment and a discussion of the child's developmental history; each month that information is updated and provided to parents, in addition to a conversation about academic performance and classroom demeanor. According to the family advocates I

[48] Appendix D.
[49] Appendix D.
[50] Appendix D.

interviewed, a great deal of their time both during and outside home visits is spent coordinating and securing social services for their families. These staff members play a crucial role in making parents see the education of their children as something they can contribute to; in addition, it is a conversation with an advocate that is most likely to drive home the Head Start emphasis on setting goals towards self-sufficiency. One advocate during her interview told me that "…families know we aren't going to tell them that they're bad people. We want them to have success and to give them the resources to do that."[51]

Head Start as a Space for Political Engagement

Head Start is an extremely accessible space for parents, and the program views parental engagement as fundamental to the successful education of their children. Furthermore Head Start serves as a key site of political participation for parents who are unlikely to be politically active in other venues. This can generally be attributed to more pressing basic needs concerns; inflexible work schedules which do not permit time for voting or attending a board meeting; or a general sense that there is not a political space which will respect these parents as advocates of their rights and families. Head Start's concerted effort to create opportunities for parents to participate and make decisions about the education of their children makes it a unique site for participation.

Head Start parents are offered a wide range of opportunities to meet the participation requirement of the program. The policy council which makes all final decisions about the Walla Walla program is set up to include a parent majority. Below the policy council are a variety of committees which parents can join, and parents are welcome to volunteer in a classroom whenever they have time. There is no requirement that they come at the same time every week. Once a month there is a parent meeting during which parents meet as classrooms to talk about what is going well and what might be improved; surveys returned by parents during enrollment determine the trainings the staff puts on, covering issues like stress management, child development, and positive discipline. Every meeting that takes place at night never is longer than an hour and a half, always has childcare and food, and concludes with a parent-child activity—all conscious decisions to make it as easy as possible for parents to participate. For parents that are unable to attend such events there are always opportunities to take projects home and return them to school; cutting out paper hearts for art the following day, for example. When asked about the ways parents are involved at Head Start, Diana Cox replied that,

"Involvement doesn't mean coming into the classroom during the day. If you can do that, that's great. But involvement also means getting your kids on the bus. For some parents that the kind of involvement they are capable of. When we meet with them we tell them that involvement in their child's education means modeling good behavior or sitting on the policy council. There is a great respect for parents here, and they know they are welcome anytime."

The implications of this type of approach to engagement benefits both parent and student. A parent who participates in monthly classroom meetings is likely to look for a similar opportunity in their child's elementary school. The father that is able to see taking

[51] Appendix D.

his child to the bus every morning as contributing to their educational success will probably closely follow the grades and reports that child brings home. Perhaps down the road political participation will expand beyond their children's schools and include issues which the parent is passionate about; maybe that parent will register to vote or offer to sit on a community board. Irregardless, Head Start parents often leave as advocates for the interests of their children and themselves. The political benefits of Head Start extend to the student as well, though it may take a few more years to see them. A child leaves Head Start prepared to do well in school; if they can avoid the sand traps which the public education system is riddled with they are more likely to graduate and stay out of the detention system. A high school diploma opens up a range of economic opportunities which directly increases the likelihood that that individual will vote. We can see here how the Head Start program *can potentially* transform a family into one of politically active and enfranchised citizens.

Interview Discussion

Throughout my interviews there were several issues of concern which were raised, and I have chosen to present two here for further discussion.

Standardized Testing

Head Start staff are not the only educators faced with the prospect of federally mandated standardized testing—they're just the latest. In 2002 under the Bush Administration No Child Left Behind Act, Head Start was for the first time required to give a standardized test to 400,000 4 and 5year olds in the program. The National Reporting System has been extremely controversial since its implementation; that a program I contacted refused to even send me their program's scores speaks to the strong sentiments on the matter. Some lawmakers are currently working on a bill that would require the National Academy of Sciences to review the test and within a year provide Congress with its recommendations to improve it.[52] Proponents argue that "Head start has lost interest in educational results" and that the NRS is simply the equivalent of a quality control measure, while those on the other side believe that Head Start's "success over the years can be tied to its broad focus on children's emotional, physical and social growth, as well as their cognitive development."[53]

I can identify some problems with the NRS as it currently is implemented. The first is that it evaluates only a part of Head Start's stated program outcomes. It assesses cognitive development exclusively but does not take into account the socio-emotional development which is the hallmark of the program.[54] Perhaps some would argue that the program's outcomes need to be reevaluated, but as it stands the test does not evaluate over half of the program's goals. Secondly, it has garnered wide spread critiques from education experts for being poorly designed and not researched based. Furthermore, it is practically useless to teachers because it only provides program averages. In a program that emphasizes individual goals and progress, a program average of 56% in letter

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[52] Bill Swindell CQ Weekly Fall Agenda: Head Start Reauthorization 9/5/05

[53] Sara Rimer "Now, Standardized Achievement Tests in Head Start" The New York Times 10/29/03

[54] Linda Borg Providence Journal—Bullentin (RI) Experts Disagree Over Best Way to Evaluate 4 Year Olds in Nation's Head Start 11/24/03

recognition tells the teacher almost nothing. Family advocates interviewed expressed concerns that a shift away from emotional and social growth in the interest of memorizing letters will only hinder their students' progress. "Are you educated if you know eleven letters?" they asked.

Challenges facing Latino Families

I asked both Head Start staff and parents if they thought there were any specific barriers to educational success facing the Latino community. The two most commonly mentioned are discussed here, but it is important to note that just as often discussed were the barriers faced by anyone living in poverty. Minorities are disproportionately living in poverty, but the challenge of meeting basic needs and a lack of disposable income are issues which face a wide, largely invisible community.

- **Low institutional expectations of Latino students**

"When they get to WaHi [Walla Walla High School]…every kid from Garrison is placed in basic English without any testing. If kids aren't pushed they'll be satisfied with that placement. There are some really sharp kids that can do well. Maybe it's not explicitly against them, but they are being denied an opportunity." Juan Pedroza's comments highlight the reality that the education system often lets students fall through the cracks. At every level from K-12, all students deserve support from their educators. This includes access to quality bilingual programs through 5th grade, the length of time linguistic experts estimate it takes to develop intellectually in two languages. Low expectations only serve to reinforce poor performance and early exits from education.

- **Limited English abilities and economic mobility of parents**

When a parent cannot speak the language their child is being educated in, it is almost certain that the parent will not participate in their schooling. If they are not put in touch with the resources to improve that capacity, the home environment will not necessarily be as conducive to education as one with an active parent might be. Furthermore, limited language ability is often tied to lower waged employment, which means that the pressure of meeting basic needs will provide little opportunity for a parent to attend a classroom meeting, even if it is bilingual. Andrea Pedroza's experience with farm workers confirms this. "Well lots of these parents didn't speak English and they worked so much—10 hours a day easily, if not more—and they didn't even know what was going on with their kid's school. Education is important, everyone knows it, and you lose a lot when you can't be there."

The limited English ability and economic mobility which burdens the Latino community can influence the educational opportunities of their children in very direct ways. Diana Cox described the way that the cycle of low education-limited economic opportunity perpetuates itself in the Latino community in Walla Walla.

"When people come to apply, they bring in income verification, a shot record, and a birth certificate. Then we look at things like if they got …points for if they are a single parent, for total number of children, for disabilities. But this all comes only after the income has been verified. And that's a problem for Hispanic families sometimes, because they're getting paid in cash under the table. No stubs, no income tax…and sometimes they have

an income tax but they've only claimed four kids and the enrollment paperwork says six. And they tell me there are six kids in the house and I ask them why they didn't claim them and they say that the person who helped them with their income tax told them not too. Sometimes they 'loan' a child out for the tax forms…they just don't know. And then they have to explain where these 'extra' kids are coming from."[55]

Just like that, a family can be disqualified from enrolling—in spite of the fact that they are the most in need of the education and social linkages which Head Start provides.

Conclusions and Recommendations

I based my analysis of Head Start as "effectively" preparing Latino children and their families for success around four key questions: How do they score on standardized tests? Are parents equipped to contribute to their child's education? Are families able to provide educational materials in their home? Are parents able to participate in the education of their children outside of the home? I concluded that the scores on the NRS tests indicate that Latino students make great progress in their time at Head Start, in areas covered and those left unaddressed by the current test. However, I believe Diana Cox is correct in saying that it is impossible for Head Start to, in two years, undo all previous traumas. It can make a start, but Latino children still lag behind their similarly impoverished White classmates after one year in the program.

If Walla Walla is an appropriate representation of the types of services offered and staff trained to work with families, then I would conclude that Head Start provides homes with educational materials gives parents ample opportunity to participate in education both at home and at school. The rates at which Walla Walla parents reported reading and playing with their children, and feeling able to contribute to their learning, are all strong indications that Head Start can successfully create the kinds of environments which support academic achievement.

My recommendations are as follows:

- Evaluate the program in the long term: Even the Impact Study currently underway only follows children through first grade. I argue that it takes more than two years to see the full range of benefits preschool can offer its students and their families. While such a study might be expensive on such a long term scale the findings would likely mirror those of the Perry and Chicago studies, contributing to the stability of funding in the future.
- Re-evaluate the National Reporting System Test: As it stands, it is an inconvenience with little beneficial information for program operators. A research based test which evaluates the pre academic as well as the social-emotional outcomes of Head Start is what teachers need; some might argue that they need no tests at all, since so much of the progress made happens on an individual level.
- Increase funding for teachers to improve their credentials: We cannot increase the demands on our teachers without increasing the resources at their disposal. More pressing than a B.A. for many programs are

[55] Appendix D.

> bilingual teachers; in Walla Walla, there is not a single teacher fluent in Spanish in spite of the fact that nearly half the children speak it as their primary language. Furthermore, it is important to actively recruit and retain qualified Hispanic teachers who can serve as institutional role models for Latino families who enroll.

Many parents, teachers, and staff have suggested that the failure of Head Start to achieve long term results has less to do with Head Start and more to do with the educational experience available to students in the years that follow. Perhaps, they say, we send grade schools children who are socially and emotionally ready and excited to be successful students—and they lose them in the classrooms of thirty five and the sea of standardized tests. The Latino children who graduate from Head Start and enter kindergarten seem to be a far cry from the 40% of Hispanic high schoolers who drop out; it is in their best interest as well as in our own to find out what is happening in between. As one of Walla Walla's family advocates put it: "Of course we need performance standards but…when we meet people's needs then they will learn. Are you educated if you know eleven letters?". The administrators and funders of the public education system needs to reevaluate its criteria for progress, skills, and what it means to be an educated citizen. As long as we continue to pursue statistics over real, long term change in the status of the Latino population of Washington, we will be selling our communities short. Now is the time for real progress—now is the time to start supporting our children and those that serve us by educating them.

Appendix A.

Interview Questions: Parent Interview

Why did you decide to enroll your children in Head Start?

Was the enrollment process difficult to understand?

Why is preschool important?

Why is preschool important for Latino children?

What do you think about bilingual education?

Were you able to help your child with their homework?

What is your opinion about standardized testing?

Do you think a child's enrollment in preschool helps their family make connections in the community?

Appendix B.

Parent Interview—November 7, 2005
Juan and Andrea Pedroza

Danielle Alvarado: How did you first hear about Head Start and what was your family's experience with it?

Andrea Pedroza: I worked for Head Start while I worked at the Farm Labor Camp. My oldest daughter Luisa went to the Migrant Head Start program, and then to preschool at Kid's Place. She went to each for one year, since I only worked at the labor camp for one season, from March until November. My two younger children didn't go and I could tell that they were much less advanced.

DA: Why do you think that Head Start, and preschool in general, is important for Latino children?

AP: Well lots of these parents didn't speak English and they worked so much—10 hours a day easily, if not more—and they didn't even know what was going on with their kid's school. Education is important, everyone knows it, and you lose a lot when you can't be there. You can see the difference very early in the kids who go to Head Start. They are more prepared, they know their colors and shapes, just things like that that …don't even think about…but when they go home, there is no one to help them. Being able to go to Head Start, it helps both kids and their parents. The best part is that kids have access to books, letters…materials that they don't have otherwise. Blue Ridge used to be on the outside but now they have a good program. Prospect has no program and I can see that the kids struggle. Sharpstein is trying and doing better, and I don't know about Green Park.

DA: What do you think about teaching in both Spanish and English?

AP: I think it helps the kids a lot, to be ready and excited for school when they go to kindergarten. Maybe they still have a lot to learn, but at least they'll know the colors and days of the week in English. Even when the elementary schools say they have bilingual programs, that's not the case for every single classroom. So it's best that they learn as much as possible. It used to be that Head Start was taught only in English, and that was better for Luisa because at home we only spoke Spanish. Some things are better for different kids, and some struggle because they just speak Spanish. Once they learn a little English they do better, but a lot of kids really struggle.

DA: Since your daughter Luisa was learning in English, did you feel able to help her with her homework?

Juan Pedroza: She was already exposed to English from neighbors and cartoons. At that time there wasn't very much…nothing really…in Spanish on TV. I don't think it affects them. Experience varies by child, even within the same family. Luisa had no trouble, but

our youngest still struggles with Spanish. Luisa came home and spoke English to them, I think maybe that's part of it.

AP: And now there are a lot of kids that can understand Spanish because they grew up with it, but now they can't speak it well or sometimes not at all. They can't communicate with their own parents. With my sister she speaks only Spanish and when she talks to her children they understand but they can't respond to her in Spanish.

DA: Why is it important that your children speak Spanish?

AP: My English is limited, so it's best for me that they speak Spanish.

JP: Well yes that's true but I think it's more than that. What Andrea also means is that it is about heritage and family. Speaking Spanish allows my children the ability to communicate with others. We want them to be able to communicate with their grandparents. My parents, and Andrea's too, they still live in Mexico and they don't speak any English. So there's no other way for them to talk to each other…And here, even if you are unable to speak Spanish you still look Hispanic. You cannot hide looking Hispanic, and when someone comes up to you on the street and starts talking to you…and you just look away and shake your head it looks bad. You look uptight.

AP: A few weeks ago I was at Super 1 and there was a man in the front of the line who didn't have enough money to pay for all his groceries. He didn't speak any English and he was trying to tell the worker to just take something away from his bags. My son was looking at the toys and this man he saw my son and grabbed him to help talk to the cashier. My son he of course looks Mexican but he got nervous—he's the one whose Spanish is still so bad even now. He felt bad that he couldn't talk to this man and he called me over and then it was ok. But still, a sad situation both for that man and for my son.

JP: Teaching Spanish early on is very helpful, otherwise you end up with more high schoolers and young adults that maybe are bilingual but are illiterate. Jasmin, she took high school Spanish and learned a lot from her friends who didn't speak any English, so that made her Spanish a lot better. But see, that just shows how it is different for every kid. Jasmin is outgoing—her personality helped a lot.

DA: Now you know about the WASL, and now with the No Child Left Behind Act four year olds are tested twice a year. What do you think about standardized testing?

JP: It's unfair, and I don't know how to make it fair. Kids won't be exposed to the same things and expectations are different, even within families. For the kids at the labor camp they can't get any help at home with their homework; they have no transportation, no parents to pick them up…their parents can't speak English and can't help them like other parents can. When they get to WaHi…every kid from Garrison is placed in basic English without any testing. If kids aren't pushed they'll be satisfied with that placement. There

are some really sharp kids that can do well. Maybe it's not explicitly against them, but they are being denied an opportunity.

DA: Do you think that, in general, schools have lower expectations of Latino students?

JP: I think that is often the case. Hispanics are at a disadvantage because of monetary issues. That spills over to anything education related—like having no money for new basketball shoes for the child who wants to play on the team. At the labor camp, there is no way for kids to get to games. And they know it's not possible. Already, they are young but they already know what they cannot do because they are at a disadvantage. And with lots of parents they themselves are not educated, and they don't value education enough to help. Most have three or four years of school; if they are well educated, then you can see that their kids are doing well.

AP: My sister works full time and of course she wants her kids to be in Head Start but she can't meet the time requirements. She works at a nursing home and her schedule is rotating. She can't make a commitment to the same time every week so her kids are not in the program. And she can see her daughter in kindergarten now, and she's struggling. There is no simple solution, but it is a good program and it is important; taking funding will hurt kids. Luisa only got to go because I was working at the labor camp. At that time there was someone working there just to help with the paperwork for getting kids enrolled in Head Start. There are lots of people who want their kids in the program, but they have to make the choice between money for milk and sending their kids to Head Start. My sister knows it would help her kids do better, but she has no choice. I volunteer in a kindergarten class now, and I can tell which ones went to Head Start and which ones went straight to kinder. They can't cut paper, we send their unfinished work home. I'm no expert but it doesn't take much to notice.

DA: Do you think a child's enrollment in preschool helps their family make connections in the community?

JP: It helps you meet people, but it isn't necessarily an anchor which is going to keep a family here on its own. It's always good to know people so that there will be more people to help you when you have a need. But an undocumented family will never confidently go and make waves. They know that someone can easily do something to their ability to work and have peace of mind. It is extremely rare for them to demand a right—they don't feel secure enough to demand it. In Mexico the rich get their way and the Hispanics here are used to not being equal. What brought them here was a need for a better life; they weren't equal where they came from and even here they get looked down on. WaHi doesn't give equal treatment. Maybe we are supposed to think that yes it does, but talented basketball players…there's so much competition and they say that they pick the best athlete. But I am suspicious because it seems like it is always the affluent white kids with political attachment. Maybe I'm a cynic, but the disadvantaged will always be disadvantaged. The confidence to change that, it is the same confidence that comes from knowing your shapes and colors. No one wants to feel stupid. And it's like the kid that

hates kindergarten because they don't know the word for 'yellow' in English—it happens to adults at every level. No one wants to feel incompetent.

AP: It's like with catechism, do you remember Juan? The kids who were not doing their homework?...These kids showed up every week with their homework not done and the coordinator, she got frustrated. And she said to them 'Hey, you can do the work or we don't need you to be here.' And then she talked to the parents of these kids and we found out that the parents couldn't read or write either. It's rare when both parents cannot read or write but it happens. And you could see it, those kids didn't advance in the same way with half their homework done. And with one family it turned out that they were completely dependent on their kids; it was their eighteen year old son who drove them to work every day. They couldn't drive themselves, they couldn't read the signs.

AP: My dad couldn't read or write at all and my mom could barely write her name down. It was hard for me to learn, I wanted to but there was no one to help me at home. My mom went to first grade for a few months I think.

JP: My parents didn't go to school either, maybe for a few months.

AP: My mom told us to go to at least 6th grade. My dad, he didn't think it was important. He said that girls didn't need an education to change diapers; my mom should keep us around the house and eventually we would get married. That made me want to go to school. Education is important.

DA: Why is education important?

AP: Going to college means you have better opportunities. Hopefully it will make the difference. I hope a Hispanic will go to Congress sometime soon.

JP: When Andrea talks about success, that is not necessarily monetary success, but the ability to feel useful to society. Education gives a voice to the Hispanic community and lets them be heard. It makes it possible for them to share in the decision making process of an important entity—city council, school boards—without feeling stupid because they don't know what's going on. I am invited, and others too, to sit on boards all the time. What happens to kindergarten happens on boards. Everyone else knows what's going on and you feel stupid. They say that we are not interested in what's going on, and that's not the case. I think lots of parents just don't want to look stupid.

AP: And lots of Hispanic parents just don't have the same kind of free time. Working 6 am to 7 pm; wheres the time to serve on a board or take your kids to play on a soccer team? It's not realistic.

JP: When we say we want our kids to have an education, it is because we look at it as a minute way to change the expectations of the Hispanic community as a whole in the US. Hispanics are generalized enough already: the smuggler, the rapist. They are well known. But there is very little said about the parent who works two jobs so that their kids can go

to school or take a sports class. If more kids are able to go to college, their kids will later have a better capacity to take piano lessons—that's a dream for most people. We know how much it costs, how much time it takes. For lots of people it's normal, but for us Hispanics is sounds ridiculous. We think about the cost and time commitment, and that's time and money needed for food. If you go to college you get a better job and there are more opportunities for you. That is what we expect will happen. It is an opportunity to be equal to others. The less opportunity you have the worse off you'll be, that's just how it is.

Appendix C.

Interview Questions: Family Advocates

How does the family advocate system work?

- frequency
- issues focused on
- role of the family advocate in the Head Start program

Have you noticed in your visits issues that seem to affect Latino families more than others?

What services does Head Start offer parents?

- Employment?
- Training?
- Financial?
-

How do parents fulfill their time commitment obligation?

What is your opinion of the National Reporting System and the standardized testing introduced by the No Child Left Behind Act?

- Is it helpful to local program administrators?
- Is it accurate?

Does Head Start prepare children for kindergarten?

- How do you define preparation?

What are two or three areas of growth for Head Start?

How many children in Walla Walla cannot attend Head Start because the program has reached capacity?

- Waiting list?
- Estimated?

Appendix D.

Family Advocate Interview—November 15, 2005
Participants: Diana Cox, Director of Family Services for Head Start/ECEAP Walla Walla
Maggie, Family Advocate Head Start/ECEAP Walla Walla

Danielle Alvarado: How does the family advocate and home visit system work?

Maggie: Well last week we just finished the educational home visits. Those happen once a year and the family advocates and teachers meet with parents about the educational progress of their children. So that's once a year and then [family advocates] visit once a month. Each advocate has about thirty two or thirty five cases. We talk about their strengths and goals and what they need to do next. During the enrollment process we have a meeting with the parents that will last two hours. That's more intake: their child's developmental history, a nutritional assessment, and also a review of program services.

DA: Could you talk a little bit about the services Head Start offers or puts families in touch with?

Diana Cox: Health, nutrition…

FA: …mental health…

DC: …Mental health, right…Anything they seem to need help with. Housing, food is another one. But we want to not just get them food so that they're not hungry right now, we want them to plan on avoiding in the future. So we get them in touch with WIC. Our goal is teaching parents how to advocate for themselves and their children.

FA: Medical coupons, dental, ongoing care…

DC: And if they can get to Garrison for night school or ESL…services are lacking but…we do what we can to see them in the community more.

DA: Is it difficult for parents to meet the involvement level Head Start expects of its parents, considering work demands?

DC: Involvement doesn't mean coming into the classroom during the day. If you can do that, that's great. But involvement also means getting your kids on the bus. For some parents that the kind of involvement they are capable of. When we meet with them we tell them that involvement in their child's education means modeling good behavior or sitting on the policy council. They can be on a committee, they can volunteer, they can take projects home and send them back. Sometimes after work you want to do something mindless and cutting out one hundred paper hearts is what you can do. And because of that there are kids painting them the next day in class. The policy council is made up of parents and community members with parents having the majority vote. It's our governing body and we don't do anything without them. Each night that has a meeting or

activity, childcare and food is provided. There is a great respect for parents here, and they know they are welcome anytime.

FA: Going back to your question about the home visits. The monthly visits family advocates conduct independently. They include health and nutrition follow-ups. We look at the goals the family has made and see where progress is happening. The visits are a time to share information from the teacher with the parent, and vice versa too; if there is anything the teacher needs to know we find out then. And it's not just bad things—oh, listen to what your kid did today—it's their achievements too.

DC: And you know, literacy can't just happen here. We let them know that reading is important, modeling, reading together and sharing time with their children. The lending library helps. Every classroom has a set of books in English and Spanish and the kids keep track of what they read. It's not a big deal if some don't make it back; then we know they are being used. And some parents don't need as much as others do. Some parents are needy and the family advocate is someone to learn on. They know there's not going to be any judgment, just someone to listen to them.

FA; Families know we aren't going to tell them that they're bad people. We want them to have success and to give them the resources to do that.

DA: In your experience, what are the biggest challenges facing the families Head Start works with?

DC: Biggest challenges? Dental care and meeting basic, daily needs. Hands down.

FA: We have families with parents that are seasonal workers; when it's good it's real good and when it's bad it's tough. And there are families where both parents are working and they still qualify for WIC.

DA: Are there any barriers unique to Latino families?

DC: Not speaking English. Maybe it's not such a big deal when the kid is three but later, I think, children take advantage of that. And the biases against them. That they are working here, taking away jobs and not paying taxes. And that's not true at all. Most of our Latino families are intact, two parent families. They have great respect for education.

FA: That's true, and they want their children to learn and have it better than they do now. They don't want their children to work in the fields; not because it's not honorable work, but because they don't want them to have to work that hard. They are appreciative, and they work hard. And they are less and less migrant, people are settling out. People settle as kids grow up—moving around makes education hard. Education is important and they know that, and parents put that first ahead of moving for work.

DA: Diana, do you have any estimate how many children there are in Walla Walla that qualify for Head Start but do not participate because the program is full? Are there other reasons besides limited capacity for qualified families choosing to not enroll?

DC: Right now I have a waitlist of twelve to fifteen, and I'd say there's a couple hundred out there that could be in the program. Sometimes it's because Head Start kids need half day and not full day childcare; many providers only want to full day kids. Transportation isn't really an issue because the buses go everywhere…there's a stereotype of Blue Ridge being the special ed or Hispanic school. I mean you just have to walk down here to see that that's not the case but still…and then there's the idea floating out there that you have to be potty trained. I don't know where that comes from. But families become very dedicated to the program. Some kids go to Migrant Head Start [MSHS] from May through the summer and come back here in the fall.

FA: The parents really do their best to make it work. We form amazing bonds with families.

DA: What kind of programs and services are available to Head Start parents?

DC: There are parent group meetings with trainings…health and nutrition, child development, positive discipline, stress management…they're based on surveys parents take during enrollment.

DA: Who puts on these trainings?

DC: Us, sometimes we collaborate with other groups, sometimes we just bring in outside organizations. There's one a month, and like I said, everything at night ends with a family activity. So, maybe you'll have the parents from two classrooms and they'll meet as parents, talking about how it's going and what their ideas are. Then there's some kind of training and at the end they're reunited for a parent-child activity. And these whole things don't go longer than an hour and a half.

DA: What kind of outreach do you use to let people know about the program and how to enroll?

DC: In March I put out flyers for the next fall. I go to social service agencies, laundry mats, convenience stores, clinics, ads in Byline…sometimes on the free cable channel…I put out about four thousand flyers. And people tell their neighbors and relatives about the program, so we get a lot of word of mouth. When people come to apply, they bring in income verification, a shot record, and a birth certificate. Then we look at things like if they got a referral from Child Protective Services or a doctor, or from Early Head Start…they get points for all of this…points for if they are a single parent, for total number of children, for disabilities. But this all comes only after the income has been verified. And that's a problem for Hispanic families sometimes, because they're getting paid in cash under the table. No stubs, no income tax…and sometimes they have an income tax but they've only claimed four kids and the enrollment paperwork says six.

And they tell me there are six kids in the house and I ask them why they didn't claim them and they say that the person who helped them with their income tax told them not too. Sometimes they 'loan' a child out for the tax forms…they just don't know. And then they have to explain where these 'extra' kids are coming from. Getting documentation for the feds, it's necessary but…it's hard to have to tell someone they made too much to qualify. They get mad! "How much extra did I make?" they'll ask me. And when I tell them two hundred dollars they can't stand it "But we're poor!". I know you are.

DA: What is your view on the NRS testing instituted recently under the No Child Left Behind Act?

DC: Are you writing this down [laughter]…Ok well here come my politics. Our teachers are highly qualified and you can believe that we teach them lots of stuff. But how much testing can you give a three year old? Why do we need to push kids to learn so much so fast?

FA: It seems like, to me, that it's moving away from social and emotional preparation to academics. And that worries me.

DC: Are you educated if you know 11 letters? I understand teaching writing and reading…but teaching to a test will just contribute to drop out rates. Kids won't want to go.

FA: Teenagers get frustrated and then they go to carpentry and they can do different things and they're good at it.

DC: I know I hated school…it didn't relate to my life. I had a messed up childhood and I wasn't learning what would help me.

FA: And I think what happens is self esteem goes down and they drop out to act out. If kids withdraw socially they won't be ready to learn and they won't do well…A child can't sit down and learn when they don't know where they are going to sleep.

DC: I think that public schools were shifting to be like Head Start, with counselors and crisis counselors…but now funding is being cut and those programs are going to be phased out. The need is still there for social services.

FA: Yes, that's true. That need is still there.

DC: And you have teachers acting as social workers and there's a ripple effect…

DA: What would you suggest as better ways to measure achievement besides standardized tests?

DC: Sometimes we get a four year old for one year, going to kindergarten next year. Get an active parent, a child with few traumas, and we know that [when they leave] they read

faster and they're socially and emotionally ready to learn. And if we get a three year old…based on the family life…you never know. At this program we stick very close the mission of Head Start in the sense that we take the neediest of the needy. We help make these kids socially and emotionally sound—and ok, sometimes they won't learn eleven letters of the alphabet. And you know, welfare reform hasn't come around to allow people to adjust and find a new way of life. Welfare became a way of life for a lot of people…and now they have one year to turn around with no supports. No day care, by the way you can have a $7.85 an hour job while it takes $15 a day for your three kids. And no medical care. If kids don't have to deal with all this crap, then they can learn. They are dealing with more and more crap and a younger age…even still in middle and high school. We make kids resilient and make them want something more.

FA: What about the kid who knows he's loved, he's safe, that there's roof over his head…that knows he can express himself, solve problems, be given choices…These kids are swimming and feel lost when parents can't stop for them. I'm not blaming the parents because I know it's hard but we try to remind them that it's important to stop and love their children, to pay attention and show affection to them…It's really nice to see them when they get here and the way they look at you, they know they are safe. And if they act out, it's because they know this is a safe place to do it.

DC: Being safe, finding someone to talk to, that's part of being socially and emotionally ready. Interacting with others and not being in fear.

FA: Using words, saying what they need…[instead of] hitting. Some of these kids come from homes with bad relationships, with an abusive boyfriend or husband and it's what they see. Now we don't have a lot of bad parents here. There are lots of parents who are trying hard and…who want to learn as much as [they want their children to]. They don't want to be their own parents.

DA: What are ways you would suggest to improve education once children leave Head Start?

DC: Head Start is a place to get ready to learn. We need educated teachers and good programs. Of course we need performance standards but…when we meet people's needs then they will learn. If you have smaller classes, with different ways to learn…not everybody learns the same and in a classroom of thirty five not everyone gets paid attention to. Less demand to conform.

FA: I think it's important to remind ourselves why we're here. We get caught up and get busy, but it's good to touch base.

DC: And teachers keep learning even after six years of college. I don't care what kind of degree they have, they need to keep their education current. The model that was so popular last year is now totally outdated—what's the new one? Head Start is a model for the education system.

DA: Is if possible for teachers to do that, even with the pressures to meet performance standards?

DC: With Head Start it is…Look, you can't undo all the trauma a child has experienced in just two years, and you can't prepare them for the next twelve years' challenges either. Head Start is here to encourage families to really be the best they can be…to improve their quality of life…and to learn to appreciate each other. I see families that have changed. I see parents who graduated from Head Start enrolling their kids and you can see gains in their families.

FA: There is one family here that is doing really good, even though the father was in jail recently. Both parents graduated from Head Start and they are determined to not be like their parents. They took the same parenting course—he from jail and she from home…that's what they requested—and they came to one of our classes last year. And last year, she couldn't function without him…now she's going to school. She has goals, and a nice place and her two girls. She started working, got her GED and drivers license. When I go over there I congratulate her on her own progress. We can look at test scores but we gave her something…she is ready to do some things for herself. That saying "it takes a village"? Well it's true.

Appendix E.

Survey for Head Start Parents

This survey is part of research being conducted by Whitman College students about preschool access in Washington State. Please answer each question as accurately as you can—all responses are anonymous. 1 means you do not agree with the statement at all; 10 means you agree completely. Thank you!

1. **It was difficult to find out about Head Start and to know if my family qualified.**
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

2. **It is easy for me to balance working and participating in my child's education.**
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

3. **It is important that education incorporate the student's language and culture.**
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

4. **Education will provide my child with opportunities that they would not have otherwise.**
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

5. **Equal access to education is a right of all children.**
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

6. **It is the responsibility of the federal government to provide that education.**
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

7. **It is the responsibility of the state government to provide that education.**
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

8. **Going to preschool will lead to better performance in school later in life.**
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

9. **Head Start teaches skills that my child would not have otherwise.**
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

10. **Head Start provides parents with resources they would not have otherwise.**
    1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

11. **Because my child is in Head Start, I feel more connected to other families in Walla Walla.**
    1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

12. **I am able to contribute to my child's education and help them with their homework.**
    1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

13. **I have read to my child in the last month.** Yes No
14. **I have played with my child in the last month.** Yes No
15. **I have taken my child to a library in the last month.** Yes No
16. **I have told my child a story in the last month.** Yes No

Appendix F.

Parent Survey Results

English Responses—21 returned

Question	#	(%) of	parents	who	responded	for	each	question					
	1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**10**	**No Response**	**Yes**	**No**
1	12 (57.1%)		1 (4.76%)	1 (4.76%)	2 (9.52%)			2 (9.52%)	2 (9.52%)	1 (4.76%)			
2	2 (9.52%)				4 (19.0%)		3 (14.2%)	2 (9.52%)	2 (9.52%)	8 (38.0%)			
3	1 (4.76%)		1 (4.76%)		1 (4.76%)			2 (9.52%)	1 (4.76%)	12 (57.1%)	1 (4.76%)		
4	1 (4.76%)				1 (4.76%)	2 (9.52%)	1 (4.76%)			15 (71.4%)	1 (4.76%)		
5	2 (9.52%)						1 (4.76%)		1 (4.76%)	16 (76.1%)			
6	1 (4.76%)		3 (14.2%)	1 (4.76%)		1 (4.76%)	1 (4.76%)	4 (19.0%)	3 (14.2%)	7 (33.3%)			
7	1 (4.76%)		1 (4.76%)	1 (4.76%)		1 (4.76%)	1 (4.76%)	2 (9.52%)	2 (9.52%)	10 (47.6%)	1 (4.76%)		
8	1 (4.76%)					1 (4.76%)	1 (4.76%)		1 (4.76%)	17 (80.9%)			
9	1 (4.76%)		2 (9.52%)	1 (4.76%)	1 (4.76%)	1 (4.76%)	1 (4.76%)	3 (14.2%)	5 (23.8%)	5 (23.8%)			
10					2 (9.52%)	2 (9.52%)	5 (23.8%)	1 (4.76%)	5 (23.8%)	6 (28.5%)			
11	4 (19.0%)	2 (9.52%)	1 (4.76%)	1 (4.76%)	4 (19.0%)	3 (14.2%)		1 (4.76%)	2 (9.52%)	3 (14.2%)			
12	1 (4.76%)						1 (4.76%)	2 (9.52%)	3 (14.2%)	14 (66.6%)			
13												21 (100%)	
14												21 (100%)	
15												6 (28.5%)	15 (71.4%)
16												19 (90.4%)	2 (9.52%)

Parent Survey Results

Spanish Responses—9 returned

Question	#	(%) of	parents	who	responded	for	each	question					
	1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**10**	**No Response**	**Yes**	**No**
1	1 (11.1%)		1 (11.1%)					1 (11.1%)	1 (11.1%)	5 (55.5%)			
2	1 (11.1%)	3 (33.3%)					1 (11.1%)		2 (22.2%)	4 (44.4%)			
3									1 (11.1%)	8 (88.8%)			
4									1 (11.1%)	7 (77.7%)	1 (11.1%)		
5					1 (11.1%)					8 (88.8%)	1 (11.1%)		
6					1 (11.1%)					8 (88.8%)			
7										8 (88.8%)	1 (11.1%)		
8									1 (11.1%)	8 (88.8%)			
9								1 (11.1%)	1 (11.1%)	5 (55.5%)	2 (22.2%)		
10					1 (11.1%)	1 (11.1%)			1 (11.1%)	4 (44.4%)	2 (22.2%)		
11					1 (11.1%)			1 (11.1%)		6 (66.6%)	1 (11.1%)		
12									1 (11.1%)	8 (88.8%)			
13												9 (100%)	
14												9 (100%)	
15												1 (11.1%)	8 (88.8%)
16												7 (77.7%	2 (22.2%)

Parent Survey Results

All Responses—30 returned

Question	#	(%) of	parents	who	responded	for	each	question					
	1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**10**	**No Response**	**Yes**	**No**
1	13 (43.3%)		2 (6.6%)	1 (3.3%)	2 (6.6%)			3 (10.0%)	3 (10.0%)	6			
2	3 (10.0%)	3 (10.0%)			4 (13.3%)		4 (13.3%)	2 (6.6%)	4 (13.3%)	12 (40.0%)			
3			1 (3.3%)		1 (3.3%)			2 (6.6%)	2 (6.6%)	20 (66.6%)	1 (3.3%)		
4	1 (3.3%)				1 (3.3%)	2 (6.6%)	1 (3.3%)		1 (3.3%)	22 (73.3%)	2 (6.6%)		
5	2 (6.6%)				1 (3.3%)		1 (3.3%)		1 (3.3%)	24 (80.0%)	1 (3.3%)		
6	1 (3.3%)		3 (10.0%)	1 (3.3%)	1 (3.3%)	1 (3.3%)	1 (3.3%)	4 (13.3%)	3 (10.0%)	15 (50.0%)			
7	1 (3.3%)		1 (3.3%)	1 (3.3%)		1 (3.3%)	1 (3.3%)	2 (6.6%)	2 (6.6%)	18 (60.0%)			
8	1 (3.3%)					1 (3.3%)	1 (3.3%)		2 (6.6%)	25 (83.3%)	2 (6.6%)		
9	1 (3.3%)		2 (6.6%)	1 (3.3%)	1 (3.3%)	1 (3.3%)	1 (3.3%)	4 (13.3%)	6 (20.0%)	10 (33.3%)	2 (6.6%)		
10					3 (10.0%)	3 (10.0%)	5 (16.6%)	1 (3.3%)	6 (20.0%)	10 (33.3%)	2 (6.6%)		
11	4 (13.3%)	2 (6.6%)	1 (3.3%)	1 (3.3%)	5 (16.6%)	3 (10.0%)		2 (6.6%)	2 (6.6%)	9 (30.0%)	1 (3.3%)		
12	1 (3.3%)						1 (3.3%)	2 (6.6%)	4 (13.3%)	22 (73.3%)			
13												30 (100%)	
14												30 (100%)	
15												7 (23.3%)	23 (76.6%)
16												26 (86.6%)	4 (13.3%)

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An Analysis of the Barriers Latina Immigrants Face in Washington's Domestic Violence Response Network

"In the US, a woman is raped every 6 minutes; a woman is battered every 15 seconds."[1]
-Amnesty International

Introduction

Immigrants now account for one in ten residents in the United States, which is the highest percentage in 70 years.[2] Wife battering occurs in one in four couples worldwide.[3] When combined, these statistics pose some interesting questions. How do we address the pervasive rates of domestic violence with the increasing number of women migrating specifically to the United States?[4] Because Latinos compose the largest minority group within the U.S., what specific cultural factors in combination with the larger political and economic structures influence domestic violence within the Latino immigrant community specifically? There has been much literature written on how immigrants are subjected to many types of oppressive forces, such as racial oppression and economic exploitation. Oppression and exploitation within the private sphere, however, go under-reported and under-researched. Oppression predominantly is analyzed within the context of violence done unto the Latino male body, while leaving out acts of domination and control against Latina women within the home. Consequently, there remains a dearth of policies that address the pervasive problem of Latina immigrants suffering from domestic violence. Immigrant-specific barriers exacerbate Latina women's already vulnerable position, as dictated by class, gender, and race.[5] Fregoso mentions that Latinas are less likely to report incidents of sexual and physical violence than white women.[6] My research addresses the question of why. Each individual and institution has a different role to occupy in a well-coordinated response to domestic violence. In this report I focus on race and legal status and those who have been marginalized because of them. It is critical to understand the variety of societal impacts on the pervasiveness of domestic violence especially within the Latino immigrant community where women face an overwhelming number of barriers to seeking help. Latina immigrants are often forced to be dependent upon the male in the household due to language barriers, lack of education and job training, legal status, and an absence of a strong familial support system in the surrounding community. All of these factors serve to isolate the women. In addition to the expectation of the need to fulfill a traditional Latina's role by being submissive, maternal, and remaining within in the home, women experience much shame in sharing domestic violence occurrences, thereby furthering their isolation. In order to carry out a

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[1] Amnesty International USA, "Violence Against Women: A Fact Sheet," *Women's Human Rights,* Online, Available http://www.amnestyusa.org/women/violence, New York, 2005.

[2] Cecilia Menjívar and Olivia Salcido, "Immigrant Women and Domestic Violence: Common Experiences in Different Countries," *Gender and Society,* Vol.16 No.6, December 2002, p.911

[3] Ibid., p.899.

[4] Ibid., p.898.

[5] Ibid., p.898.

[6] Rosa Linda Fregoso, "MeXicana Encounters: The Making of Social Identities on the Borderlands," *American Crossroads*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003, p.34

comprehensive report the voices of survivors must be included on top of the reports and findings I used from state agencies, social service agencies, and non-governmental organizations. For it is ultimately the survivors, who have stayed strong and who have had the courage to tell me their testimonials of struggle and survival, who shed the greatest light on how to improve Washington State's domestic violence response network by having experienced its shortcomings. Washington state should respond to the pervasive violence experienced by Latina immigrants by increasing resources, funding, and education for law enforcement agencies, domestic violence services, the judicial system, and for the larger Latino immigrant community. In addition to my interview respondents, I am indebted to both Soren Rottman, Directing Attorney at Northwest Immigrant Rights Project (NWIRP), and Shamaine Daniels, Volunteer Attorney for NWIRP, who have helped provide the insight and resources necessary to conduct this research.

Literature Discussion and Context

Ideas of power are based on gender, control and hierarchy. According to Marcus, domestic violence, while appearing random, is actually well-planned in order to minimize opposition by creating an atmosphere of intimidation in which there is no way to escape.[7] Theories on domestic violence must not solely focus on the abused or the batterer, but rather must analyze the person-environment relations and societal stressors upon the family. Recent western feminist models of violence against women argue that battering results from a man's attempt to reassert gender differences and dominance; in many traditional societies the home remains the woman's sphere and the man remains in the public sphere as the breadwinner.[8] Many Latino psychologists and social scientists, however, argue that the study of the interactions between human beings must be viewed within the political, social, historical, economic, and spiritual realms of their reality.[9] Thus over the past several decades approaches to domestic violence have shifted from focusing on the individual problem to expanding to include it as a community problem. Although domestic violence is universally prevalent it is only just becoming recognized as one of the major public health problems facing the United States in the 20th century.[10]

Latinos are currently the largest and fastest growing minority group in the United States,[11] approximately 40 percent being non-citizens.[12] While there is a large degree of heterogeneity within the Latino community, Perilla argues that there are basic cultural values that are held in

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[7] I. Marcus, "Reframing 'Domestic Violence:' Terrorism in the Home, *The Public Nature of Private Violence: The Discovery of Domestic Abuse*, M.A. Fineman and R. Mykitiuk (Eds.), New York: Routledge. 1994. p.11-35.

[8] V. Goldner, P. Penn, M. Sheinber, and G Walker, "Love and Violence: Gender Paradoxes in Volatile Attachments," *Family Process*, 29, 1990, p.343-363.

[9] I. Martín-Baró, *Writings for a Liberation Psychology*, A. Aron and S. Corne, Eds., Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1994.

[10] U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, *Healthy People 2000: National Health Promotion and Disease Prevention Objectives*, Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office. 1990.

[11] U.S. Census Bureau, "2004 American Community Survey," *American Fact Finder*, 2005, Online, Available http://factfinder.census.gov/servlet/DTTable?_bm=y&-geo_id=01000US&-ds_name=ACS_2004_EST_G00_&-_lang=en&-mt_name=ACS_2004_EST_G2000_B03002&-format=&-CONTEXT=dt

[12] U.S. Census Bureau, "Census 2000 Summary File 3 (SF 3) - Sample Data", *American Fact Finder*, 2005, Online, Available http://factfinder.census.gov/servlet/QTTable?_bm=y&-geo_id=01000US&-qr_name=DEC_2000_SF3_U_QTP14&-ds_name=DEC_2000_SF3_U&-_lang=en&-_sse=on

common, such as the centrality of family and the distinctness of gender roles.[13] While the Latino family serves as a strong social support system for family members, it has also been referred to as a "sealed container", which discourages movement outside the family in search of support or resources. The Latino father has traditionally been perceived as the head of the family and as the provider and protector while the mother has been seen as the moderator and heart of the family, taking care of her children before herself. While some Latinos, especially immigrants from rural areas, still hold these values, other Latino families are undergoing a restructuring in family roles and responsibilities. Acculturation, which is the process whereby immigrants adopt the values and behaviors of the host country,[14] partially erodes the strict gender-role differentiation.[15] These changes in combination with the continuing dominance of machismo, which is the legitimization of a patriarchal stereotype that uses unjust power relations, can often result in tensions and confusions that lead to aggressive power struggles. The lack of social power at work may cause an abuser to seek that power in his relationship with his partner, resulting in possessive behaviors such as demanding that the woman have no male friends.

Existing research demonstrates that the Latino community experiences higher rates of violence amongst spouses than non-Latino whites.[16] The National Family Violence Resurvey found that the Hispanic rate of spousal violence was 54 percent greater than that of non-Hispanic whites.[17] Jasinski argues that rates of wife assault may be attributed to variations in acculturation levels that correlate with different ethnic groups. Acculturation may sometimes account for less restrictive attitudes toward women. Additionally, highly acculturated Latinas are more likely to adopt strong English skills, which makes it easier to seek an education as well as resources in the surrounding social structure.[18] Employment is also more easily attained, which improves economic stability. Low acculturation factors such as limited English skills, economic instability, generation, and limited education all add to the high risks immigrant communities experience. The lack of acculturation may also decrease the desire to integrate into the social and economic fabric of the United States, which increases isolation.

Jasinski's research, however, has demonstrated that increased acculturation leads to an increase in domestic violence against women in the Latino community. Trying to balance the expectations of two cultures may increase tensions. The combination of gender role and family expectations with beliefs about the use of violence against a partner could lead to marital

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[13] Julia L. Perilla, "Domestic Violence as a Human Rights Issue: The Case of Immigrant Latinos," *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, Vol 21 No.2, May 1999,* Sage Publications: Stanford University, p.114.

[14] M. Gordon, *Assimilation in American life: The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins,* New York: John Wiley, 1964.

[15] S. Coltrane and E. Valdez, "Reluctant Compliance: Work-family Role Allocation in Dual-Earner Chicano Families, *Challenging Fronterias: Structuring Latina and Latino Lives in the U.S.,* M. Romero, P. Hondagneu-Sotelo, and V. Ortiz (Eds.), New York: Routledge, 1997, pp. 229-246.

[16] Jana L. Jasinski, Ph.D, "The Role of Acculturation in Wife Assault," *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Science,* Vol. 20 No.2, May 1998, Sage Publications, Inc, p.175.

[17] M.A. Straus and C. Smith, "Violence in Hispanic families in the United States: Incidence rates and Strucutral Interpretations, *Physical Violence in American Families: Risk Factors and Adaptations to Violence in 8,145 families.* M.A. Straus and R.J. Gelles (Eds.), New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 1990, pp.341-367.

[18] Jana L. Jasinski, Ph.D, "The Role of Acculturation in Wife Assault," *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Science,* Vol. 20 No.2, May 1998, Sage Publications, Inc., p.176.

violence.[19] According to the 1992 National Alcohol and Family Violence Survey (NAFVS), third generation Hispanic American husbands are three times as likely to assault their wives than Hispanic husbands not born in the United States.[20] Thus, higher rates of domestic violence against wives are associated with husbands born in the United States.[21] It is also evident from the NAFVS study that wife assaults are more closely linked with Latino men who took the interview in English than those who took it in Spanish. Jasinski has demonstrated that more acculturated Hispanic American males are more likely to engage in wife assault.[22]

This racial contextualization of domestic violence is neither to undermine the heterogeneity of Latino immigrants across different cultures nor to undermine the pervasiveness of the problem of non-Latinos abusing their Latina immigrant partners. Certain commonalities, however, permit theory development about barriers Latina immigrants face and strategies that they and their surrounding community use in order to inform policy. Research needs to be based on several indicators of acculturation with regards to domestic violence correlation to avoid being misleading. Previous research has established that factors including low income, unemployment, and part-time employment are all indicators of economic instability and are associated with increased violence.[23] Mexicans, for example, are the poorest Hispanic group with nearly half living below the poverty level.[24] Thus, the high domestic violence rate among Latinos is not a basis on which to claim that race is directly responsible for high rates of violence.

Reasons For Increased Risk of Domestic Violence in the Latino Community

It is important to see the correlations between race and poverty, barriers to educational attainment, and limited English skills, all of which serve as barriers for seeking help in the domestic violence response network. The risk of being killed in a domestic violence-related homicide is greater for women of color than for white women.[25] The Washington State Coalition Against Domestic Violence (WSCADV) has found that factors that account for this disproportionate risk include:[26]

- Lack of access to domestic violence victim services which are culturally appropriate and available in the survivor's language.
- Systematic disadvantage based on race/culture in the justice system (e.g., lack of interpretative services and low-cost or free representation to women with Limited English Proficiency, and unwillingness to take the woman seriously).

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[19] M.A. Straus and R.J. Gelles and S. Steinmetz, *Behind Closed Doors: Violence in the American Family,* New York: Anchor, 1980, p.76

[20] Jana L. Jasinski, Ph.D. "The Role of Acculturation in Wife Assault." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Science,* Vol. 20 No.2, May 1998. Sage Publications, Inc. p.187-8.

[21] Ibid., p.186.

[22] Ibid., p.188.

[23] M.A. Straus and R.J. Gelles and S. Steinmetz, *Behind Closed Doors: Violence in the American Family,* New York: Anchor, 1980, p.76

[24] Jana L. Jasinski, Ph.D, "The Role of Acculturation in Wife Assault," *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Science,* Vol. 20 No.2, May 1998, Sage Publications, Inc, p.183.

[25] Kelly Starr and Margaret Hobart and Jake Fawcett, "Findings and Recommendations from the Washington State Domestic Violence Fatality Review," Washington State Coalition Against Domestic Violence, 2004, p.38

[26] Ibid.

- Disadvantages associated with the poverty levels that are disproportionately experienced by people of color, such as difficulty accessing safe housing and transportation, the inability to attain economic independence from the abuser, and a lack of access to resources.

Multiple barriers for Latino communities specifically include:[27]

- A history of strained police/community relations;
- Disproportionately high rates of incarceration;
- Challenges posed by immigration status;
- Law enforcement cooperation with immigration enforcement; and
- Inadequate options for language interpretation.

Hispanics are facing rapidly increasing incarceration rates. In 1974, 2.3 percent of Hispanic males had been or were currently in state or federal prison. By 2001, this proportion had more than tripled to 7.7 percent.[28] If current incarceration rates continue, one in six Hispanic males can expect to go to prison in their lifetime. Hispanic communities have become aware of the emotional and financial strain families and children experience when men are imprisoned and when they return to the communities. The mistrust of law enforcement by Latino immigrant communities is thus heightened. The history of Latino resistance to racism has resulted in a reluctance to discuss violence within a community. Rather, communities of color have been more comfortable discussing violence against their communities than the gender-based violence perpetrated within them because of the self-protective attitude created as a consequence of being embattled.[29]

The question of why men batter may not easily be answered, but Perilla argues that reasons include that men learn that violence is an option, it works, and the consequences are minimal or nonexistent.[30] In the batterer's group and Latina support group from which Perilla compiled data, 92 percent of men in the batterers' group and 85 percent of Latinas in the support group reported having witnessed their fathers (or stepfathers) physically abuse their mothers.[31] In addition, repeated violence within the family teaches males that they have sexual rights over their women. Perilla's data suggests that between 80 percent and 90 percent of abused women with whom they have worked have experienced marital rape.[32] In addition, Latino immigrants often come from countries in Latin America that have no laws that protect people from domestic violence. Consequently, once in the U.S., abusers often plead ignorance as a defense for behavior. José Limón and other authors argue that public talk of male violence furthers racist

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[27]Ibid., p.73

[28] Thomas P. Bonczar, NCJ 197976, *Prevalence of Imprisonment in the U.S. Population, 1974-2001,* Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, August 2003.

[29]Kelly Starr and Margaret Hobart and Jake Fawcett. 2004, "Findings and Recommendations from the Washington State Domestic Violence Fatality Review," Washington State Coalition Against Domestic Violence, p.78.

[30] Julia L. Perilla. "Domestic Violence as a Human Rights Issue: The Case of Immigrant Latinos." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, Vol 21 No.2, May 1999,* Sage Publications: Stanford University, p.118.

[31] Ibid., p.118

[32] Ibid., p.121

and colonialist stereotypes of men of color as being pathologically violent.[33] Should the fear of perpetuating racist concepts of Latino men, however, deter the need to publicize domestic violence as a problem within the Latino community?

The question of why abused Latinas stay in battering relationships implies that if women were to leave the relationships, domestic violence would not be a problem. Women are often prevented from leaving relationships, however, because of factors that are often outside of their immediate control, including cultural norms such as the highly valued submissive role for a Latina woman,[34] fear for the safety of loved ones, and isolation from social support networks. Women often learn that they must be kept in the place and role dictated to them by their culture through threat or physical injury.[35] Violence often leaves the survivor paralyzed and unable to make decisions and act rationally.[36] When domestic violence is removed from the social, economic, and political context of domination, women are often blamed for their oppression.

Barriers

Immediate Barriers

Many Latina immigrants choose not to report cases of violence to authorities because they fear being ostracized and shamed by communities that are quick to blame victims for the violence they have suffered. Immigrant specific factors increase the already vulnerable position—dictated by class, gender, and race—of immigrant women in domestic violence situations. Immigrant women additionally fear state agencies and law enforcement out of concerns for their legal status. There is a direct correlation between immigration status and a survivor's willingness to call the police. If the survivor is a citizen or permanent resident she is 34.4 percent likely to call the police. If she has a temporary visa she is 16.7 percent likely and if she is undocumented then she is 14.8 percent likely to call the police.[37] Immigrants are also more likely to call the police when they have protection orders and when their children are involved.

Menjivar and Salcido point out that immigrant women arrive in the host country with varied resources including occupation, education and the social networks that await them.[38] Their disadvantages that result from low levels of these resources dictate that they often become isolated and are forced to rely on their partners who often act as the intermediaries between the women and community and state resources, such as legal, financial, and emotional support. In addition, women often depend on the men financially, for child support, and for the legalization process. "Dependency [is] the culprit working against immigrant women, as the abusive partner gains momentum in power and control after immigration, and women (often) no longer have the

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[33] Rosa Linda Fregoso, "MeXicana Encounters: The Making of Social Identities on the Borderlands," *American Crossroads*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003, p.33.

[34] Julia L. Perilla. "Domestic Violence as a Human Rights Issue: The Case of Immigrant Latinos." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, Vol 21 No.2, May 1999,* Sage Publications: Stanford University, p.122

[35] Ibid., p.121

[36] Ibid., p.121

[37] Norma Gutierrez, "Informational Training for Relief Options for Immigrants Victims of Domestic Violence and Sexual Assault," Northwest Immigration Rights Project, October 19, 2004, p.2

[38] Cecilia Menjívar and Olivia Salcido. "Immigrant Women and Domestic Violence: Common Experiences in Different Countries." *Gender and Society*, Vol.16 No.6, December 2002, p.899.

support of their sisters, cousins, and friends that they had back home."[39] Isolation makes it easier for men to gain control over women emotionally and physically. Even if immigrant women live near family members, family pressures about marriage and gender roles and the belief that family problems are private matters may continue to serve as barriers. An immigrant community may be resistance to those who attempt to seek resources because they are concerned about the image of the community.[40] Increasing resources, such as employment and education, however, is a potential source of conflict as well. A woman's increased economic status, for example, reduces the authority of the male. As is often evident from the acculturation process, more female autonomy can incite men to exert their domination in the private sphere.

The role of the church in the socialization of many Latinas is strong. The emphasis on family and the indissolubility of marriage at whatever cost is found among the Catholic and Fundamentalist churches, the denominations to which most Latinos belong,[41] thereby leading many women to remain in abusive relationships.

Leaving the country is often not a favorable option because as Menjivar and Salcido explain, women cannot "recreate the changes in their roles they had gained abroad." They would have to conform to traditional norms, such as remaining within the home, or return to the same social class from which they originated.[42] In addition, women often feel the family and cultural pressure to provide fathers for their children. This pressure is abused by men, who often use children as a mechanism of power and control over their partners. However, women are also more likely to seek help if their children are involved compared to when children are not present. Women are three times as likely to report incidents to the police if their children had been witnesses and five times as likely if they feared for their lives. Even so, almost half of all women who feared for their lives, did not call the police.[43]

Law Enforcement

Legal status deters Latina immigrants from calling the police. Although immigration is enforceable under federal law, the Justice Department is strongly encouraging states to take a more active role in enforcement. In April 2002, the Justice Department stated that states and localities have the inherent authority to enforce federal immigration laws, including civil violations.[44] A growing number of state and county police agencies nationwide are joining a federal program that enlists local officers to enforce immigration laws.[45] Many mayors are

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[39] Ibid., p.904.

[40] Ibid., 914

[41] Julia L. Perilla. "Domestic Violence as a Human Rights Issue: The Case of Immigrant Latinos." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, Vol 21 No.2, May 1999.* Sage Publications: Stanford University. p.123.

[42] Ayse Kudat. "Personal, Familial and Societal Impacts of Turkish women's migration to Europe." *Living in Two Cultures: The Socio-cultural Situation of Migrant Workers and Their Families*. New York: Gower/UNESCO Press. 1982.

[43] Susan McDonald. "Not in the Numbers: Domestic Violence and Immigrant Women." *Canadian Woman Studies.* Fall 1999 v19i3p.163-7. 1999.

[44] Susan Storch. "Turning Local Police into Immigration Cops." *New Jersey Law Journal*, December 8, 2003. American Lawyer Media L.P.

[45] Ben Fox. "Local Police Agencies Moving to Enforce Federal Immigration Laws." *Associated Press State & Local Wire*. April 22, 2005. Santa Ana, California.

concerned with the likelihood of strained community relations and the ability of police officers to determine which documents evidence lawful presence in the United States. Even some experienced immigration lawyers, for example, are confused by whether an expired work permit violates an individual's status even when a replacement application is pending with the U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Service.

According to Senator Harry Reid, D-Nev, "since 1986 we have increased the border patrol budget 10 times and tripled the number of border patrol agents. And yet, according to the CATO Institute, the probability for getting caught crossing the border illegally has decreased from 30% in the 1980s to 5% today."[46] Thus, it is apparent that enforcement alone fails to address the issue of immigration.

The data on high rates of domestic violence among minority groups can reinforce the idea that the state does not need to intervene in domestic violence disputes because they are part of a group's culture and they occur in the private realm. Ferraro found that police officers viewed arrests in domestic violence situations among immigrants as a waste of time because violence was seen as "a way of life for these people."[47]

Civil Court Proceedings and Legal Protections

Studies demonstrate that court authorities favor primary evidence, such as police or medical records, over a survivor's written account of the abuse.[48] Goldman notes that courts are often ambiguous in determining what constitutes abuse, and the process remains rigid and bureaucratic.[49]

The Violence Against Women Act (VAWA), enacted in 1994, was the first step taken by Congress to protect immigrant women whose batterers took advantage of the women's undocumented status. The act was modified in 2000 to allow undocumented women to self-petition and avoid having to prove extreme hardship. In addition, the abuse could be inflicted outside of the United States. As is detailed in table 1, visa options that women have under the VAWA include the U visa for victims of crime, the T visa for trafficking survivors, the I-130 family petition, the I-360 Self-petition, and the I-751 removal of conditions.[50] However, there remain several problems. Involvement of police officers and the law may keep an immigrant woman in an abusive relationship. For example, the law mandates that the husband and wife be arrested if they have a physical confrontation even if the wife's actions were in self-defense. In addition to arrest, receiving government cash assistance can make it difficult to prove good moral character, which is a requirement for legal residence.[51]

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[46] "Sen. Reid: Realistic Laws Make Good Immigration Laws," *US Federal News,* HT Media Ltd, October 5, 2005.

[47] Kathleen Ferraro, "Policing Battered Women," *Social Problems,* 1989, 36(1): p. 61-74.

[48] Maurice Goldman, "The Violence Against Women Act: Meeting its goals in protecting battered Immigrant Women," *Family and Conciliation Courts Review,* 1999, 37, p. 375-92.

[49] Ibid.

[50] YWCA Sexual Resource Center and WSCADV, "Immigration Law and Victims of Trafficking Sexual Assault, and Domestic Violence," Walla Walla, 2005.

[69] Cecilia Menjívar and Olivia Salcido, "Immigrant Women and Domestic Violence: Common Experiences in Different Countries," *Gender and Society,* Vol.16 No.6, December 2002, p.912.

Table 1:
Immigration Options- A Comparison

	Family Petition (I-130)	Self-Petition (I-360)	Removal of Conditions (I-751)	U Visa *(Not Yet Available)*	Asylum (I-589)	Labor Certification
Sponsor Requirements	• USC spouse, parent, sibling, child • LPR spouse, or parent	• No sponsor required • Available to spouses and children of abusive USC/LPR	• No sponsor required • Available to spouses of USC/LPRs with Conditional Residence	• No sponsor required • Available to victims of certain crimes (including domestic violence)	No sponsor required	Employer
Eligibility	• Valid, good faith relationship • Economic sponsor	• Good faith marriage/legal parent • Resided together • Battery or extreme cruelty • Good moral character	• Good faith marriage • Battery or extreme cruelty; divorce; death of spouse; or extreme hardship from deportation	• Willing and able to assist in the investigation or prosecution • Letter from some official regarding your participation	Past persecution or well-founded fear of future persecution on account of: • race • religion • political opinion • social group • nationality	Qualified for a job for which the employer cannot find qualified USC or LPRs
End Result	Eligible to apply for Legal Permanent Residence when priority date is current	Eligible to apply for Legal Permanent Residence when priority date is current	Legal Permanent Residence	Eligible to apply for Legal Permanent Residence after 3 years in US with the U visa	Eligible to apply for Legal Permanent Residence after one year in US after granting of asylum	Eligible to apply for Legal Permanent Residence when priority date is current

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Women must also be married to a citizen in order to be able to apply for permanent residence. Thus many women remain with their abusive partners in the hopes that they will marry and then petition immigration.

Access to Support and Resources

Many women use their country of birth as a frame of reference to assess their situation. Latina immigrants often come from countries where domestic violence is not reported because of an absence of legal protection or cultural expectations that prevent them from reporting.[52] A Salvadoran woman in Pheonix, Arizona, laughed when asked if she thought of calling the police; "The police? Who would think of calling the police back there [in El Salvador]? If you called them they'd think it's a prank and they won't even bother coming! No one does that. Everyone will laugh if a woman calls for help if her husband is beating her."[53] Growing anti-immigrant sentiment since 9/11 may also be an impediment for the woman if she believes the community is not open to assisting immigrants.

Governments are taking steps to improve outreach for immigrant domestic violence survivors. In June of 2005 the first government guide for new immigrants in English and Spanish was issued, which offers information ranging from legal rights to finding a home and good schools. In addition, it shows how to file tax returns, the consequences of serious criminal offenses (deportation), the reasons for becoming a citizen, and information regarding the national hotline

[52] Cecilia Menjívar and Olivia Salcido, "Immigrant Women and Domestic Violence: Common Experiences in Different Countries," *Gender and Society,* Vol.16 No.6, December 2002, p.910

[53] Ibid., p.910

for domestic violence survivors.[54] In May of 2005 the Supreme Court of Texas and the Texas Access to Justice Commission made available a free Spanish-language self-help Protective Order Kit, which enables Spanish-speaking survivors of domestic violence to obtain court-ordered protection and free civil legal information on their own.[55] Survivors are able to access instructions for filling out the paperwork and for having a temporary order signed by a judge and requesting a hearing date to grant the protective order, both of which once signed by the judge are enforceable by law. Instructions are also available to help survivors prepare for the hearing. There is no cost.

The Bureau of Justice Statistics reports that women age 16-20 had higher rates of intimate partner violence than any other age group in 1999.[56] Yet, outreach with teenagers and education on domestic violence is minimal.

Based on the previously discussed literature I looked for information with regards to the domestic violence response network in Washington state and found general domestic violence information mostly from the Washington State Coalition Against Domestic Violence. Because police and state agencies do not collect data on incidences of domestic violence specifically with regards to the immigrant community my access to empirical data on the subject was limited. The weight of this report, therefore, is the interviews I conducted with police officers, domestic violence coordinators and advocates, and survivors themselves. From their experiences we can learn how to improve the shortcomings of Washington state's domestic violence response network. This report contains incidences of violence, community network responses and their thoroughness, barriers to change, and recommendations.

I chose to focus on Walla Walla and the Tri-Cities as a means of taking a comparative approach to addressing the ways to improve the domestic violence response network. I looked for individuals and information that could shed light both on the current resources available for Latina immigrant survivors of domestic violence and the barriers that prevented the women from accessing these resources. Both areas, however, turned out to have their strengths and weaknesses, and the information collected in both areas has increased my awareness of what improvements need to occur statewide. Rottman and Whitman alum Natalie Mariona also directed my attention to Whatcom County where there have been reports of Border Patrol agents being used as translators for monolingual domestic violence survivors. Rottman put me in contact with domestic violence survivor Silvia (pseudonym) in Pasco and Daniels put me in touch with Lorena Ault, Bilingual Bicultural Advocate for Domestic Violence and Sexual Assault Victims, Education and Prevention Specialist at Walla Walla's YWCA. I also conducted interviews with Officer AC Castillo and Domestic Violence Coordinator Chalese Calhoon at the Walla Walla police department. Calhoon put me in contact with domestic violence survivor Maria (pseudonym) and Shelter Services Director of Benton and Franklin Counties Erinn Gailey. Lastly, I conducted an interview with Domestic Violence Victims Advocate Mary Santoy at the

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[54] Jessie Mangaliman, "U.S. Publishes Guide for New Immigrants," *San Jose Mercury News*, Knight Rider/Tribune Business News, June 10, 2005.

[55] "Supreme Court of Texas and Texas Access to Justice Commission Unveil Self-Help Protective Order Kit for Spanish-Speaking Domestic Violence Victims," *Business Wire*, Edinburg, Texas: Business Wire, Inc., May 11, 2005

[56] Callie Rennison, Ph.D. *Intimate Partner Violence and Age of Victim, 1993-99*. NCJ 187635. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, October 2001. Online. Available http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/bjs/abstract/ipva99.htm

Pasco police Department. All of the interviews lasted between 30 and 45 minutes and were tape recorded in their entirety. Because I speak Spanish, translation services were not needed for Silvia, who is a monolingual. All other interviews were conducted in English. Through these interviews I gathered information on the resources and obstacles of the legal system, law enforcement agencies, and domestic violence agencies in addition to the social and physical barriers that Latina immigrant domestic violence survivors face.

I will use the pronoun "she" because the vast majority of domestic violence victims/survivors are women, though this is not to discredit the male population that has been subject to domestic violence. In the United States, up to 95 percent of all domestic violence cases between adults are of violence against women.[57] Looking at overall murder rates, men commit 91 percent of murders of women and 89 percent of murders of men.[58] In addition, I use the term "survivor" if the woman has not died in order to recognize her strength in the face of dire circumstances. My focus is on heterosexual relationships since not much proven data with regards to homosexual domestic violence exists and since I faced time constraints in getting close to the Latino community, which on top of being closed to talking about domestic violence is also closed about homosexual relationships.

This report intends to not only recognize the thousands of domestic violence victims and survivors in Washington state, but also to push for changes that can help make the response network more effective. Most homicides are preceded by several efforts to seek help.[59] My intention is to focus on those individuals who face institutional as well as social and cultural barriers that *prevent* them from seeking help: Latina immigrants.

Domestic Violence in Washington State

According to Amnesty International, "Without exception, a woman's greatest risk of violence is from someone she knows…When states fail to take the basic steps needed to protect women from domestic violence or allow these crimes to be committed with impunity, states are failing in their obligation to protect women from torture."[60] I first present the findings of The Washington State Coalition Against Domestic Violence (WSCADV) 2002 and 2004 reports of "Findings and Recommendations from the Washington State Domestic Violence Fatality Review" (DVFR). WSCADV has been largely responsible for increasing awareness in the Washington state about the pervasiveness of domestic violence and the holes in the response network that need to be filled. Many organizations and government agencies have adopted their recommendations.[61]

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[57] Maurice Goldman, "The Violence Against Women Act: Meeting its goals in protecting battered Immigrant Women," *Family and Conciliation Courts Review*, 1999, 37, p. 375-92.

[58] Callie Rennison Ph.D. and Sarah Welchans, *Special Report: Intimate Partner Violence*, Burea of Justice Statistics, Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice. May 2000.

[59] Kelly Starr and Margaret Hobart and Jake Fawcett, "Findings and Recommendations from the Washington State Domestic Violence Fatality Review," Washington State Coalition Against Domestic Violence, 2004, p.7

[60] I. Marcus, "Reframing 'Domestic Violence:' Terrorism in the Home, *The Public Nature of Private Violence: The Discovery of Domestic Abuse*, M.A. Fineman and R. Mykitiuk (Eds.), New York: Routledge. 1994, p.11-35.

[61] Ibid., p.37

WSCADV's 2004 DVFR defines a domestic violence fatality as those fatalities that arise from an abuser's efforts to seek power and control over his intimate partner.[62]

Between January 1, 1997 and June 30, 2004, 281 people were killed by domestic violence abusers in Washington, or approximately 40 deaths per year. 107 people died in domestic violence-related fatalities between September 1, 2002 and June 30, 2004, which is an average of almost five per month.[63] In 2003, 44 percent (n=23) of women who were murdered in Washington state were killed by their current or former intimate partner.[64] In Washington state, the domestic violence homicide risk rate for Hispanic women is 2.5 times greater than it is for non-Hispanic white women.[65] Shelter Services Director of Benton/Franklin counties Erinn Gailey emphasizes the high correlation between domestic violence and homicides;

> When you combine the two counties [Benton and Franklin counties] we're like 5th or 6th in the state per capita for domestic violence related homicides…So unfortunately while we don't have as many homicides, if someone is likely to be killed it's because of domestic violence than any other homicide.[66]

Table 2 lists the breakdown of domestic violence homicides according to county.[67] It is important to point out that consistent with national trends, a significant number of women in Washington state kill their male intimate partners each year (n=8)[68]: most women who kill their male partners have been survivors of that partner's abuse.[69] It is also necessary to recognize homicides that occur as an extension of domestic violence such as the killing of children for purposes of revenge and suicides, which are more difficult to track in relation to domestic violence. Over 150 women commit suicide yearly in Washington, and battered women are at an especially high risk of suicide.[70]

Immediate Barriers

From the Domestic Abuse Intervention Project and from clients, the Northwest Immigrant Rights Project (NWIRP) has created the Power and Control Wheel for Immigrants, as can be seen from table 3. Abusers use mechanisms of power and control including isolation, emotional abuse, economic abuse, sexual abuse, using children, threats, using citizenship or residency privilege,

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[62] Ibid., p.3

[63] Ibid., p.19

[64] WASPC, *Crime in Washington State 2003*, Washington Association of Sheriffs and Police Chiefs, Uniform Crime Reporting Project, Olympia, WA: WASPC, 2004.

[65] Margaret Hobart, *Findings and Recommendations from the Washington State Domestic Violence Fatality Review 2002*, Washington State Coalition Against Domestic Violence, December 2002, p. 76

[66] Interview with Erinn Gailey, October 17, 2005.

[67] Kelly Starr and Margaret Hobart and Jake Fawcett, "Findings and Recommendations from the Washington State Domestic Violence Fatality Review," Washington State Coalition Against Domestic Violence, 2004, p. 31.

[68] Kelly Starr and Margaret Hobart and Jake Fawcett, "Findings and Recommendations from the Washington State Domestic Violence Fatality Review," Washington State Coalition Against Domestic Violence, 2004, p.19

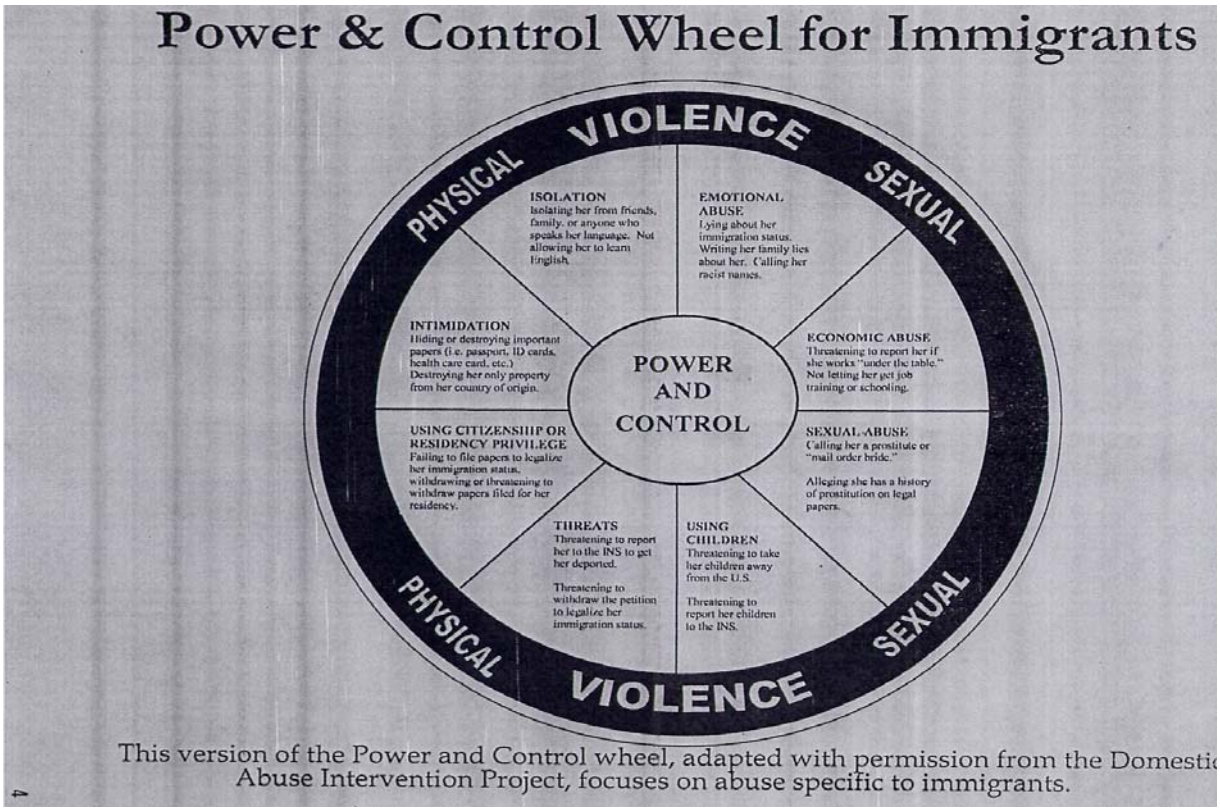
[69] Christine E Rasche, "Given Reasons for Violence in Intimate Relationships," *Homicide: The Victim/Offender Connection*, Ed. Anna Wilson, Cincinnati, OH: Anderson, 2003, p.88

[70] Evan Stark and Anne Flitcraft, "Killing the Beast Within: Woman Battering and Female Suicidality," *International Journal of Health Services* 25, no. 1, 1995, p.43-64.

Table 2: Breakdown of Domestic Violence Homicides by County in Washington State

2002		2003		Data through June 30, 2004				
Homicides	Abuser suicides	Homicides	Abuser suicides	Homicides	Abuser suicides	**Total homicides**	**Total abuser suicides**	
—	—	—	—	—	—	0	0	Adams
—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	Asotin
—	—	4	1	—	—	6	3	Benton
—	—	—	—	1	—	2	0	Chelan
1	—	—	1	1	1	7	2	Clallam
2	—	2	2	4	1	19	9	Clark
1	—	—	—	—	—	1	0	Columbia
2	1	—	—	1	1	4	2	Cowlitz
—	—	—	—	1	—	1	0	Douglas
—	—	—	—	—	—	0	0	Ferry
1	—	1	1	—	—	9	2	Franklin
—	—	—	—	—	—	0	0	Garfield
1	—	—	—	—	—	3	0	Grant
2	—	—	—	—	—	4	2	Grays Harbor
2	2	—	—	—	—	7	2	Island
1	—	1	—	—	—	2	0	Jefferson
12	4	18	4	4	1	94	21	King
—	—	1	—	—	—	12	3	Kitsap
1	—	—	—	—	—	2	0	Kittitas
—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	Klickitat
—	—	—	—	—	—	1	0	Lewis
—	—	—	—	—	—	1	0	Lincoln
—	—	1	3	—	—	3	3	Mason
—	1	—	—	1	1	4	3	Okanogan
—	—	—	—	—	—	0	0	Pacific
—	—	1	—	—	—	2	1	Pend Oreille
7	—	10	2	2	1	48	15	Pierce
—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	San Juan
2	—	—	—	—	—	4	1	Skagit
—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	Skamania
6	—	4	2	2	2	28	8	Snohomish
3	—	1	—	1	—	17	7	Spokane
—	—	—	—	—	—	0	0	Stevens
—	—	1	—	—	—	10	3	Thurston
—	—	—	—	—	—	0	0	Wahkiakum
—	—	—	—	—	—	2	1	Walla Walla
2	—	1	1	1	—	6	3	Whatcom
—	—	—	—	—	—	0	0	Whitman
2	2	—	—	—	—	11	7	Yakima
48	10	46	17	19	8	314	102	**Total DV fatalities**

Table 3: Power and Control Wheel for Immigrants



and intimidation.[71] While the National Family Violence Resurvey found that the Hispanic rate of spousal violence was 54 percent greater than that of non-Hispanic whites, both the Benton/Franklin county[72] and Walla Walla domestic violence shelters have more non-Hispanic white clients than Hispanic clients.[73] Table 4 shows the Walla Walla YWCA client demographics. It is thus apparent that Latinas are facing barriers that are preventing them from seeking services in the community.

Domestic violence does not occur in a vacuum; it leaves a devastating impact on child witnesses. Since 1997, 54 women killed by their intimate partners had children in common with those partners living in the home. Of the 176 women killed by male partners since 1997, at least 50 percent had children living in the home with them at the time they were murdered; 43 were five years old or younger.[74]

In accordance with the Bureau of Justice Statistics' determination that late teens experience the highest rate of domestic violence, the WSCADV 2004 DVFR findings indicate that a number of

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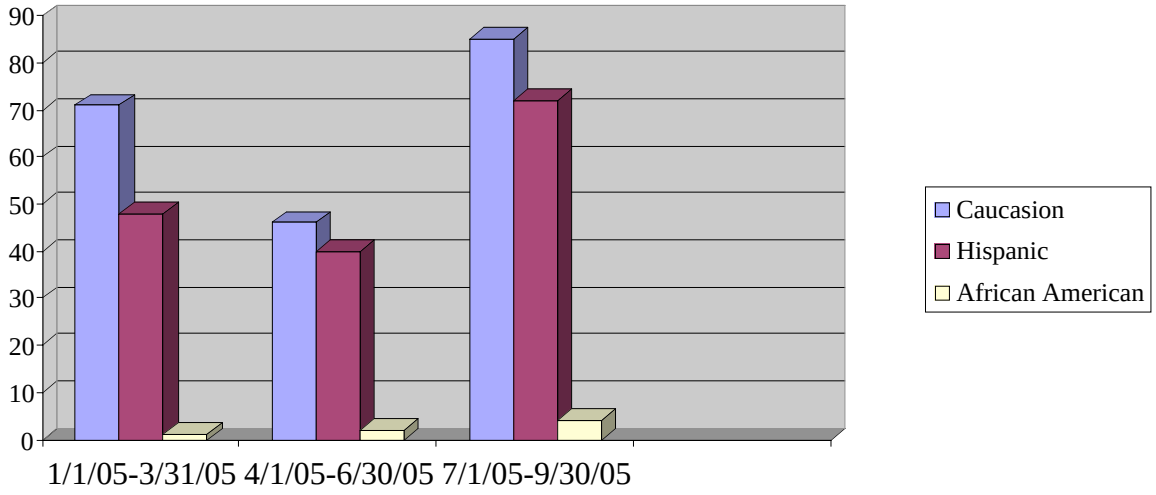
[71] Northwest Immigrant Rights Project, "Immigration Options for Immigrant Survivors of Domestic Violence, Sexual Assault and Other Crimes," Seattle, June 2005.

[72] Interview with Lorena Ault, October 13, 2005.

[73] Interview with Erinn Gailey, October 17, 2005.

[74] Kelly Starr and Margaret Hobart and Jake Fawcett, "Findings and Recommendations from the Washington State Domestic Violence Fatality Review," Washington State Coalition Against Domestic Violence, 2004, p. 28.

Table 4: Walla Walla YWCA Client Demographics



domestic violence homicide victims become involved with their abusers as teenagers and many victims were still teenagers at the time of their death. 12 percent of the female partners killed by their male abusers since 1997 were under 21, and of those, 40 percent were not yet 18.[75] Of the 54 women killed by their partners who had children in common with those partners, 17 were 20 or younger when they had their oldest child with the abuser.[76] Research has indicated that abusers often prevent their teen girlfriends' efforts to succeed at school or work, and they sabotage their use of birth control. One study with over 400 teenagers determined that two-thirds of the teens who had survived domestic violence reported that their partner made verbal or physical efforts to prevent their use of birth control.[77] When pregnant, the woman faces an increase in barriers to safety and self-sufficiency including social pressures to marry the father of her child and rely on him for financial support, isolation from support systems due to abuse and parenting demands, and the lack of social or economic support for child-raising. The barriers to seeking an education and increasing economic autonomy increase dependence on the male. Additionally, there is a significant absence of resources in schools and communities for teens.[78]

Limited English Proficiency (LEP) individuals face additional barriers to seeking resources. Often education is difficult to obtain when time is occupied with child rearing and employment. The language barrier is an impediment not only to seeking community resources, but also to working through the legal system with regards to obtaining visas and protection orders and calling law enforcement.

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[75] Ibid., p.25
[76] Ibid., p.25
[77] *Domestic Violence and Birth Control Sabotage: A Report from the Teen Parent Project*, Center for Impact Research, February 2000, Online. Available www.impactresearch.org/documents/dvandbirthcontrol.pdf.
[78] Kelly Starr and Margaret Hobart and Jake Fawcett. "Findings and Recommendations from the Washington State Domestic Violence Fatality Review." Washington State Coalition Against Domestic Violence, 2004, p. 26.

Law Enforcement
WSCADV distributed an online survey through the Washington Association of Sheriffs and Police Chiefs (WASPC) to all sheriffs and police chiefs in Washington in 15 urban and rural counties. 62 percent of respondents (n= 26 total respondents, or a 9 percent response rate) stated that all patrol officers at their agency received training regarding the use of qualified interpreters at the initial crime scene to investigate domestic violence calls.[79] Only 8 percent, however, stated that their agency had a policy regarding the initial response to domestic violence crimes when the victim has limited English proficiency.[80] Fortunately, the 26 responding law enforcement agencies stated that they have taken steps to implement DVFR recommendations by translating forms into multiple languages; creating stalking booklets to document incidents of stalking; and revising forms to prompt the collection of detailed information on domestic violence history, alcohol or other drug use, mental health issues, children present, firearms and obtaining photographs for documentation.[81]

According to WSCADV's 2002 DVFR report, "an examination of news reports regarding domestic violence fatalities shows that at least 25% of the victims in all the domestic violence fatality cases tracked by the Domestic violence Fatality Review since 1997 had obtained civil or criminal protective orders."[82] In the reviewed cases, however, there was one Protection Order violation prosecution. Although all of the abusers violated their No Contact Orders, survivors did not call law enforcement to report them, having been discouraged from doing so if they anticipated weak responses.

Civil Court Proceedings and Legal Protection
Between September 1, 2002 and June 30, 2004, 14 of the 81 abusers (17 percent) were subject to a Protection Order (temporary or permanent Restraining Order, Anti-Harassment Order, Protection Order or No Contact Order) prior to the domestic violence fatality.[83] From this information it is evident that the violence had come to the attention of the civil or criminal legal system before the incidents of homicide.

The WSCADV 2002 DVFR notes a story of a Latina immigrant attempting to access the civil justice system as a monolingual Spanish speaker. When she informed her husband that she was going to leave him, he took their preschooler from home, hid her and made homicidal and suicidal threats. When a friend informed her that she could get a Protection Order, she traveled far (being from a rural area) to a courthouse whose judge was not consistently present. She was fortunate to arrive, however, when the judge was available. Because the courthouse did not have interpretive services she had to find someone to help her fill out the paper work. In addition, the court did not have a Protection Order advocacy program so no one could recognize the danger she was in and help her with safety planning and direct her to shelters and support services. In her narrative the woman detailed the abuser's homicide and suicide threats, access to a gun, and removal of their daughter from the home with threats of never returning her. Though the judge

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[79] Ibid., p. 46
[80] Ibid., p. 46
[81] Ibid., p. 46
[82] Margaret Hobart, *Findings and Recommendations from the Washington State Domestic Violence Fatality Review 2002*, Washington State Coalition Against Domestic Violence, December 2002, p. 76
[83] Ibid., p. 30

issued a temporary order, ordering her husband to leave the house and return the child to her, he did not order the abuser to surrender his weapons. At the permanent order hearing, the abuser showed up with a member of his wife's family for support. Because the woman was intimidated, she could not articulate her fears (despite having been clear in her initial report), and the judge denied the permanent order. Consequently, the woman never called the police or filed for a Protection Order again. When she filed for a divorce, she tried to get help from the court, but they did not listen to her. At age 20 she was murdered by her husband who also attempted to murder their child two months later.[84]

Unfortunately, according the WSCADV 2004 DVFR, only 11 percent of respondents (who consisted of an array of professions including domestic violence advocates, public health workers, law enforcement officers, prosecutors, judges, medical providers, batterer's intervention providers, probation officers, mental health providers, chemical dependency providers, child protective services workers, university academics and school administrators) stated that county implementation of probation and post-sentence supervision took place, and 13 percent of respondents expressed that organizational implementation had been a priority.[85] In addition, county and organizational implementation of court evaluators trained in domestic violence held a 12 and 14 percent priority.

Access to Support and Resources

Six of the thirteen survivors reviewed in the WSCADV 2004 DVFR report never contacted the police and none of the individuals in the reviewed cases accessed a community domestic violence program.[86]

Many agencies providing services for immigrant populations have limited housing and resources, which limits outreach. Funding cuts for domestic violence agencies cause people to invest more energy into financial dealings rather than outreach and advocacy. One WSCADV survey respondent stated, "When public funding for critical services is an unstable as it is now in Washington, it is very difficult to sustain proactive efforts to end violence."[87]

<u>The Barriers Latina Immigrants Face: Indications from the Interviews</u>

Shelter Services Director of Benton/Franklin counties Erinn Gailey stated,

> Domestic violence goes unreported a lot more than any other crime, and that what we see is probably just a blip on the radar to what's really going on there. You know, we have about 500 people coming through a year for our shelter services, women and children. And there's a lot more out there. As to how you can really track that number I don't know. We have an advocate that works with the Kennewick PD and one that works with the Richmond PD and they get the police

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[84] Margaret Hobart, *Findings and Recommendations from the Washington State Domestic Violence Fatality Review 2002*, Washington State Coalition Against Domestic Violence, December 2002, p.74

[85] Kelly Starr and Margaret Hobart and Jake Fawcett, "Findings and Recommendations from the Washington State Domestic Violence Fatality Review," Washington State Coalition Against Domestic Violence, 2004, p. 40

[86] Ibid., p. 34

[87] Ibid., p.52

> reports for domestic violence and they send out a letter of response to that. And out of that, they maybe have about 10 percent of any return contact. So if that's representative of what we see then we're only seeing a tiny part of it.[88]

Although each shortcoming in the domestic violence response network is discussed separately, most survivors face multiple barriers and system failures. Thus the focus on each shortcoming must not undermine the complexities of the cumulative barriers that Latina immigrants face. The common theme between all of the reports is the lack of connection to community advocacy resources. Abusers' threats in combination with the shortcomings of the system can have life-threatening impacts on Latina immigrant survivors of domestic violence. My findings of the barriers Latina immigrants face to attaining access to the domestic violence response network are broken down according to barriers that arose in the interviews.

Immediate Barriers

Latina immigrants lack autonomous agency because of both gendered (due to their role as homemakers) and physical (due to domestic violence) barriers. The abusers are largely responsible for the systematic exclusion of Latina immigrants in their surrounding communities, specifically with regards to obtaining an education, employment, or protection against domestic violence. Like Marcus, YWCA Bilingual Bicultural Advocate for DV and Sexual Assault Victims, Lorena Ault argued that abusers are not irrational human beings. Rather, their actions are well planned out.[89] The NWIRP Power and Control Wheel explains the variety of psychological and physical barriers that Latina immigrant women face. Latina immigrants may be less capable of seeking resources and help because of these isolating barriers. Abusers exert power and control over women by constant monitoring, stalking, and threatening to increase violence. I have found through my research that Latina immigrants often fear the local police because their perpetrators often convince them that they will be deported if they report a crime. Even if a Latina immigrant survivor does decide to try and escape by relocating or living in a shelter the abuser's threats to kill the survivor's family and friends is enough to force her to remain with him. If a partner has had extensive criminal history then many women believe that the legal system is not a significant consequence for him.

Of the minority groups in the shelters in the Tri-Cities area and Walla Walla, Latina women compose the highest percentage.[90] Having come from more rural locations in Mexico, many women who lack education are often not aware that they are survivors of domestic violence and sexual assault. Ault stated that a large percentage of Latina women in Walla Walla are abused by the men in their family;

> Most of them have been victims of sexual assault *also* by their husbands but they don't know that. Because most of them are coming from little places in Mexico, they don't have too much education so they think what their husbands have been doing is the way it is. So when they come and get some education about it, they

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[88] Interview with Erinn Gailey, October 17, 2005.

[89] Interview with Lorena Ault, October 13, 2005.

[90] Interviews with Lorena Ault, October 13, 2005 and with Erinn Gailey, October 17, 2005.

> find out here that they have been raped by their husband. So, but it's very hard for a Hispanic woman to talk about that.[91]

One of the greatest isolating factors for 18 year-old Walla Walla Mexican immigrant domestic survivor Maria was her boyfriend's jealousy. Her boyfriend prevented Maria from having male friends. Maria stated, "He would get jealous because of my ex-boyfriends. Because he thought I was cheating on him only because I went to my mom's house. He thought I went to go see my lover. He's always been like that."[92] According to Pasco Police Department Domestic Violence Victims Advocate Mary Santoy, the Pasco police department gets up to 20 reports of domestic violence per week.[93] The rates at the Walla Walla police department are comparable. According to Walla Walla police officer AC Castillo the police department gets one to two calls reporting domestic violence per week that specifically involve immigrants. Castillo recalled an incident of domestic violence when the husband of a woman stood by as her father beat her because, the father said, "in our country and in our town, she disrespected the family by going to the bar with her husband." Castillo continued,

> You have to remember, a lot of the domestics that involve Mexican Nationals, it's very uncommon that they actually call in because, you know, they are accustomed that it is normal to beat or assault your wife. You know, it's accepted in Mexico more than it is in the United States and women also still fear law enforcement here in the United States. So, until they really get… I hate to say it… beaten, then they'll call us.[94]

Many women fear reporting to the police, even if their partners are immigrants and the probability of getting them deported is great, because for one, the women rely financially and linguistically on the men. Secondly, the men often return and follow up on threats of violence. Castillo stated that oftentimes, "after we make the arrest…the next day they want to recant."[95] The economic barriers, including affordable housing and childcare, in addition to immigration status both make it nearly impossible for immigrant women to be able to seek autonomy even in the face of domestic violence. Many women fear their partners being deported even more so than themselves. Consequently Ault estimates that 50 percent of domestic violence survivors take no action.

Because the Catholic Church is an integrate part of many Latina's lives, the way the Church approaches domestic violence may be having a detrimental effect in Walla Walla. Ault claims that the Church does not work with the Walla Walla YWCA:

> If a person goes, for example, to the priest, he's [the priest] not going to call me. No, they don't call us. Even they need more education. For example, I have this client that the husband was beating on her and the priest went to talk to him and he put her in the victim [revealing to him that his wife had gone for help]. You

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[91] Interview with Lorena Ault, October 13, 2005.
[92] Interview with Maria, October 13, 2005.
[93] Interview with Mary Santoy, October 17, 2005.
[94] Interview with police officer AC Castillo, October 4, 2005.
[95] Interview with police officer AC Castillo, October 4, 2005.

> cannot do that! The only one who can tell that is the victim. You cannot go in and talk to him—he's going to kill her![96]

Perilla's analysis of the traditional Latina mother putting her children before herself helps to explain the importance of the role of children in acts of domestic violence. According to Ault, "The father[s], most of the time, use the kids for power, because they cannot have the wife or the lady and they *always* use the kids, always."[97] Ault's comment supports NWIRP's Power and Control Wheel for Immigrants, which explains how abusers often use threats of taking away the children from the U.S. and/or threaten to report them to Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE). Women greatly fear the government taking their children away. Their fears are not unfounded. Elisa Becerra, Case Manager of Brigid Collins Familia Latina, reported one Latina immigrant's struggle with Child Protective Services (CPS):

> Hortencia was brought over by a man whom she thought she could trust. He physically and mentally abused her, and he had been sexually abusing her 8 year-old daughter. The day came when Hortencia's daughter did not return from school. Hortencia was hysterical, and the police came to her home and arrested her husband. Hortencia was not aware that Child Protective Services had come to the school and had taken custody of her daughter. No one had explained to her what was going on, Hortencia didn't understand English and didn't know the laws; all she knew is that her daughter was missing. Again, Hortencia was alone, undocumented, no income, had a language barrier and her daughter was out of the home. Her daughter was returned about a week later.[98]

Thus much miscommunication occurs with state agencies. The majority of fear, however, rests in abusers' threats to directly harm or take away children. Maria was with her abuser for three years. He was in jail throughout her entire pregnancy and when he got out, she had the baby two days later and moved in with him. The violence increased as her boyfriend continued to drink, take crystal-methamphetamine, and get jealous if Maria ever left the house. In one incident he hit her on her head when she was carrying the baby, which was what made her finally call the police. She stated:

> And he started being abusive to my baby too. He calls him bastard, like piece of shit, like what would happen if I choke him? What would happen if I kill him right now? We'd be better without a baby. He would just do that stuff. What made me call the cops two days ago and leave him was because I was afraid he would take my baby away. He locked me in the house twice, I yelled out the window, then he got scared, then he let me go, then he locked me up again. And he had my baby in the car seat and he wouldn't give me back my baby so I had to take him away. I finally just didn't want to be with him no more if he was trying to take my baby away because now I know how he really is.[99]

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[96] Interview with Lorena Ault, October 13, 2005.
[97] Ibid.
[98] E-mail interview with Elisa Becerra, November 3, 2005.
[99] Interview with Maria, October 13, 2005.

Although children can be used as a means of control, Maria frequently mentioned throughout the course of the interview how it was ultimately her concern for her baby's safety that led her to get her boyfriend deported. Oftentimes, Latina women's agency increases in incidences of domestic violence when their role as a mother requires that they protect their children. Ault reports that the women know that if their husbands take the children back to Mexico, they can kill them. Maria's boyfriend often made threats that he was going to take the baby back to Mexico. She stated,

> Well, I was kind of scared that I would get deported, but I was mostly scared like what would happen if he took my baby away? And he goes with someone else because you know I wouldn't want someone else teaching my kid you know? I want to be there for him. And that's why I went to court because I didn't want him to take away my baby because I really love my baby.[100]

While the men often use the children to threaten and gain control over the woman, the woman's fears are often not unfounded. Pasco Mexican immigrant domestic violence survivor Silvia reported that once her ex-husband gained custody over two of their children, he did not do anything to prevent his new wife from abusing them.[101]

It is not rare that women, such as Maria, experience domestic violence at such a young age and have children in common with their abuser. Teens are vulnerable to abusers because education and resources about dating violence within their homes and schools are scarce. The concept of what is and what is not healthy may not be developed. Often, as with the case of Maria, parents do not know how to intervene effectively: "I'm in a shelter because they don't understand what I'm going through so it's kind of hard to be around them."[102]

Based on immigration status, many women fear reporting their partners to the police out of fear of the police inquiring about their legal status. Abusers routinely threaten to report the women to ICE. Silvia stated, "I never had the opportunity to file a report to the police because I was not legal…[My husband] told me that they would deport me to Mexico."[103] Women may also lose the support of family members if they consider reporting their partner because of the threat of deportation. Most immigrants do not have information about which organizations have the right to inquire about legal status and which do not, which prevents them from contacting government agencies or even community resources for assistance. In addition, oftentimes the women do not realize that they can self-petition for a visa in circumstances of domestic violence under the VAWA. Silvia, for example, was not made aware of the options she has under the VAWA and always felt trapped and silenced by her lack of options: "The father of my children never filled out an application for me because of egoism." She believed that it was up to her husband who had residency to apply for her visa. Many U.S. citizens use the power of their legal status to hold over the heads of their immigrant partners for purposes of power and control. Even after Silvia

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[100] Ibid.
[101] Ibid.
[102] Ibid.
[103] Interview with Silvia, October 11, 2005.

had gone through the process of obtaining a visa, she still did not realize that the state police could not enforce immigration laws.

Law Enforcement

Silvia informed me that there are many people that remain quiet like her because of fear. "I only have one friend who has sought help from the state. But the majority stays quite." Gailey stated that the Benton/Franklin county shelter has "very few law enforcement referrals."[104] Immigrants are largely afraid of calling the police or 911 not only because of their abuser's threats of ICE, but because "they've already had poor experiences with law enforcement." Gailey continued:

> In our society I'd say in general, if you're not white or middle class you're likely to have a poor experience with law enforcement then someone who you know is in those categories. Sometimes it's kind of hit and miss. Our law enforcement is trying to be on the forefront… Our clients when they dial 911 it's kind of like a lottery—you never know which officer you're going to get. We've had officers who have brought clients to our meeting location and have brought stuffed animals for the kids and all these resources for the woman and gives the woman his card and says, 'if you need anything just give me a call' and you know, are just outstanding. And other ones that have shared that they've had very poor experiences with law enforcement.[105]

Because of the dangers of responding to a domestic dispute call and the fear of the abuser taking the children if they get involved, police officers place a lot of emphasis on suspicion and the burden of proof. According to Gaily,

> [The police are] frustrated when the victim returns to the relationship or they're angered that their effort was for naught because now she's back there again, she's dropped the protection order, the restraining order, whatnot. And of course from our perspective we understand that that cycle often involves leaving and returning several times because of the dynamics of domestic violence and all the barriers that there are to really truly end that relationship and being able to leave.[106]

Silvia stated that there is a significant amount of racism between the police and the Latino community.

> Because I think that there are times that people do this. And sometimes they enforce the immigration papers and there are many racist officials that are the same Latinos like us who are Mexican, who are Latino. And I think that they are no longer taking care, well, there are people that in Mexico have little money, very little income and they come to fight here [only] to leave immediately. And there are police who are no longer good and enforce immigration. They stop

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[104] Interview with Erinn Gailey, October 17, 2005.

[105] Ibid.

[106] Ibid.

> immigrants and detain them if one is not bad and has not done anything. I think that there is a lot of racism with police against the same Latinos.[107]

Some of the policies of law enforcement agencies state that officers are not to question the immigration status of a survivor or report them to ICE. However, others do so routinely. AC Castillo is considered the Walla Walla police department's ICE liaison. He stated, "anytime I send an illegal alien [to jail], Immigration has to be involved."[108] After stating that Immigration does not do raids very often anymore, he stated that ICE relies more on local law enforcement agents. In addition, there have been several reports in Whatcom County that ICE agents are relied upon to provide language interpretation and work after-hours for the police departments that cannot afford to staff night crews.

According to Ault, an especially significant problem for immigrants is the lack of police enforcement of Protection Orders and visitation rights.

> Law enforcement [doesn't] enforce the protection order. Like, you call in, "Oh my husband, I have a protection order and he had a visitation from three to five and it's seven and he hasn't [brought] my baby back or whatever. They do *nothing*. They don't know what to do. I don't know if they don't know the protocol. They don't want to get in the middle. I don't know. They don't work. And it's not just here. It's you know, they are afraid because the guy can take the kid.[109]

Enforcement of Protection Orders often fails in the Latino community largely due to language barriers. The language barrier often explains why police officers misunderstand the domestic violence survivor and consequently fail to take calls seriously. Ault states that maybe five percent of their clients at the Walla Walla shelter speak English. Gailey stated that although there is a high percentage of bilingual law enforcement agents in Franklin County the problem of not having someone bilingual at the police station when a women calls is possible. The language barrier serves to increase miscommunication and decrease credibility regarding reports of violated Protection Orders. Gailey stated,

> The problem again is the burden of proof thing. How obvious is it that he's broken that protection order. We always tell the clients that if they have a protection order and they call the police the first thing you'd say is my name is Mary Smith and I have a protection order and he is breaking in, so that they understand it's something beyond a general complaint. But if it's the just he drove by ten times they may not be able to prove that. And they may not want to take that as seriously as much as he was here and he assaulted me or there were witnesses or other forms of proof.[110]

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[107] Interview with Silvia, October 11, 2005.
[108] Interview with AC Castillo, October 4, 2005.
[109] Interview with Lorena Ault, October 13, 2005.
[110] Interview with Erinn Gailey, October 17, 2005.

Both domestic violence survivors whom I interviewed expressed fear of their partners returning to abuse them. Maria stated, "I'm worried that he'll come back and blame everything on me or tell somebody from here that it was me that deported him. I'm scared of that. Because I don't know what's going to happen."[111] Maria's fears are not unfounded. Walla Walla Police Department Domestic Violence Coordinator Chalese Calhoon stated that Maria's boyfriend who was deported that day, would most likely return within a week.[112] Pasco Police Department Domestic Violence Victims Advocate Mary Santoy worked with a woman that was accused of domestic assault, arrested, and then deported. She returned only to become subject to domestic violence from her partner.[113] Santoy stated, "It's a vicious circle so there's more perpetrators that do return and [survivors] know that and that's their fear."

The Pasco police department recently hired a new domestic violence coordinator who will be doing the outreach for domestic violence survivors. According to Santoy, "She's hopefully going to start a DV unit that is needed to bring volunteers for the off hours because that's not in place now…[it is necessary] to have someone standing by just in case there was a really bad domestic dispute in the middle of the night. There would be calls to the hospital, or to be available to just talk with the victim right on the spot."[114]

Civil Court Proceedings and Legal Protection

In addition to Silvia's statement that racism can occur between Latina immigrant domestic violence survivors and police officers, these women may also have a difficult time accessing the legal system due to racist proceedings. The Benton/Franklin county shelter provides services for a 30 day stay so domestic violence coordinators are rarely in contact with the client when they are several months into the legal process. However, according to Gailey, "the success stories we hear are about the Bosnian or Sudanese women less so than the Hispanic [women]."[115]

Silvia stated that in court her husband lied about her use of violence in order to gain custody of their children. She needed the paperwork and transportation to go to Seattle for the hearing and to apply for residency, but her husband would not provide either. She informed the judge that he had been pulling her hair and she had been defending herself. She spent 19 days in jail for scratching him on the arm in defense. She had to take classes that cost over $1000, consisting of a $75 registration fee and $200 monthly fee. She did not know it was going to be so expensive and was told the cost would be $75 a month. Ultimately, she managed to make it through the classes, and she regained custody of her children after their step-mother abused them.

Abusers use children frequently for purposes of control and power, yet supervised visitations are still difficult for women to obtain. According to Ault,

> It's very hard because most of the women want supervised visitations. And first, there are no places that provide these services and *also* in some point the judges

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[111] Interview with Maria, October 13, 2005.

[112] Interview with Chalese Calhoon, October 13, 2005.

[113] Interview with Mary Santoy, October 17, 2005.

[114] Interview with Mary Santoy, October 17, 2005.

[115] Ibid.

> allow the father to have no supervised visitation. And the fathers, most of the time, use the kids for power, because they cannot have the wife or the lady and they *always* use the kids, always. So they say that they cannot deny their parental rights, but they always use them, *always, always*. It's because it's not a regular—in a regular divorce sometimes happen you know. Imagine when somebody that wants total control over somebody and that somebody is not there, they are not going to wait to use their opportunity to keep—you know and those are very, very bad things for the kids.[116]

Access to support and resources

Survivors are often not made aware of domestic violence services, such as shelters. Housing is an especially large barrier for Latina immigrants since they often do not have a solid network of relatives in the surrounding community and cannot afford to pay for their independence. Most Latina immigrant domestic violence survivors have low-wage and unstable employment. Often, the abuser has negative impacts on the woman's ability to maintain employment by stalking and continuing abusive and disruptive behaviors, like phone calls. A lack of income prevents women from being able to seek resources and independence. Silvia, for example, faced the challenges of having to go to Seattle on a Greyhound without child services for her four children. Women's financial struggles make it near impossible to have the means to support themselves and their children, leaving them dependent upon their abusers.

Budgets for domestic violence agencies are also tight. Gailey stated,

> Every year our funding gets more and more cut in different ways and it gets harder to staff and if we can't keep up our staffing levels it's hard to keep up with our clients needs at the level that they need it… Basically it's the STOP grant [which is a federal grant given to domestic violence service agencies] that funds our advocates through the PD's individually… And Kennewick and Richland the little bit that they have, the Richland advocate is only there two days a week. Our current advocate is there full time, but um the STOP grant doesn't even pay for her full salary. It's supplemented through our agency as well. Just more money [is needed] to help the staffing levels.[117]

Without proper staffing levels outreach and advocacy become even more difficult to maintain. Gailey stated, "Our biggest overhead is staffing, and we are just barely able to maintain a minimal staffing level as it is, which leaves no room for the flexibility needed for people to be sick or take time off." With regards to providing services for clients, Gailey stated, "We sometimes have very limited funds. It really depends. We get some grant money to do food vouchers and rental assistance, but they're very limited funds so they can sometimes run out in a matter of months for us."

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[116] Interview with Lorena Ault, October 13, 2005.

[117] Interview with Erinn Gailey, October 17, 2005.

Recommendations to Improve the Domestic Response Network

From the previously synthesized data and interviews, it is evident that Latina immigrants face the following barriers in situations of domestic violence: fear of deportation, language barriers, fear of losing custody, misinformation about the U.S. legal system, fear of being ostracized, and economic dependency. These barriers to the domestic violence response network for immigrant survivors are systemic barriers. Washington state therefore needs systemic reforms that reflect the diversity of women's needs and experiences. Washington state is obligated to prevent, protect against, and punish domestic violence. Article 4-c of *The Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women* asserts that states must "exercise due diligence to prevent, investigate and, in accordance with national legislation, punish acts of violence against women, whether those acts are perpetrated by the State or by private persons."[118]

It is apparent from Jasinski's research that measures need to be taken to improve the domestic violence response network as Latino immigrants become more acculturated into mainstream U.S. society. Because it is evident that domestic violence increases from acculturation, Washington state must tailor its response network to increasing outreach services for Latina immigrants.

Resources for Survivors

The Washington State Legislature needs to increase resources for domestic violence programs to provide material support for survivors, such as childcare assistance, transportation, and deposits for housing and attorney fees. The domestic violence shelters in both Walla Walla and Benton/Franklin counties need more funding to carry out advocacy and education. Gailey stated that more money for the domestic violence shelters and for domestic violence coordinators and advocates in police departments is necessary.[119] Attention needs to be made not only to prevention, but also to helping immigrant women get back on their feet after they have acquired their separation papers and visas. Thus, job-training programs should be put in place for immigrant women once they have obtained their visas.

The availability of low-cost or free legal representation should be advertised in both English and Spanish where low-income and LEP people are likely to access the information, such as supermarkets, local Spanish radio stations, laundromats, and by word of mouth.

Abuse must not be tolerated in the court or church. Communities, especially domestic violence agencies, also need to work with churches in order to increase awareness about safety issues that need to be considered in situations of domestic violence, especially when mediation and reconciliation is emphasized.

Protection Orders can help in preventing homicide and kidnapping. As was evident from Hortenica's case, for example, Child Protection Services (CPS) can improve its communication. CPS needs to routinely include an analysis of the role of domestic violence in child abuse, the protective and help-seeking strategies utilized by the domestic violence survivor, and the ways in

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[118] Amnesty International USA. "Violence Against Women: A Fact Sheet." *Women's Human Rights.* Online. Available http://www.amnestyusa.org/women/violence. New York. 2005.

[119] Interview with Erinn Gailey, October 17, 2005.

which failing to address the abuser's violence toward the other parent undermines the efforts to create effective intervention for child abuse. CPS needs to work with the survivor parent and not sanction her in order to ensure her willingness to contact services to help protect her and her child from the violence. CPS needs to play a key role in order to make it more likely that the survivor will leave the relationship if she knows she has child support and economic assistance.

Domestic violence services need to increase outreach to family and friends for their sake as well as for the survivor's sake in order to increase awareness of domestic violence and the available resources for the Latino immigrant community. According to Ault, Washington state needs "First to increase awareness in the community. And I'm telling you about everybody. More education to the judges, more education to the law enforcement, especially with that protocol to reinforce the Protection Order. I think more education to everybody to be aware so maybe in the community we can help to break that cycle."[120] In collaboration with the school system, an increase in training for people who work with teens needs to be mandated as well.

Batterers Intervention

According to the 2004 DVFR, of the 54 abusers in all cases reviewed since 1997, only three were ordered to state-certified batterer's intervention programs; none of them completed an intervention program and none faced any subsequent consequences.[121] Batterer's intervention programs need to exist for the Spanish-speaking community. Anger management may not be the best tool to approach revisions in the domestic violence support network, seeing as Marcus and Ault argue that abusers are not irrational human beings. Thus, programs must be developed that specifically work with domestic violence abusers. The role of machismo in the Latino culture in the midst of the acculturation process must be addressed; the positive elements must be emphasized, such as honor, responsibility, and respect rather than the negative ones, including physical strength, aggressiveness, sexual prowess, heavy drinking, and power. Because there is a correlation between high acculturation levels, drinking, and wife battering among Latino immigrants and because machismo involves a large amount of alcohol consumption,[122] alcoholism treatment may be necessary to include in programs that work with abusers. As is evident from mariachi music, Latino men often fail to distinguish between a love object and the power exercised over it. Thus, programs must work with men to assert that a woman is a separate entity that has her own rights and privileges.[123]

Oftentimes, judges may be reluctant in ordering batterer's intervention for domestic violence incidents that did not involve physical assault, such as violating Protection Orders. Funding in the criminal legal system should be directed to probation and post-sentence supervisions for misdemeanor domestic violence. Arrest records of the abuser and his history of compliance of court orders need to be taken into consideration to determine parenting plan arrangements. Prisons should create programs for inmates aimed at prevention of domestic violence, such as

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[120] Interview with Lorena Ault, October 13, 2005.

[121] Margaret Hobart. *Findings and Recommendations from the Washington State Domestic Violence Fatality Review 2002*. Washington State Coalition Against Domestic Violence, December 2002, p.63

[122] J.L. Perilla, R. Bakeman, and F.H. Norris. "Culture and Domestic Violence: The Ecology of Abused Latinas." *Violence and Victims,* 9(4), p.325-339. 1994.

[123] Julia L. Perilla. "Domestic Violence as a Human Rights Issue: The Case of Immigrant Latinos." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, Vol 21 No.2, May 1999.* Sage Publications: Stanford University. p.120

certified batterer's intervention, drug treatment and therapy, mental health treatment, and anger management.

In addition, Perilla's research on why men batter explains that a) men learn that violence is an option and consequences are minimal and b) immigrants, whose home countries often lack laws that protect people from domestic violence, plead ignorance as a defense for behavior. Thus, both enforcement of protection orders and education regarding the use of domestic violence as being inhumane and illegal must increase.

Law Enforcement Training

Maria demanded a more just domestic violence response system for immigrants because of the racism that occurs between Latino officers and Latina immigrant survivors of domestic violence.[124] All law enforcement agencies should make domestic violence training a mandatory, yearly training. Echoes Gailey, what the domestic violence response network needs is "training for law enforcement, you know more diversity training, but especially DV specific training, maybe something that would make that mandatory rather than it being just an option."[125] Law enforcement agencies should require the completion of a Domestic Violence Supplemental Form for all domestic violence calls to document the history of abuse and to identify signs of escalating violence, such as homicide and suicide.

Police departments need their domestic violence coordinators to speak Spanish because, for example, oftentimes women are sent to the YWCA in Walla Walla to learn about their safety and legal options from someone Spanish-speaking. Translators often get in the way of responding to incidences of domestic violence. Calhoon states, "We're doing the information twice because they [the survivors] give me the information and then they're going to go to the Y and give them all the information."[126] Law enforcement needs to collaborate with the Latino community to provide protection and access to Limited English Proficient (LEP) individuals. There has been an absence of quality interpretation at domestic violence crime scenes. Law enforcement agencies should conduct investigations of domestic violence crimes with qualified interpreters. More domestic violence units need to be created in police departments and bilingual volunteers need to be available for night shifts when domestic violence is more likely.

In no case may any ICE employee "permit use by or disclosure to anyone…of any information which relates to an alien who is the beneficiary of an application for relief" under the VAWA provisions.[127] Even if efforts are made to avoid enforcing immigration laws immigrant communities are not familiar with policy differences among law enforcement agencies. Thus, in addition to preventing local law enforcement inquiry regarding immigration status and preventing coordination with ICE officials, law enforcement agencies should work with immigrant communities to publicize and clarify their policies and explain what will happen when domestic violence survivors call 911.

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[124] Interview with Maria, October 13, 2005.

[125] Interview with Erinn Gailey, October 17, 2005.

[126] Interview with Chalese Calhoon, October 13, 2005.

[127] Norma Gutierrez. Northwest Immigration Rights Project. "Informational Training for Relief Options for Immigrants Victims of Domestic Violence and Sexual Assault." October 19, 2004. p.3

Calhoon also argues that every police department should have someone working with families; "I would love to have a coordinating violence relief to do all the domestic violence, all of the child abuse, the sexual assault, all of it in one unit. It's just a money thing."[128]

Lastly, officers should remove guns from the house when the abuser has such a history of violence.

More Accessible Civil Court Proceedings and Legal Protection
Silvia, a monolingual Spanish-speaking immigrant who is poor and lacks an advanced education, faced many barriers to accessing the civil justice system. Consequently, her former husband succeeded in gaining custody of two of their children who were subsequently beaten under his supervision by their stepmother. According to WSCADV,

> Every time a domestic violence victim accesses the civil justice system, the opportunity exists for her to obtain support and information regarding the danger she is in, available resources and safety planning. However, most of these opportunities are lost because advocacy does not exist or attorneys, judges, guardians ad litem and others do not recognize the danger or know how to respond to it.[129]

All actors in the civil system should receive training on identifying domestic violence, resources for support, lethality indicators and what to do if lethality seems high, and appropriate action for different professions. The state should seek or reallocate federal VAWA funds to increase information and training for legal advocates in the civil system through the creation of a manual for legal advocates and interactive training tools.[130]

The Washington State Supreme Court and Access to Justice Board should ensure that court interpretation is a priority for all cases. Protection Order forms should be available in translated form in all courts, consistent with RCW 26.50.035(d)(5).[131] In addition, none of the 13 women in WSCADV's reviewed cases in their 2002 report had legal representation. Consequently, the ability of their abuser to intimidate them and the failure to obtain orders that address custody and visitation issues while protecting safety put them at a disadvantage. Thus the state should increase funding for legal aid programs for representation in domestic violence cases and the State Bar Association and local bar associations should partner with local domestic violence programs to create pro bono panels to represent survivors in domestic violence cases.

Clerks should not rely on a survivor's demeanor to determine whether she needs safety planning information or referrals. Sometimes local domestic violence programs have worked with courts issuing Protection Orders in order to provide petitioners safety information. Courts and programs need to consistently maintain these efforts over time. Many clerks only hand out

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[128] Interview with Chalese Calhoon, October 13, 2005.
[129] Margaret Hobart. *Findings and Recommendations from the Washington State Domestic Violence Fatality Review 2002*. Washington State Coalition Against Domestic Violence, December 2002, p.76
[130] Margaret Hobart. *Findings and Recommendations from the Washington State Domestic Violence Fatality Review 2002*. Washington State Coalition Against Domestic Violence, December 2002, p.83
[131] Ibid.

information if the survivor looks distraught or asks for resources. In addition, many clerks are not permitted to give legal advice. When courts do not clearly indicate the difference between routinely providing general information and legal advice, they fall short of being able to help domestic violence survivors access resources and safety measures for themselves as well as for their children. All courts should receive the funding to have domestic violence advocates on-site.

Court evaluators need to undergo domestic violence training. Courts should have well-trained evaluators or court-appointed special advocates (CASAs) who can provide insight to judges in civil proceedings by conducting thorough assessments for domestic violence and providing recommendations regarding custody and visitation rights which protect the safety of domestic violence survivors and their children. Judges also need to be held accountable for the quality of their decision-making in domestic violence cases, and communities need to be made aware of the quality of local judges' performances in domestic violence cases.

Because immigrant domestic violence survivors are more likely to call the police when they have a Protection Order, counties should establish Protection Order advocacy programs that meet the needs of their Spanish-speaking populations. Enforcement of Protection and No Contact Orders are not sufficient, and arrest and prosecution for a violation is rare. Thus Protection and No Contact Orders should be reinforced forcefully, and violations should be prosecuted to the fullest extent possible. All courts issuing civil Protection Orders should establish advocacy in their Protection Order offices.

The Washington State Legislature needs to prioritize funding for supervised visitation, and supervisors should be trained on the dynamics of domestic violence and how visitation rights may be abused to stalk and control women while risking the safety of children. A state-wide policy that connects the law enforcement agencies, deputy prosecutor, the communications center, and the county domestic violence service agencies needs to exist in order to respond to LEP survivors. Meetings between agencies and prosecutors should become more common in order to monitor the quality of domestic violence reports and make improvements.

Legislatures: Support the Continuation of WSCADV's Domestic Violence Fatality Review
The Washington legislation passed in 2000 that guided the work of the DVFRs states, "The annual report in December 2010 shall contain a recommendation as to whether or not the domestic violence review process provided for in this chapter should continue or be terminated by the legislature."[132] I urge legislatures to recognize the usefulness of WSCADV's recommendations. Not only have the recommendations been useful in my report for seeking ways to fill the gaps in the domestic violence response network, but many of the proposed changes that WSCADV has advocated have yet to be enacted. While the vast majority of the communities where Fatality Review panels exist(ed) saw the DVFR reports and recommendations as priorities, half of the respondents in the communities reported that steps had not been taken to implement the recommendations in their community.[133] Thus the Washington

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[132] RCW 43.235.800

[133] Kelly Starr and Margaret Hobart and Jake Fawcett. "Findings and Recommendations from the Washington State Domestic Violence Fatality Review." Washington State Coalition Against Domestic Violence, 2004, p. 38.

State Legislature needs to continue providing funding for and implementing these recommendations to improve the domestic violence response network.

Conclusion

Domestic violence is pervasive throughout our nation. In my research I have found that Latina immigrant domestic violence survivors face an overwhelming number of barriers and often suffer in silence. The WSCADV 2004 DVFR states that domestic violence survivors often try to escape their abusers,[134] yet I have found that within the Latina immigrant community this is rarely the case. Seeking autonomy from their perpetrators is rarely seen as an opportunity for Latina immigrants who depend on the legal status of their husbands for financial assistance, remaining in the country, and ironically, security from a state system that they have been convinced—oftentimes by their perpetrators—are out to deport them. The barriers that Latina immigrants face require that Washington state increase funding for outreach and educational services for all parts of the domestic violence network, including law enforcement agencies, domestic violence services, schools, and the judicial system. Latina immigrants need to become aware of their human and civil rights and the resources available in the surrounding community in order to make safe judgments on how to best protect themselves and their children.

While the main objective I have found in my research is to increase outreach and education services for Latina immigrants so that they can begin to realize the networks that exist for them in the community, these community networks could also be improved through increases in communication and funding. Gaps in the domestic violence response network include services, policy, practice, training, information, communication, collaboration and resources. Achievements that could help Latina immigrants claim autonomy and protection is by increasing the availability of resources such as affordable housing; training justices and police officers in domestic violence so that custody and protective orders are most effective for survivors' individual circumstances; increasing the network of resources in Spanish so that they are more readily accessible; and increasing access to advocacy.

The history of the difficult relationship between the Latino community and government institutions must be considered when conducting an effective intervention. A model needs to be created for effective intervention to cease the cyclical pattern of setting examples of violence within any community. We must pull together law enforcement, judicial decisions, social service agencies, legislators, and domestic violence survivors in order to continue improving the response network.

Domestic violence theory regarding causality and recommendations needs to expand from the private sphere and the culture-specific context to include the more open and universal realm of human rights. We need to move the issue of domestic violence within the Latino immigrant community from the private sphere to the public so that the problem can be politicized and then targeted for specific policy analysis. Domestic violence needs to be analyzed within larger structural forces—the political, economic, and social—because they create many layers of oppression and hierarchy. An analysis of domestic violence must also expand to include race, gender, class, and sexuality within a socioeconomic and immigrant context.

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[134] Kelly Starr and Margaret Hobart and Jake Fawcett. 2004. "Findings and Recommendations from the Washington State Domestic Violence Fatality Review." Washington State Coalition Against Domestic Violence., p.8

LATINO VOTING IN WASHINGTON STATE

Austin Rainwater
Politics 402
Whitman College
November 18, 2005

Introduction

I have been researching voter registration and turnout among Latinos in Washington State as well as voter mobilization for Latinos. The question guiding my research is this: Among Latinos in Washington State, Yakima, and Walla Walla, who is voting, how, and why? My research has focused on gathering data on the population of the United States, Washington State, Walla Walla County, and Yakima County. My research has also examined literature regarding voting behavior, turnout, and mobilization for Latinos. For my data, I relied primarily on the U.S. Census, Walla Walla County Courthouse voting records, and Yakima County Courthouse voting records. For my literature research, I have relied primarily on Latino advocacy organizations, political abstracts, and newspaper articles. My project partner, Lázaro Carrión came into this project knowing a great deal more about Latino culture than I, and it has been a privilege getting to know him and learn from him this semester. Kathy Fisher and Delia P. Chavez of the Yakima County Auditor's office took a great deal of time in helping us with our project and getting us to the information we needed.

The main findings of this project are that the Latino population is under-represented at the voting booth, both nationally and in Washington State. There are many factors that contribute to this low turnout, including but not limited to, lack of citizenship, population age, education, income, and language barriers. For long term policy goals, I feel it is important to create a fair immigration and naturalization process in which people that have been working in the United States and will likely do so until death should have a guaranteed path to citizenship. For short term policy, I would recommend increasing the scope of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and removing the clause regarding literacy rates, which would have the effect of vastly increasing Bilingual Election Programs around the country. Additionally, my review of the research regarding voter mobilization indicates that seriously targeting Latinos through media campaigns and canvassing could have potentially significant political rewards.

Literature Discussion: Latino Population and Turnout

The Latino population in the United States and Washington State is a rapidly growing one, with the potential to be a political force capable of deciding elections, particularly at the state and local level. Latinos make up nearly 10% of Washington State's population (United States 2). Considering the narrow Gubernatorial election in Washington State in 2004, such a large portion of the population should not be dismissed. Additionally, Latinos are a recently immigrated population relative to other races in the United States (Cafferty, 318). The socio-demographic characteristics of the Latino population, combined with their turnout rates for elections indicate that Latinos as a whole have yet to be fully incorporated into the U.S. political system. Aside from structural and demographic limitations to Latino turnout, the evidence indicates that Latinos have yet to be pursued on a comprehensive and national level as a serious voting population. This claim is supported by evidence showing that voter mobilization efforts targeted toward Latinos are highly effective, and when Latinos are seriously pursued as voters, they turnout in serious numbers.

For the past couple decades, there have been predictions that the increased Latino population would translate into a massive Latino turnout (de la Garza 2000, 338). Yet the Latino population has votes at rates below the general population, both in Washington State and nationally. In the 1992 election, among residents 18 years and older, "70 percent of Whites, 64 percent of Blacks, and 35 percent of Hispanics registered to vote" (Cafferty, 327). Despite increases in population, actual voting rates for Latinos *declined* between the 1992 and 1996 elections (Cafferty, 329). No single factor explains this trend. Rather, in order to fully understand the reasons for depressed Latino voting turnout, one must examine the historical and demographic characteristics of the United States Latino population.

Historically, Latino integration into the United States political system has been met with resistance. Latinos faced many of the same voter-dilution tactics used against blacks prior to 1965, especially in the Southwest and Texas (de la Garza 1993, 74-75). Tactics included "educational segregation, at-large elections, anti-minority gerrymanders, and stringent third-party ballot access requirements" (de la Garza 1993, 75). The 1975 extension of the Voting Rights Act (VRA) added protections for language minorities (de la Garza 1993, 74). Bilingual election materials were required for jurisdictions in which a single language minority constituted more than 5% of the voting-age population and in which the literacy rate among the language minority was higher than the national English illiteracy rate (de la Garza 1993, 74). During hearings for the 1982 extension of the VRA, Joaquin Avila testified that voter discrimination efforts persisted and necessitated continued protection for Latinos (*Avila, 930). Among the tactics used were deliberate attempts to gerrymander Chicano communities, malapportionment of precincts with heavy minority concentrations, at-large elections, English language registration, as well as non-structural discrimination, such as threats and intimidation (Avila, 930-931; de la Garza 1993, 82).

The necessity of VRA protection for Latinos is testament to the structural and habitual discrimination that the United States has historically greeted the recent Latino presence. Yet the success of the VRA in eliminating structural barriers is only half of the solution, and has not closed the voting turnout gap between Latinos and the rest of the U.S. population (de la Garza 1993, 83- 85).

Significant factors in predicting a person's participation in politics are income, age, education, and citizenship (*Cafferty, 324). Generally speaking, higher income, education, and age correspond to increased voting and political participation (Cafferty, 328). The Latino population is at disadvantage on all three accounts; Latinos are demographically younger, have less formal education, and have lower incomes than the general U.S. population (Cafferty, 328). Other factors that apply particularly to Latinos are citizenship and language barriers (Cafferty, 330). For example, once citizenship is taken into account, the registration numbers cited above for Hispanics in the 1992 election jump from 35 percent to the low 60's (Cafferty, 328).

The scholarly literature on Latino voting participation, particularly the emphasis on low turnout rates and demographic factors contributing to such rates, has guided my research. I have sought to confirm whether low voting rates were in fact statistically true nationwide and how the national numbers compared to Washington State. I sought to confirm and account for demographic characteristics deterring voting, such as citizenship and age disparities. The literature has also guided my research to heavily examine remedies to low turnout rates, particularly voter mobilization efforts targeted at Latinos. A discussion of voter mobilization fits more appropriately as part of a policy recommendation, and has been accordingly placed at the end of this paper.

Methods

The U.S. Census Bureau website provided a plethora of information regarding national statistics on voting. I was seeking information regarding the Latino population in the U.S., how many Latinos were of voting age, how many of the voting age Latinos were citizens, how many were registered, how many voted, and how this compared to all races nationally. I was able to find data for all of these subjects. The limiting factor was that the Census Bureau did not provide the same information statewide or county-wide. Additionally, a mystery of this data is exactly how the Census Bureau produced it, since voting records do not indicate the race of registered voters. I have concluded that the information presented by the Census is based on self-reporting by respondents. This fact may help to explain the vast discrepancy for voter turnout between my Washington State data and the national data from the Census Bureau.

Since the Census Bureau did not provide voting information regarding race on a state level, and since each county is in charge of its own voting, I chose to focus on Walla Walla County and Yakima County, both of which have substantial Latino populations. I initially went to the Walla Walla County Courthouse and asked if they had information on the race of the voters and how they voted in each election. I was told they did not have any of that information, only the names of registered voters and what elections they voted in. I purchased the electronic list of registered active and inactive voters for Walla Walla County, as well as a canvas report for the 2004 election showing how many votes each candidate received in each voting district.

To ascertain the race of each registrant, I relied on Spanish surnames. The U.S. Census Bureau has published a document with a list of Spanish surnames and methods on how to use the list (United States 5). The Spanish surname list only includes 639 “heavily Hispanic” surnames in which more than 75% of respondents identify as Hispanic. The U.S. Census report showed that 94.2% of respondents with surnames matching the list identified as Hispanic in the 1990 Census. Conversely, only 0.7% of respondents with the most frequently occurring “non-Spanish” surnames identified as Hispanic. These results show that using Spanish surnames can give a fairly accurate estimation of the Hispanic population.

I used the U.S. Census document and went through the 37,946 names for Walla Walla County, marking each name that matched the Spanish surname list. Since the list

could not account for all Spanish surnames, it was likely that certain names that belonged to Latinos were not being accounted for. I asked my project partner, Lázaro Carrión, look through the list for any names that he felt, based on first name and surname, were clearly Hispanic. This gave me a range of names between 1,934 (using only the surname list) and 2,126 (using the surname list with Lázaro's additions). For the purposes of data analysis in this paper, the conservative estimate (based only on the Spanish surname list) was used.

For my second case study, I chose to focus on Yakima County. Lázaro, Eleanor Clagett, and I drove to Yakima on November 4th, 2005. Lázaro and I obtained a canvas report for the 2004 election (as I did with Walla Walla) and requested data for registered voters in Yakima County. Due to the substantially larger Spanish speaking population, in 2002 Yakima County became a jurisdiction subject to the requirements of Section 203 of the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Due to this, the County created a bilingual program. As it turned out, the Bilingual Program Coordinator, Delia P. Chavez, had done the same work in Yakima on the voter registration list as I had for Walla Walla. She used a Spanish surname list provided by the Department of Justice and marked all registrants names that matched the list. She then provided me with all the work she had done on the data. Delia P. Chavez deserves a great deal of credit for the data regarding Yakima County.

The Walla Walla list of registered voters presented several challenges that complicated the data. The list as it was given to me included all current registered voters. Since I obtained the data in October of 2005, a current registrant list would not include all registrants that had voted in 2004 because the list had been updated for people that had died or moved out of Walla Walla County. As a result, I request a list of registrants that included those registered in 2004. Since the list is continuously updated, there was no way to obtain a list of *only* those registered in 2004. In other words, the list I received contained all current registrants as well as all those that had been registered since the 2004 General Election. Fortunately, the list indicated who is currently registered and who is not longer registered. This meant that I could get numbers for who was currently registered. It also meant that I had an accurate list of who voted in 2004 in Walla Walla County. However, there was no way to find out who was registered (and who was not) in 2004. As a result, the data for how many people voted out of how many were registered in 2004 is not completely accurate. The best that can be done is to show how many voted in 2004 out of how many are currently registered in 2005. I am aware of the statistical flaw present. The hope is that the number of registered voters in October 2005 is roughly the same as the number of registered voters in October 2004. If this is true, then dividing the number of people that voted in the 2004 General Election by the list of current registered voters in 2005 should roughly equal the voter turnout rate among registered voters for 2004.

Another challenge was determining population statistics for Walla Walla County. Since in-depth numbers (such as Latinos 18 years and older living in Walla Walla County) are only available for 2000, it is difficult to see how many Latinos are registered out of the current voting-age Latino population. Again, the best that could be done was

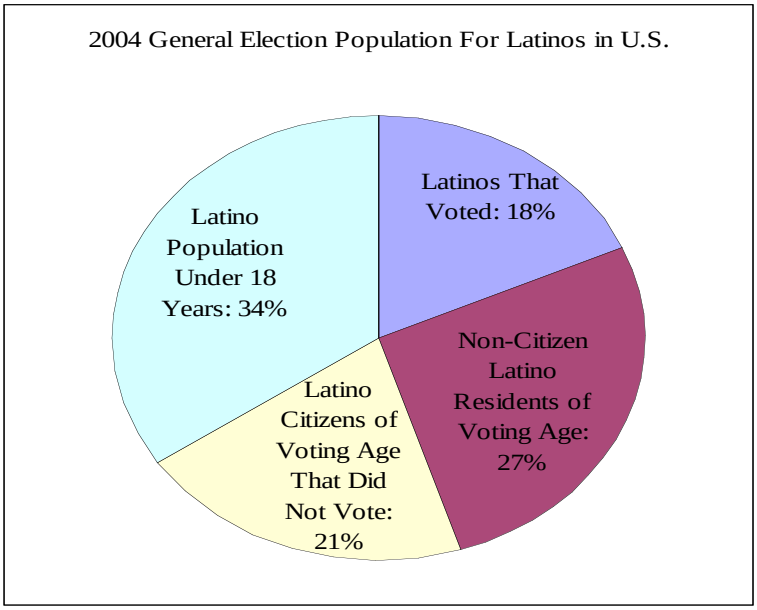
to show how many people were registered in 2005 or voted in 2004 out of population estimates for 2000. If I attempted to get an exact percentage for voter turnout, this would be a nightmare. Fortunately, I was merely comparing Latino voter registration and turnout to non-Latino voter registration and turnout. Since data for Latinos and non-Latinos was equally flawed, a comparison between the two could be comfortably made.

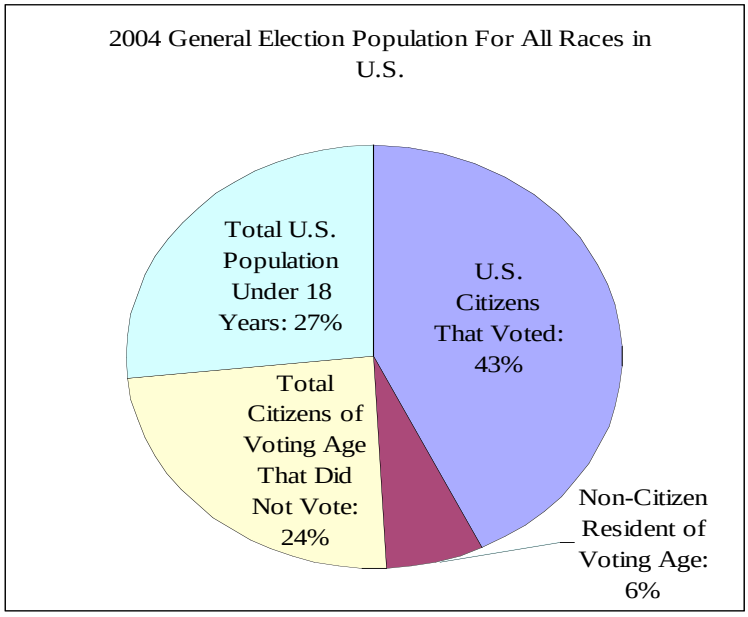
In Yakima, the data Ms. Chavez provided meant that the problem present in the Walla Walla data did not exist with regards to voting in 2004 and registrants in 2005. However, the population data was still from 2000 and thus presents the same statistical flaws.

Lázaro and I decided that a valuable way to go about finding an interview subject would be by going door-to-door in neighborhoods with concentrated Latino populations, informing residents of when the upcoming election was, and providing registration materials for those that had not registered. In the process of doing this, we felt we would have the opportunity to interview Latino community members on their voting practices and beliefs. We ended up conducting five interviews. The first was with a young Mexican-American male and lasted roughly 15 minutes. The Second was with an undocumented resident that did not wish to be tape-recorded and lasted about 10 minutes. The third was with a Mexican-American mother and wife in her front-yard and lasted about 30 minutes. The fourth was more of an impromptu conversation and political rant by the Mexican-American husband and father of the household in the front yard and lasted about 5 minutes. The fifth was with a Mexican-American family friend of the front-yard family and lasted about 10 minutes. We recorded four of the conversations using a tape recorder, and the fifth was not recorded in any way due to the visible discomfort shown by the undocumented resident.

Data

I spent a significant amount of time re-arranging and compiling U.S. Census data in Excel on voting by race and by region. Unfortunately, the Census had no region for the Northwest, only for the Pacific West and Mountain West. The data below is taken and re-organized from multiple Census 2004 tables. Note that the data is only for voting age population. This is significant because 34.3% of the Hispanic population living in the U.S. is under the age of 18 (United States 1 & 2). Comparatively, only 26.5% of the total U.S. population is below the age of 18 (United States 1 & 2). In other words, before analysis of the data even begins, it must be acknowledged that the Hispanic population has significantly less voting power by age differences alone. All told, only 18.4% of the Hispanic population living in the U.S. voted in 2004 (United States 1 & 2). Comparatively, 42.8% of the total U.S. population voted in 2004 (United States 1 & 2).





The following Data Tables are from the U.S. Census Bureau (United States 1):

Table 1 Census 2004	United States Voter Turnout in 2004 General Election			
	Total Population (in thousands)		Voted	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Hispanic	41,322	100%	7,587	18.36%
All Races	293,655	100%	125,736	42.82%

Table 2 Census 2004 (Pop. in Thousands)	Total Voting Age Population			
	Hispanic		All Races	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
United States	27,129	12.57	215,694	100
West Total	11,420	23.27	49,080	100
West Mountain	2,804	19.63	14,283	100
West Pacific	8,616	24.76	34,797	100

Table 3 Census 2004 (Pop. in Thousands)	Total Voting Age Population							
	Voted				Did Not Vote			
	Hispanic		All Races		Hispanic		All Races	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
United States	7,587	28.0	125,736	58.3	19,542	72.0	89,958	41.7
West Total	3,054	26.7	26,689	54.4	8,366	73.3	22,391	45.6
W. Mountain	864	30.8	8,381	58.7	1,940	69.2	5,902	41.3
West Pacific	2,190	25.4	18,308	52.6	6,426	74.6	16,489	47.4

Table 4 Census 2004 (Pop. in Thousands)	Total Voting Age Population							
	Registered				Not Registered			
	Hispanic		All Races		Hispanic		All Races	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
United States	9,308	34.3	142,070	65.9	17,821	65.7	73,624	34.1
West Total	3,608	31.6	29,486	60.1	7,812	68.4	19,594	39.9
W. Mountain	1,021	36.4	9,280	65.0	1,783	63.6	5,003	35.0
West Pacific	2,588	30.0	20,207	58.1	6,028	70.0	14,591	41.9

One of the things I immediately found after putting the data of the All Races population and the "Hispanic" population together was the stark contrast in percent of Latinos voting compared with the total U.S. voting age population. According to the table below, Hispanics are voting at less than **half** the rate of the rest of the population. The registration statistics were not pretty either. The percentage of Hispanics **not** registered to vote is roughly the same as the total population's registration percentage. Also of note, the Western United States has a significantly higher concentration of Hispanics than the total U.S. population, yet the Pacific Western Hispanics vote less than the total U.S. Hispanic population. I initially attributed this to Western Hispanics having a higher non-citizen population, however, I later found this was not the case. I re-calculated the data to see voting rates only among citizens.

Table 5 Census 2004 (Pop. in Thousands)	Voting Age U.S. Citizens				Voting Age Not Citizens			
	Hispanic		All Races		Hispanic		All Races	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
United States	16,088	59.3	197,006	91.3	11,041	40.7	18,688	8.7
West Total	6,474	56.7	41,707	85.0	4,946	43.3	7,373	15.0
W. Mountain	1,776	63.3	12,908	90.4	1,028	36.7	1,375	9.6
West Pacific	4,699	54.5	28,798	82.3	3,917	45.5	5,999	17.2

As shown in table 5, more than **40% of the Hispanic population is not a U.S. citizen**. This means that a whole 40% of the Hispanic population is not recognized to have any basic rights of citizenship, such as voting.

Table 6 Census 2004 (Pop. in Thousands)	Voting Age U.S. Citizens							
	Voted				Did Not Vote			
	Hispanic		All Races		Hispanic		All Races	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
United States	7,587	47.2	125,736	63.8	8,501	52.8	71,270	36.2

West Total	3,054	47.2	26,689	64.0	3,420	52.8	15,018	36.0
W. Mountain	864	48.6	8,381	64.9	912	51.4	4,527	35.1
West Pacific	2,190	46.6	18,308	63.6	2,509	53.4	10,490	36.4

Table 7 Census 2004 (Pop. in Thousands)	Voting Age U.S. Citizens							
	Registered				Not Registered			
	Hispanic		All Races		Hispanic		All Races	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
United States	9,308	57.8	142,070	72.1	6,780	42.1	54,936	27.9
West Total	3,608	55.7	29,486	70.7	2,866	44.3	12,221	29.3
W. Mountain	1,021	57.5	9,280	71.9	755	42.5	3,628	28.1
West Pacific	2,588	55.1	20,207	70.2	2,111	44.9	8,491	29.8

Tables 6 and 7 show that accounting for U.S. citizenship helped close the voting gap from 28% (total Hispanic residents voting) to 47.2% (Hispanic U.S. citizens voting), whereas the All Races rate changed only from 58.3% (total residents voting) to 63.8% (all U.S. citizens voting). Yet, the difference between the 47.2% and 63.8% voting rates is still large. The statistics for the West are similar to the national numbers. Additionally, the Pacific is still a slightly lower voting rate than the national numbers.

I further manipulated the numbers to see if there were voting differences among registered citizens:

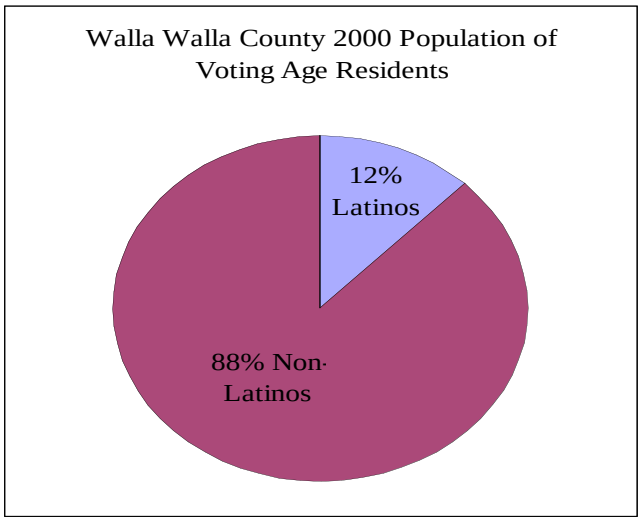
Table 8 Census 2004 Pop. in Thousands	Registered Citizens							
	Voted				Did Not Vote			
	Hispanic		All Races		Hispanic		All Races	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
United States	7,587	81.5	125,736	88.5	1,721	18.5	16,334	11.5
West Total	3,054	84.6	26,689	90.5	554	15.4	2,797	9.5
W. Mountain	864	84.6	8,381	90.3	157	15.4	899	9.7
West Pacific	2,190	84.6	18,308	90.6	398	15.4	1,899	9.4

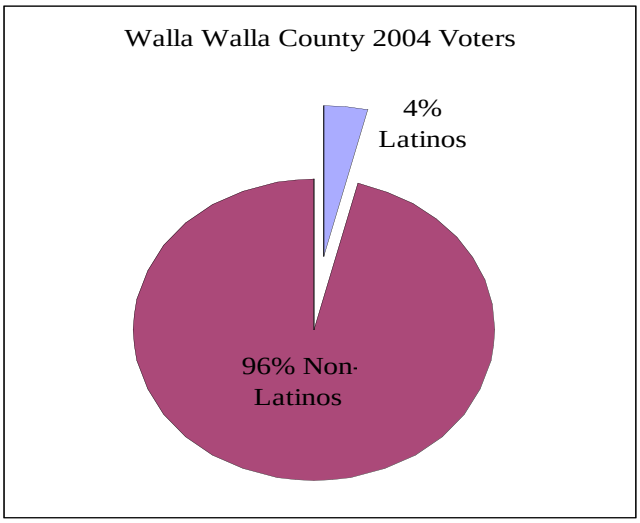
At this point, the gap was almost closed. Among registered voters, there were still about 6-7 percentage points between Latinos and the total population. This was much better than the 16 point gap among U.S. citizens. One significant detail in Table 8 is that registered citizens in the West (Hispanics and All Races alike) were actually **more likely** to vote than the total U.S. population. As noted above, this was a reversal in the trend of the Western Pacific voters, particularly Hispanics, voting at lower rates. What this may indicate is that voter registration campaigns might have a greater impact in voting behavior in the Pacific Western region than in other areas of the country.

Of particular note in Table 8 was the extremely high voting turnout percentage among both Latinos and All Races. These voting rates are the only ones that significantly disagree with the voting data I gathered for Walla Walla and Yakima Counties. I suspect

that since the Census Bureau data is self-reported, registered voters may say they voted, even when they did not. This suspicion is not unreasonable; a 1992 National Election Study found that overall self-reported turnout was 67%, which was twelve points above the actual rate (de la Garza 2000, 340). Twelve points would roughly account for the discrepancy between the Washington (Yakima and Walla Walla) numbers and the national numbers. The focus of this paper is how Latinos compare to non-Latinos, statewide and nationally. This is by no means a comparison between overall Washington and United States voting turnout, and thus the discrepancy between Washington and U.S. data is of little concern.

Case Study: Walla Walla County and Yakima County





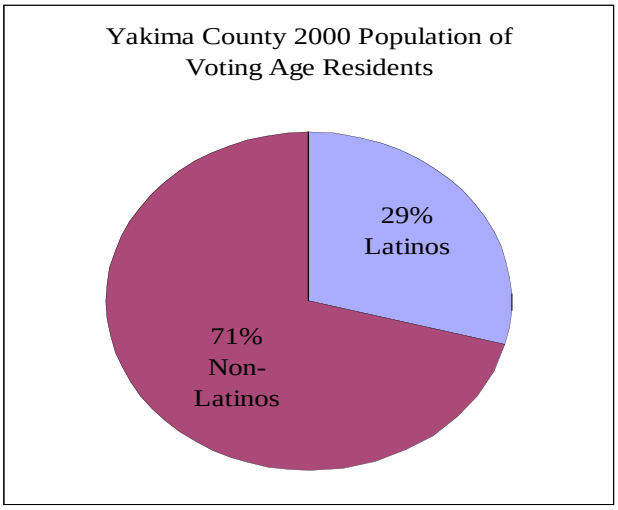
The above pie charts show data from Walla Walla County. The left chart shows that out of the total population residing in Walla Walla County, 12% are Latino. The right chart shows that of the total Walla Walla County voters in 2004, only 4% were Latino. These charts show simply that the voting power of Latinos in Walla Walla County does not match the population percentage of Latino residents.

For comparison and context of registration numbers nationally, here is a compressed form of Table 4:

Table 4 Compressed Census 2004 (Pop. in Thousands)	Total Voting Age Population			
	Registered			
	Hispanic		All Races	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
United States	9,308	34.3	142,070	65.9

Table 8 Walla Walla County	Total Voting Age Population			
	Hispanic		All Races	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Population in 2000	5,134	100%	41,618	100%
Registered 2005	1,544	30.1%*	29,991	72.1%*
Voted 2004	876	56.7%**	23,271	77.6%**
* Percent of 2005 registrants out of 2000 population estimates				
** Percent of voter turnout in 2004 out of registrants from 2005				

The Walla Walla County data is crude because I was forced to use numbers from different years to get percentages of total population and voter turnout from registered voters. Regardless, the data clearly shows that Latinos in Walla Walla are registered at roughly half the rate that All Races are. This corresponds to the national numbers in Table 4. Further, Table 8 shows that among registrants, Latinos voted at a significantly lower rate than did All Races.



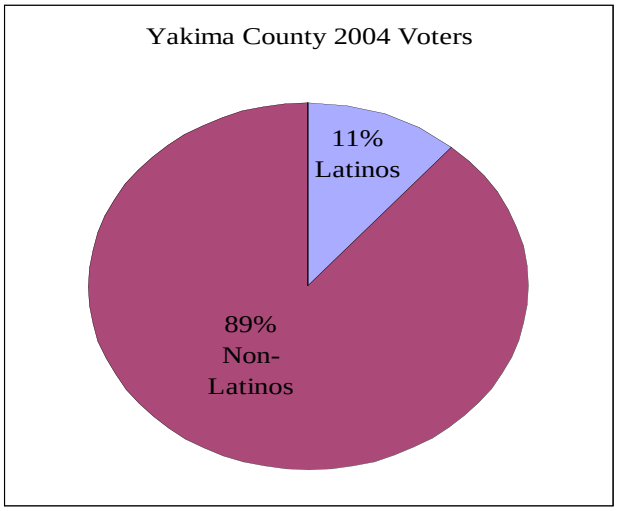
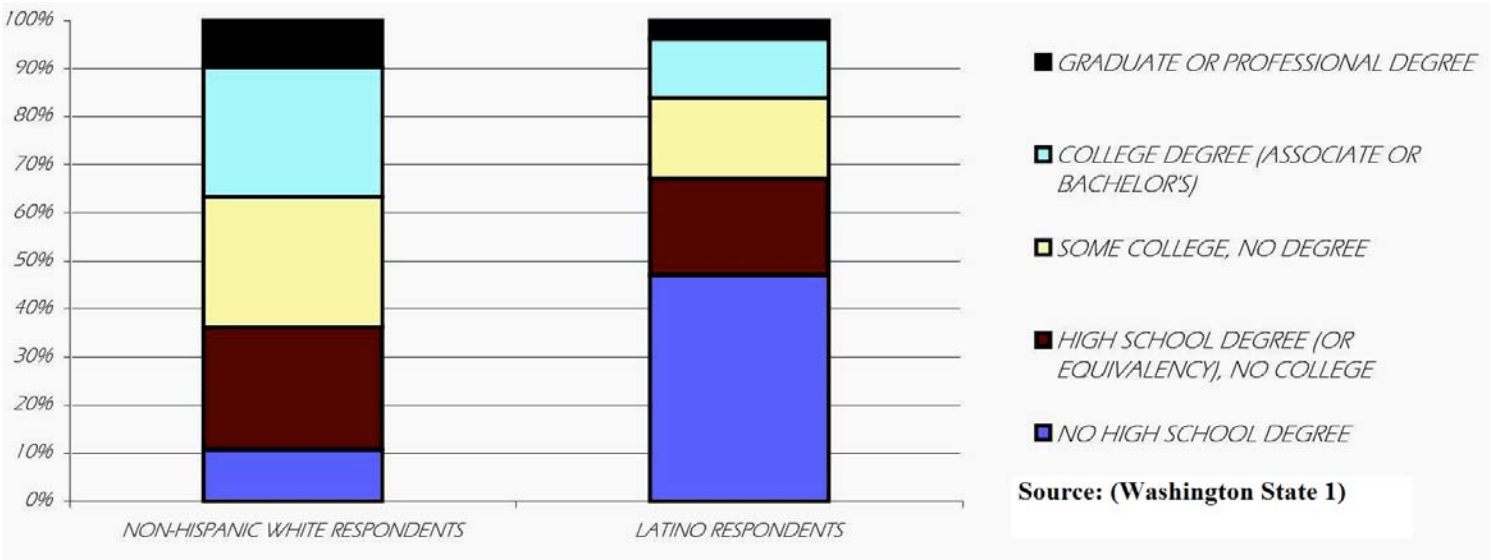


Table 9 Yakima County	Total Voting Age Population			
	Hispanic		All Races	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Population in 2000	44,373	100%	151,830	100%
Registered Jan 2005	15,062	33.9%*	97,052	63.9%*
Voted 2004	8,379	55.6%**	73,649	75.9%**
* Percent of Jan 2005 registrants out of 2000 population estimates				
** Percent of voter turnout in 2004 out of registrants from Jan 2005				

The Yakima County data is slightly better because voter turnout in 2004 is based on of registrants from January of 2005, merely two months after the election. The data for registration rates are similar to Walla Walla County and to the national numbers.

As noted above, education is a key indicator of voting turnout. The Washington State Commission on Hispanic Affairs shows in the below graph that vast education discrepancies between Latinos and non-Hispanic whites.



Interview Discussion

Our first interview was with a young Mexican-American man in his early 20's in a local park. It was clear from our conversation with him that he felt voting was important and that his vote did matter, but he also articulated voting as strongly connected to the community. The young man also felt there was a strong need for more Latino candidates and that the main factor lowering Latino voter turnout was the focus on providing for one's family before thinking about things like voting.

"I don't think its right for me to vote because I just got here [Walla Walla]. I don't know the ways of here and what they [the community] want… I heard it's a good community, but I don't know what they what, their needs, and what they want me to vote for." -Young Mexican-American Male in Walla Walla, Washington.

Of particular interest is that his decision to *not* vote was based primarily on not knowing whether or not his vote was wanted, and how he should use it. In other words, it seems highly likely that if he had been contacted by a fellow Mexican-American community member and asked to vote, he would have done so.

In our second interview, we found a Mexican-American mother walking out the door to take her two daughters somewhere. She initially told us she was busy, but then asked what we were doing. Upon explanation, the mother became very interested and spoke to us for nearly half an hour. Once again, there is indication that the mere act of caring about whether this woman voted and what her views were had a positive effect on her behavior. In other words, had we asked the woman to buy something from us, she may have continued to act busy. But when instead we asked her to vote, whether she had voted, and what her opinions on voting were, she was willing to take a significant portion of time out of her day to speak with us.

"I think [my vote] matters because if we, those who do not vote, one day got up and decided to vote, the candidate we voted for would win. But we don't vote because they don't take into account our vote. But I feel like if we all voted, our vote would matter." -Mexican-American Mother in Walla Walla, Washington.

The mother clearly felt that voting was important, but that the Latino vote has been largely ignored as unimportant, both by Latinos and politicians. After talking for some time, the father of the household came outside and also engaged us in conversation. Both mother and father connected voting to the need to remove President Bush from office and the war in Iraq. The mother felt that education was the key to increasing voter turnout as well as the main factor in producing more Latino candidates for office.

Literature Discussion: Voter Mobilization

As noted above, substantial literature indicates that factors determining likelihood of Latino voter turnout include characteristics such as age, education, and income. One factor that is also a strong indicator and can be altered almost immediately is the presence of Latino voter mobilization (de la Garza 2000, 345).

While Latinos may have depressed voting turnout, they have a strong history of civic participation among both men and women. The unionization and picketing efforts of Latino and Latina women in the 1930's and 1940's provide a useful case study (*Ruiz). In particular, the strength of Latina women in the face of extremely poor working conditions and wages in the canning and farming industries shows the resilience and activity the Latino population is capable of (*Ruiz). One notable example was a strike against Farah Manufacturing that started in 1972 and lasted over a year and a half. The strikers, 85 percent of which were women, faced un-muzzled police dogs, arrest, and harassment by the community (*Ruiz, 129). Unions such as the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing, and Allied Workers of America (UCAPAWA-CIO) were very successful in bringing women into activist roles and "capitalized on women's networks, with organizers holding house meeting to encourage their participation" (Ruiz, 78).

The connection between Latinos and unions and political activity holds relevance today. A study on Latino voter mobilization in 2000 by The Tomás Rivera Policy Institute (TRPI) indicated that Labor Unions conducted the most effective Get out the Vote (GOTV) campaigns, with ample funding and strong organization (de la Garza 2002,

6). The unions - such as AFL-CIO- targeted new citizens, emphasized immigrant issues and collaborated with community-based organizations and Catholic parishes (de la Garza 2002, 5). Conversely, community-based organizations such as the Southwest Voter Registration Education Project were less successful than labor unions in their GOTV campaigns, primarily because they relied heavily on volunteers and greatly lacked funding (de la Garza 2002, 6).

A series of studies were done on Latino-targeted canvassing by Melissa R. Michelson at California State University, Fresno (Michelson). Michelson used Latino and non-Latino students to conduct her canvassing and analyzed the effectiveness of each group in contacting Latinos and getting them to vote (Michelson, 85). The results were that canvassing had a significantly positive effect on voter turnout, especially among Democrat Latino voters (Michelson, 87). Another result of the studies was the finding that when canvasser and voter share ethnicity and political partisanship, there is a statistically significant effect on voter turnout (Michelson, 88). Michelson notes that Latinos are often ignored by voter mobilization campaigns because they do not vote. She concludes from her studies however, that Latinos are very receptive to voter mobilization campaigns especially *by* Latinos (Michelson, 98). As Michelson puts it, people like to be asked to vote and "[i]ncreasing the Latino vote is, at the most basic level, a simple matter of asking for it" (Michelson, 98).

Further support for Michelson's findings are offered in a TRPI study on "Predictors of Latino Turnout" (Abrajano). The authors note that "two factors are most influential on turnout, which are highly related to each other: (1) a voter's socio-economic status, and (2) whether or not the individual was asked to vote" (Abrajano, 1). Both of these factors have been established above. What this report presents is evidence showing that those most likely to be targeted by voter mobilization efforts are those that are already demographically most likely to vote anyhow (Abrajano, 1). In other words, people with lower income, education, and age are less likely to be asked to vote.

Traditionally, research has shown that foreign-born Latino citizens have lower voting turnout than native-born Latinos (Barreto 2005, 79). The factors contributing to this are the same as those suppressing Latino voting in general, namely lower levels of income, education, and English language skills (Barreto 2005, 79). Due to these trends, foreign-born Latinos have been largely ignored as a potential voting population by candidates (Barreto 2005, 79-80). Although there has been literature suggesting that naturalized voters vote less because they are "new to American politics and less integrated into U.S. institutions and social customs," Matt Barreto has rejected this argument in favor of a different theory in which naturalized Latino voters potentially vote at *greater* rates than native-born Latino voters (Barreto 2005, 80).

Barretto argues that because the American electorate is in continual decline, the U.S. assimilation process means that "*not voting* has become a learned behavior" (Barreto 2005, 80). In other words, native-born Latino citizens have "been socialized into the process of uncompetitive elections, negative candidate images and low levels of political efficacy" (Barreto 2005, 80). Barreto further argues that the naturalization process

requires immigrants to "become familiar with U.S. institutions, fill out extensive paperwork, pass a basic course on civic responsibility, and gain confidence, as new citizens, in the American political process" (Barreto 2005, 80).

Barreto's case study was the 2002 California Gubernatorial election between Gray Davis and Bill Simon. The election had extremely negative English campaigns on both sides, yet a great deal of money was spent toward positive advertisements in Spanish directed at Latinos and naturalized Latinos especially. The results were that native Latino voting turnout declined by 5% from the 1998 election, whereas the naturalized Latino voting turnout increased by 16% (Barreto 2005, 80). Barreto acknowledges that these particular results are due to not only the targeted voter mobilization drives in immigrant communities in 2002, but also the "lackluster" nature of the Gubernatorial election (Barreto 2005, 80). Nevertheless, the study provides compelling evidence that, given the right circumstances, the immigrant characteristics of the Latino population can translate into voting strength, not weakness.

Along with targeted mobilization, there is evidence that the presence of a Latino candidate has a significant effect on Latino voter turnout. In the 2000 Houston mayoral elections, Republican Orlando Sanchez ran against incumbent Democrat Lee Brown. Both campaigns poured resources into mobilizing the Latino vote. "Targeted Hispanic voters were bombarded daily with bilingual mailers, Spanish radio spots and TV commercials by both campaigns" (Rodriguez). In the end, Latino voters "accounted for 18 percent of the electorate," which was double their turnout from the Mayoral election 4 years prior (Rodriguez). The fact that a Latino candidate was running for office clearly helped increase turnout, and it was Sanchez's presence that caused both campaigns to devote so many resources to Latino voters in the first place.

Conclusion

In Washington State, as in the United States as a whole, Latinos are simultaneously the largest minority population and the least likely to vote. The low rates are due to in part to historical political exclusion, language barriers, lower levels of education, younger age, lower income, and vastly lower citizenship rates, among other factors. Ultimately, these demographic figures need to change, both to increase voting turnout and for the well-being of our society. Until then, immediate gains in voter turnout are possible. There is strong evidence indicating that Latinos are very receptive to mobilization efforts when they are specifically targeted. Further, asking someone to vote, even if they are among the *least* likely to do so, has significant positive effects on their likelihood of turning out on election day. Interviews with Latino residents of Walla Walla show political awareness, as well as optimism for the potential of the Latino vote to make a difference. In addition, the interviews seem to indicate and confirm that getting Latinos to vote may actually be as simple as asking them to.

The presence of Latino candidates is shown by the research to have a definite positive effect on turnout. Further, the interviews confirm that Latinos look for and want more Latino candidates. Both Democrats and Republicans stand to gain a very

significant voting population by reaching out to Latinos, both through voter mobilization, and especially through any policies that help Latinos socially, economically, and educationally become more active and empowered citizens.

Policies that help Latinos become naturalized citizens have the dual benefit of winning favor with Latino voters, as well as literally creating new favorable voters. Ultimately, I believe a better process for working immigrants to become citizens is key to the civic health of the Latino community in Washington and the United States. I also feel the Voting Rights Act continues to provide key areas of protection for Latinos and avenues to address voting discrimination. If the VRA is not extended in 2007, it would be a great loss to Latino voting, as well as a political loss for those that did not vote to renew it.

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Appendices

Appendix A - Interview Questions:

1. Intro to the person who opens the door. If the person answering the door is not of voting age, ask he/she if we can speak with an adult in the household. Assuming that the adult is there, the following questions will proceed in order:
    a. Have you ever voted in an election in any country? (if yes, ask what country)
    b. If yes:
        i. Were they nationwide or local (district) elections?
        ii. When you voted, why did you vote?
        iii. Why does voting matter?
        iv. How do you think your vote mattered?
        v. How many times in the past few years have people asked you to vote?
        vi. When voting, what language do you prefer the ballot to be in?
            1. if Spanish
                a. did you know that you can get a ballot in Spanish?
    c. If no:
        i. What are the reasons for not voting? (obstacles? Lack of interest? Institutional barriers?)
            1. Have you ever registered to vote?
                a. If yes
                i. What kept you from voting?
            2. Where would you go to register to vote?
            3. How many times in the past few years have people asked you to register or to vote?
            4. Do you think the government cares if you vote?
            5. When registering, what language do you prefer on the registration?
                a. If Spanish
                i. Did you know you could get a Spanish registration?
            6. Do you think that voting matters? why?

For all:

1. What do you think politicians who are elected could do to make things better in this community?
2. Do you think there is enough Latino candidates running for elections these days?
    a. If no
        i. Why do you think that is?
3. Do you have children?
    a. If yes
        i. Do you want your children to become voters? Why?
4. What is the most important political issue for you today?

Appendix B - Interview Transcript:

Interview #1 – Young male identifying as Mexican-American

Interviewer: Have you ever voted in any election?

Community Member: Not here. I'm from California

Interviewer: Have you ever voted in California?

Community Member: Yes. We didn't win though.

Interviewer: Was this a local, county, or federal election?

Community Member: County election

Interviewer: When you voted, why did you vote?

Community Member: Because I wanted to make my community a better place.

Interviewer: Why does voting matter?

Community Member: Because your vote counts. I feel like my vote counts, but in that case [when I voted in California] it didn't count.

Interviewer: How do you think your vote mattered?
Community Member: Community members were going door to door trying to get people to vote.

Interviewer: How many times in the past few years have people asked you to vote?

Community Member: Yeah, I was asked to vote before I was 18. But I couldn't because I wasn't 18 yet. I haven't voted here.

Interviewer: Has anybody asked you to vote here?

Community Member: People called my house to get me to vote, but I haven't. I don't think its right for me to vote because I just got here. I don't know the ways of here and what they want. I plan on going back [to California] though.

Interviewer: So because you're new here, you feel like you don't have enough background to go out and vote?

Community Member: Yeah. I heard it's a good community, but I don't know what they want; their needs and what they want me to vote for.

Interviewer: So your own personal views, whether you're the only one who holds them compared to the rest of the Latino community, are not enough to get you out and vote and make this community better?
Community Member: In respect to the whole community, I don't know enough about it to go out and vote.

Interviewer: You obviously speak English, but do you prefer English on voting ballots?

Community Member: It doesn't matter

Interviewer: Did you know you could get a voting ballot in Spanish?

Community Member: Yea, I knew that. The first time I voted, they told me that I could

Interviewer: Oh they did?

Community Member: Yea and it was a white person so I was like, what are you trying to say, that just because I'm Mexican I can't speak English?

Interviewer: You said you haven't been here long enough, but do you know what politicians could do better in this community in the brief time you've been here?

Community Member: I don't know, everything seems alright. It's a lot better than where I come from

Interviewer: What were some of the things in your past community that you think should have changed?

Community Member: Well, they can't do nothing about it. There's a lot of crime. They try, the cops come, but it's pretty hard and that's just the way it is.

Interviewer: Do you think there are enough Latino or Mexican American candidates running for office or elections these days?

Community Member: No, we need more, a lot more.

Interviewer: What do you think keeps the Latino community from voting? Disregarding the legal issues of undocumented Latinos that can't vote

Community Member: They just wanna be here for the money. They just wanna work. That's what I think, they just wanna get the bread for the family.

Interviewer: Whether it's the elections system here or where you used to live, do you trust the system?

Community Member: Not all the time, because they always make false promises. That's the only thing. It happens a lot. They say they're gonna make a safer community; that never happens.

Interviewer: How does that influence your future voting practices?

Community Member: It makes me not want to vote.

Interviewer: What is the most important political issue for you today? That which has to do with the Latino community? Or what's one of the things that you feel is not being addressed for the Latino community?

Community Member: I have a ton of them.

Interviewer: What's one of them?

Community Member: Um, immigration.

Interview #2 – Father/husband with family in front yard

Community Member: Why do we as Mexicans not vote? Because nobody pays attention to us. Look, you look at a Mexican and a "gringo" with a tie, then you look at the Mexican in his dirty farm-workers clothes, who are they gonna listen to? At the gringo who's nicely dressed? Or at the Mexican who's dirty, with guaraches? I understand, my parents are farm-workers as well and you do get dirty at the end of the day. Nobody takes us into account, nobody. I mean, the gringo's who have money look at us and they're like, "hmm, today I can get [a Mexican], fire him the next day, and just get another Mexican worker whenever I want. Now if I don't like the way he's working, I'll just fire him. And tomorrow I'll find two more." We go and look for work in the fields, so the employer looks at us and says he has enough workers. But if he needs two or three workers, [he has them] in an instant. But you will never see an American or another person of another race. However, all of us at the fields are Mexicans. Why, I ask myself? Yea they give us an opportunity, but we don't know how to take advantage of it. So we're recording this? No, it's fine. The more you record the better. At least you'll listen.

Interview #3 – Mother/wife with family in front yard

Interviewer: First question. Have you ever voted in this country or another?

Community Member: Yes. My first time was this year. I didn't want George (Bush) to win. I never agreed with him. I wanted Kerry to win. I registered, because I didn't want Bush to win. Because usually I say to myself, oh, why vote, they never listen to us anyways, but because I didn't want Bush to win, I said, perhaps my vote will count. So I registered and voted. But either way, Bush won.

Interviewer: So you answered my second question. This was a federal election. But have you voted at the local level, the district and county level?

Community Member: No. I haven't voted.

Interviewer: When you voted, why did you vote?

Community Member: Because I wanted Bush to lose. I didn't want him to continue. He promises and never follows through. The first people they send to war are the Mexicans, Latinos.

Interviewer: why do you think your vote matters?

Community Member: I think it matters because if we, those who do not vote, one day got up and decided to vote, the candidate we voted for would win. But we don't vote because they don't take into account our vote. But I feel like if we all voted, our vote would matter.

Interviewer: Have people come to your door to have you register or to inform you when elections are?

Community Member: No, nobody. I hear it on the radio and from the schools my children go to. I think it would be important if they reminded us when elections are, 'cause we as farm workers are gone all day. It would be nice if they would extend the nice gesture of letting us know when elections are.

Interviewer: When you vote, what language do you prefer the material to be in?

Community Member: Well, I prefer it in Spanish because it is my native tongue. But like this last time that I went, I filled it out an English ballot

Interviewer: Did you know you could get a Spanish ballot?

Community Member: No, since it was my first time, I didn't know. They just gave me the ballot, told me where to go and fill it out and that's it.

Interviewer: A few more questions and we'll be done soon. What do you think the already elected officials can do for the Latino community?

Community Member: First of all, no discrimination at work, ‘cause there is. When there are Mexican and American workers, they always give preference to the American. Discrimination exists, even if the Mexican is the better worker. But because the American is of their race, they choose the American.

Interviewer: Do you think there are enough Latino candidates running for office?

Community Member: I don’t see any. I would love to see some. Study, change this country. Yes we are well in this country, but there is inequality.

Interviewer: So why do you think that is, that there aren’t enough Latino candidates?

Community Member: Well, I think it’s because the majority of the Latinos don’t finish their careers. When’s the last time you saw a Mexican doctor or lawyer here? I always see American doctors and lawyers. That’s why I think it is, they don’t get to the point in their life where they become professionals.

Interviewer: Do you want your children to vote some day?

Community Member: Yes, so they make a difference. Right now there are studying. They are bilingual. They will know their rights. I think things will change if they finish their educational careers, they need to. The country will listen to them more because they will be educated. That’s what I think.

Interviewer: To finish this interview, what is the most important political issue for you today?

Community Member: Education. We need more information of the education our children are receiving. I’m sure there are good teachers there, but most of us Mexicans don’t know what’s going on because we don’t speak English. It would be nice if we could get help in Spanish in terms of the education being given at the school. Also, [we need] resources that we as parents could use to help our children, because those who have scholarships have no worries. But if my daughter does not get a scholarship, I don’t know who to talk to or where to go to help her in her education.

Interview #4 – Adult male friend of family in front yard

Interviewer: Have you ever voted in an election in any country?

Community Member: No.

Interviewer: What were some of your reasons for not voting?

Community Member: Well, I don’t think they believe or listen to what we say.

Interviewer: How man times in the past few years have people asked you to vote or said you should vote?

Community Member: they never ask me, they just send papers in the mail, but that's ever it.

Interviewer: Have you ever registered to vote?

Community Member: No

Interviewer: Do you think the government cares if you vote?

Community Member: No, they make their own decisions.

Interviewer: Do you think voting matters?

Community Member: Well, if they would listen, yes, but I don't think they listen.

Interviewer: Do you think in some countries it matters or maybe it doesn't matter here, or in all countries?

Community Member: In other countries, I don't think they care.

Interviewer: Do you think that politicians could make things better if they wanted to?

Community Member: Yea. If they wanted, yes.

Interviewer: Do you think they have the power to make changes

Community Member: Yes.

Interviewer: Do you think there are enough Latino or Mexican candidates running for elections these days?

Community Member: Not in this area, probably in Texas, Florida or California. That's where you hear of most Latino candidates. Because you see, I was born in Texas and there are more Latino candidates.

Interviewer: Why do you think that is? That there aren't enough Latino or Mexican candidates running for office?

Community Member: Here?

Interviewer: In Washington and in Walla Walla.

Community Member: Well, it started pretty slow. The Latino population is growing now.

The Latino population before didn't exist.

Interviewer: Do you think that would be better for making changes, having more Latino candidates?

Community Member: It depends on the [candidate], because, is he gonna work for the Mexican people or American people?

Interviewer: Do you have children?

Community Member: Yes

Interviewer: Do you want your children to vote?

Community Member: If they want to, yes

Interviewer: What's the most important political issue for you today?

Community Member: Education and college entrance and stuff like that.

Appendix C – Walla Walla County Registered Voter List:

*Please find attached CD with data (a printed version would be over 2,000 pages).

Appendix D – Walla Walla County 2004 General Election Results By Precinct:

*Please find attached hard copy of election results.

Appendix E – Yakima County Bilingual Election Program Data:

*Please find attached hard copy of Yakima County Spanish surname Data.

VOTING RIGHTS OF LATINOS IN YAKIMA AND ENFORCEMENT BY THE STATE

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November 17, 2005

Introduction

The focus of my research in the Community-Based Learning Project is on the enforcement of voting rights by the state government. In addition, I researched the voting registration laws in Washington State, bilingual voting materials available to the Latino community, litigation and lawsuits filed under the Voting Rights Act, and evidence of Latino under-representation. I carried out my research by looking at government databases and journals, conducting interviews in a couple of Latino communities, and visiting the auditor's office in Yakima city. The structure and processes in carrying out this project were made possible through the patience and guidance of my community partner Joaquin Avila, assistant professor of Law at Seattle University School of Law. This research has led to several conclusions and findings. First, after spending much time researching litigation in Washington State, only one was found for violation of the Voting Rights Act. Second, Latinos in Washington State have low voting registration and even lower turnout. Lastly, because there are low numbers of Latino candidates running for office, there is little or no representation in local governments where Latinos comprise a substantial portion of the population. As a result, the following policy and activist responses I am recommending are as follows: One, voter mobilization efforts targeting Latinos need to improve. The general method used for all Latinos is geared more towards those Latinos who are likely to vote and not those who are unlikely to vote. Those least likely to vote have rarely been targeted in voter mobilization efforts, and as long as they continue to be neglected Latino voter registration and turnout will remain low. Two, there are not enough Latino candidates running for office which not only limits the selection from which Latino voters can choose from, but constrains the possibility of Latino representation. Therefore, Latino communities must effectively promote and encourage Latinos to run for office in order to attain the representation they desire.

Methods and Literature Discussion

In order to understand the purpose of the Voting Rights Act, it is important to look at the history of disfranchisement and voting discrimination of racial minorities. Therefore, Armand Derfner's article "Racial Discrimination and the Right to Vote"[1] was useful literature that provided the background of African American's efforts to gain the right to vote and serving as a lens to analyze the struggle Latinos in the United States face today.

The Voting Rights Act of 1965 legally enfranchised all racial minorities. However, in practice, this was not the case. A few noteworthy achievements of the Voting Rights Act and its amendments in 1970, 1975, and 1982 are as follows: Eliminated any "test or device" (such as a literacy test) used as a prerequisite to register and vote; gave the federal government the right to oversee elections and to enforce the voting rights of all eligible citizens; any new state changes to voting qualification or prerequisite to vote

[1] Armand Derfner, "Racial Discrimination and the Right to Vote," *Vanderbilt Law Review* vol. 26 1972: 523-582

must not only be pre-cleared by the federal government, but the proposed change must prove that it's not racially discriminatory; and the ordering of a new election when there is evidence of discrimination that *might* have affected the election's outcome.

Moreover, a report from the Tomás Rivera Policy Institute[2] provided a clear analysis of the ineffectiveness and problems of the Latino voter mobilization tactics used today. A significant portion of the Latino population is not-citizen, young, uneducated and poor. Just these four factors alone combined, without any institutional barriers, affect the Latino electorate. Even for some of the community based organizations that strategically attempt and succeed in increasing Latino voter registration have one ultimate downfall—Latino turnout. This is because these community organizations "over-invest in getting citizens registered and are much less involved with actually getting them to the polls. Together, the time and money spent on these activities may leave few resources to get those citizens they have registered to vote."[3] As their research indicated, this is the primary problem of advocates involved in Latino mobilization. There is a general assumption that registration will facilitate voter turn out. However, even though it is a prerequisite to voting, voter turnout in Latino communities has not reflected the efforts of the organizations that succeed in getting them registered.

Another problem hindering Latino mobilization is the type of Latinos targeted from organizations. Even though these organizations know that the Latinos least likely to vote are younger, less educated and have lower incomes, those being targeted don't exactly fall into these categories. To maximize Latino turnout, organizations need to change their approach and begin targeting those least likely to vote. In doing so, the ability for the Latino electorate to reach its potential increases. Three difficult problems that Latino registration campaigns face are: 1) funding—without the appropriate funding, inadequate tactics are implemented that are reflected in the turnout results. 2) Recruiting and keeping volunteers—it is very difficult to be effective without the appropriate staff and personnel to assist and help outreach to Latino communities. 3) Convincing Latinos of the importance of participation—if a person does not believe and see the potential for change through institutional means, in this case the electoral process, then actual turnout will remain low even if a high percentage of the population is registered.

Gathering quantitative data was easy in some aspects and difficult in others. The United Sates Census Bureau provides population statistics that are accessible and easy to understand. The statistics that I gathered from the U.S. Census Bureau include: total national population statistics, individual state population statistics, total Washington State population statistics, and total Latino population in the U.S. and of each individual state. Since this project is primarily concerned with Latinos in Washington State, most of the data will focus on the case study of Yakima City and Yakima County.

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[2]Rodolfo de la Garza, Carolyn Dunlap, Jongho Lee and Jaesung Ryu, Latino Voter Mobilization in 2000 "Campaign Characteristics and Effectiveness," pages 1-11

[3] Latino Voter Mobilization in 2000, page 3

Two of my primary data sources were the United States Census Bureau[4], and the Washington State government internet websites[5]. From these two sources, I was specifically seeking total population statistics of the country, states, cities and the Latino population distribution amongst those three categories. What was useful about these sources was that they not only provided the total population for the State of Washington and every city in it, but the total population that is of voting age. Moreover, the tables available categorized all the different racial groups and their respective voting age population which was very useful for comparative study. The only limiting aspect of this source is that it took time to understand how the web site worked. Since the U.S. Census Bureau provides numerous data and tables for various subjects, as a first time user, it took numerous hours to finally gather the correct data and tables.

Once population statistics for Washington State and individual cities were gathered, the next big step in the project was to determine how many people were registered out of the total voting age population. To make this process easier and due to time constraints, only one city was selected: Yakima Washington. Yakima city was selected because it not only holds more Latinos than any other city in the Yakima County, but it continues to struggle in having a Latino serve in the city council or as mayor.

Gathering data for Yakima was a long process of corresponding through e-mail and commuting to the county courthouse and auditor's office. In order to access the voting records and registration information of any city, my partner and I were asked to sign an affidavit and formal request of any records along with a fee.[6] Once the request was processed, the Yakima courthouse provided registration records for all of the Yakima County. The registration records contained the following pertinent information; all the active registered voters currently living in Yakima County, their full name, the city in which they live in, the specific precinct they reside in, the type of election (local, state, or federal), and whether or not the registered citizen voted in the election.

In addition to the case study carried out in Yakima, four interviews were conducted in local Walla Walla communities. My project partner and I pinpointed an area of the city where Latinos reside and walked throughout the neighborhoods looking for people willing to be interviewed. As we walked and knocked on doors, a few Latino community members were randomly selected to be interviewed. Three of the four interviewees were older adults and the one was a young adult in his early twenties. In all of the interviews conducted the same questions were asked. The questions asked dealt with their status as voters, views on the needs of the Latino community, and opinions and concerns regarding the Latino electorate.[7] The length of the interviews heavily depended on the person's voting experience and participation in the elections, interest and cynicism in the voting process and of politicians in office and what they had to say about the Latinos and voting. Even though all of the interviewees were Latino, not all preferred to conduct the interview in Spanish. Two interviews were in English and two in Spanish. I, Lázaro

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[4] http://www.census.gov/
[5] www.secstate.com
[6] RCW 29A.08.720
[7] For a list of the questions asked in the interview, see Appendix B.

Carrión conducted the two interviews in Spanish and translated them into English later. Austin Rainwater and I conducted the interviews in English together and were both present in all of the interviews.

Interviewing local Latino community members provided further insight into the overarching problems that hinder voting participation. Fernando[8], the first interviewee, was a young Mexican-American in his early twenties. One of the most interesting aspects of the first interview was Fernando's rearticulation of his identity as Mexican. At the end of the interview we had an informal discussion on his initial self-identification as a Mexican and eventually as a Mexican-American. Throughout the interview I kept using the broad term "Latino" to encompass all Latin Americans and their descendents in the United States. Given the various waves of migrations of Latin Americans to the United States, I was cautious to not assume that all Latinos in Washington State are Mexican. Even though statistics show that most Latinos in Washington State are Mexican or of Mexican descent[9], to impose any identity on someone as a result of perception can be problematic. Fernando's reaction to my question of whether or not he was "Chicano" was indicative of that problem. He rejected the identity of Chicano and referred to himself as Mexican. Also, he said he was born in the United States which would also make him an American. So when I asked him whether or not he was American, he paused for few seconds and said he was Mexican-American. In Fernando's example, being American does not mean losing the heritage and ethnic background of which he descended from. He made a distinction between being just an American and a Mexican-American. Fernando took pride in his identity which was made possible through his ability to rearticulate and redefine who he was.

Data Presentation

Cities in Yakima County with representation

Last Name	First Name	City	Position
Aguilar	Bengie	Sunnyside	city council
Garcia	Paul	Sunnyside	city council
[illegible]	[illegible]	Toppenish	city council
Jimenez	Clara	Toppenish	city council
Rodriguez	Javier	Grandview	city council
Farias	Jesse	Wapato	mayor
Morales	Robert	Grandview	city council
Guzman	Tony	Wapato	city council
Villarreal	Lilia	Granger	city council
Lopez	Elvia	Wapato	city council
Ybarra	Natalie	Granger	city council
Perez	Issai	Wapato	city council
Guerra	Ernie	Granger	city council
Orozco	John	Wapato	city council
Gonzalez	Alfredo	Granger	city council
Garcia	Avelina A.	Harrah	city council
Castilleja	Santos	Harrah	city council
Molina	Virginia	Mabton	city council
Herrera	Velva	Mabton	city council
Armendariz	Ernesto	Mabton	city council
Zavala	Vera	Mabton	city council

The above table[10] shows

[8] All interviewees did not provide a name and therefore have pseudonyms.

[9] http://factfinder.census.gov. Out of the 441, 509 Hispanics in Washington recorded in the 2000 U.S. Census data; approximately 329,934 or 74.7% of them are Mexican.

[10] The information was gathered from the Yakima County website: http://www.pan.co.yakima.wa.us/Vote/english/Cities.htm

the total number of cities with a Latino in the city council or as mayor. Out of the fourteen cities in the Yakima County, only seven of them have representation.

Cities in Yakima County w/out representation
Moxee
Naches
Selah
Tieton
Union Gap
Zillah
Yakima

Out of the seven cities that did not have Latino representation, Yakima holds the highest population of Latinos within the county. According to the 2000 US Census data the following applies towards Washington State:

Total population in state	Total population that is latino	Latinos that are mexican or of Mexican descent
5894121	441509	329,934
Population 18 and older	**Latinos 18 and older**	
4,380,278	264,099	

Total population in Yakima County	Yakima County Latinos	Not a U.S. citizen (for all population in Yakima County)
222,581	79,905	25,084
18 and older	**Latinos 18 and older**	
151, 830	44, 373	

Precinct	Total Registered in 99'	Total # Spanish Surname registered	Percent Spanish Surname Registered
126	569	187	32.86%
120	533	175	32.83%
104	388	112	28.86%
101	442	106	23.98%
111	758	170	22.42%
127	555	88	15.85%
129	629	96	15.26%
156	711	107	15.04%
184	580	79	13.62%
116	125	16	12.80%
142	1091	129	11.82%
131	974	101	10.36%
162	463	44	9.50%
110	887	73	8.22%
155	927	61	6.58%
118	183	11	6.01%
186	810	47	5.80%
133	1073	61	5.68%
154	1121	63	5.61%
134	1134	59	5.20%
170	1268	58	4.57%
179	1413	58	4.10%
138	1745	60	3.43%
169	1328	34	2.56%
163	1065	27	2.53%
Total	20772	2022	

After looking at election records and candidate lists, I only had access to one election where a Latino was a candidate. The table above includes the precinct number, the total population in each precinct, how many of those Latinos have surnames, and the percentage of registered Latinos in each precinct.[11]

In this election, the Latino candidate lost in all the precincts against the Anglo candidate. After analyzing the data, it is very difficult to determine whether racially polarized voting exists. However, just because the Latino candidate did lose in all precincts does not necessarily mean that racially polarized voting exists. The following table shows the results, precinct totals, and percentage for each candidate per precinct.

[11] The table was formulated after gathering the registration list from the Yakima County Auditor's office.

Precinct	Total for Latino Candidate	Total for Anglo Candidate	% for Latino	% for Anglo
126	154	189	27.06%	33.21%
120	147	175	27.57%	32.83%
104	98	172	25.25%	44.32%
101	109	213	24.66%	48.10%
111	186	385	24.53%	50.79%
127	151	284	27.20%	51.17%
129	178	285	28.29%	45.31%
156	229	414	32.20%	58.22%
184	143	286	24.65%	49.31%
116	41	66	32.80%	52.80%
142	260	509	23.83%	46.65%
131	279	546	28.64%	56.05%
162	117	223	25.26%	48.16%
110	216	526	24.35%	59.30%
155	231	505	24.91%	54.47%
118	58	109	31.69%	59.56%
186	41	158	5.06%	19.50%
133	300	605	27.95%	56.38%
154	211	428	18.82%	38.18%
134	287	683	25.30%	60.22%
170	252	577	19.87%	45.50%
179	243	668	17.19%	47.27%
138	336	916	19.25%	52.49%
169	227	894	17.09%	67.31%
163	211	661	19.81%	62.06%
Total	4705	10477		

In the table above, it is clear that the Latino candidate lost in every precinct. However, what is noteworthy about the previous two tables is that there is a correlation between the precincts with high percentages of Latinos and the high percentages of votes for the Latino candidate. Whether this is sufficient information and data to determine whether racially polarized voting exists, it is not clear. It would be interesting to see a future election with the same circumstances but factoring the increase of Latino registered voters. Now that Yakima County qualifies under the Voting Rights Act[12] to provide bilingual materials for the Spanish speaking population, comparing the registration increases and voter turnout of the Latino population would be worth analyzing.

[12] For further information regarding the provisions of the Voting Rights Act and the bilingual material requirements, see appendix c.

Discussion of Findings

The data, case study, and interviews come together in explaining the shortcomings of the Latino electorate. One potential solution to low Latino turn out at the polls is simple education. If a potential voter does not know how the voting system works, educational pamphlets or guide of some sort would provide sufficient knowledge for Latinos to feel confident enough to know where to go, what to do, and who to talk to when the time comes to register or vote. However, if language barriers are a problem for Latino voters, according to the Voting Rights Act of 1965, it is the state's responsibility to provide the bilingual materials necessary to facilitate the voting process. Until 2004, Yakima County was not required to do so. The following quote provides further insight of the difference a bilingual program and coordinator can make.

"My job did not exist before the consent decree. My job and the Bilingual Program originated out of the decree in 2004. Before my time, the county did produce some Spanish election material, however apparently not to the extend it does now. Through my position I also do a lot of voter outreach in an effort to reach more of our Hispanic community, something that was also done on a very limited basis before I was hired. Obviously, I can not speak for all efforts that took place before I came on board. However, I do know we've made a great deal of progress in a short time. When I was first hired, I had very few monolingual Spanish speakers come in or call with questions. Now, I seem to be getting more and more Spanish speakers with questions and requesting assistance in Spanish. I'm happy to help and hope the Bilingual Program has encouraged them to seek the assistance they need."—Delia Chavez, *Bilingual Program Coordinator in the Yakima County.*

Appendix A:

Interview Questions

1. Intro to the person who opens the door. If the person answering the door is not of voting age, ask the person if we can speak with an adult in the household. Assuming that the adult is there, the following questions will proceed in order:

    a. Have you ever voted in an election in any country? (if yes, ask what country)
        i. If yes:
            1. Were they nationwide or local (district) elections?
            2. When you voted, why did you vote?
            3. Why does voting matter?
            4. How do you think your vote mattered?
            5. How many times in the past few years have people asked you to vote?
            6. When voting, what language do you prefer the ballot to be in?
                a. If Spanish:
                i. Did you know that you can get a ballot in Spanish?

        ii. If no:
            1. What are the reasons for not voting? (Obstacles? Lack of interest? Institutional barriers?)
                a. Have you ever registered to vote?
                i. If yes:
                1. What kept you from voting?
            2. Where would you go to register to vote?
            3. How many times in the past few years have people asked you to register or to vote?
            4. Do you think the government cares if you vote?
            5. When registering, what language do you prefer on the registration?
                a. If Spanish
                i. Did you know you could get a Spanish registration?
            6. Do you think that voting matters? Why?

<u>For all:</u>

1. What do you think politicians who are elected could do to make things better in this community?

2. Do you think there are enough Latino candidates running for elections these days?
    a. If no:
        i. Why do you think that is?
3. Do you have children?
    a. If yes
        i. Do you want your children to become voters? Why?
4. What is the most important political issue for you today?

Appendix B:

Interview #1 – Young male identifying as Mexican-American

Interviewer: Have you ever voted in any election?

Community Member: Not here. I'm from California

Interviewer: Have you ever voted in California?

Community Member: Yes. We didn't win though.

Interviewer: Was this a local, county, or federal election?

Community Member: County election

Interviewer: When you voted, why did you vote?

Community Member: Because I wanted to make my community a better place.

Interviewer: Why does voting matter?

Community Member: Because your vote counts. I feel like my vote counts, but in that case [when I voted in California] it didn't count.

Interviewer: How do you think your vote mattered?
Community Member: Community members were going door to door trying to get people to vote.

Interviewer: How many times in the past few years have people asked you to vote?

Community Member: Yeah, I was asked to vote before I was 18. But I couldn't because I wasn't 18 yet. I haven't voted here.

Interviewer: Has anybody asked you to vote here?

Community Member: People called my house to get me to vote, but I haven't. I don't think its right for me to vote because I just got here. I don't know the ways of here and what they want. I plan on going back [to California] though.

Interviewer: So because you're new here, you feel like you don't have enough background to go out and vote?

Community Member: Yeah. I heard it's a good community, but I don't know what they want; their needs and what they want me to vote for.

Interviewer: So your own personal views, whether you're the only one who holds them compared to the rest of the Latino community, are not enough to get you out and vote and make this community better?
Community Member: In respect to the whole community, I don't know enough about it to go out and vote.

Interviewer: You obviously speak English, but do you prefer English on voting ballots?

Community Member: It doesn't matter

Interviewer: Did you know you could get a voting ballot in Spanish?

Community Member: Yea, I knew that. The first time I voted, they told me that I could

Interviewer: Oh they did?

Community Member: Yea and it was a white person so I was like, what are you trying to say, that just because I'm Mexican I can't speak English?

Interviewer: You said you haven't been here long enough, but do you know what politicians could do better in this community in the brief time you've been here?

Community Member: I don't know, everything seems alright. It's a lot better than where I come from

Interviewer: What were some of the things in your past community that you think should have changed?

Community Member: Well, they can't do nothing about it. There's a lot of crime. They try, the cops come, but it's pretty hard and that's just the way it is.

Interviewer: Do you think there are enough Latino or Mexican American candidates running for office or elections these days?

Community Member: No, we need more, a lot more.

Interviewer: What do you think keeps the Latino community from voting? Disregarding the legal issues of undocumented Latinos that can't vote

Community Member: They just wanna be here for the money. They just wanna work. That's what I think, they just wanna get the bread for the family.

Interviewer: Whether it's the elections system here or where you used to live, do you trust the system?

Community Member: Not all the time, because they always make false promises. That's the only thing. It happens a lot. They say they're gonna make a safer community; that never happens.

Interviewer: How does that influence your future voting practices?

Community Member: It makes me not want to vote.

Interviewer: What is the most important political issue for you today? That which has to do with the Latino community? Or what's one of the things that you feel is not being addressed for the Latino community?

Community Member: I have a ton of them.

Interviewer: What's one of them?

Community Member: Um, immigration.

Interview #2 – Father/husband with family in front yard

Community Member: Why do we as Mexicans not vote? Because nobody pays attention to us. Look, you look at a Mexican and a "gringo" with a tie, then you look at the Mexican in his dirty farm-workers clothes, who are they gonna listen to? At the gringo who's nicely dressed? Or at the Mexican who's dirty, with guaraches? I understand, my parents are farm-workers as well and you do get dirty at the end of the day. Nobody takes us into account, nobody. I mean, the gringo's who have money look at us and they're like, "hmm, today I can get [a Mexican], fire him the next day, and just get another Mexican worker whenever I want. Now if I don't like the way he's working, I'll just fire him. And tomorrow I'll find two more." We go and look for work in the fields, so the employer looks at us and says he has enough workers. But if he needs two or three workers, [he has them] in an instant. But you will never see an American or another person of another race. However, all of us at the fields are Mexicans. Why, I ask myself? Yea they give us an opportunity, but we don't know how to take advantage of it. So we're recording this? No, it's fine. The more you record the better. At least you'll listen.

Interview #3 – Mother/wife with family in front yard

Interviewer: First question. Have you ever voted in this country or another?

Community Member: Yes. My first time was this year. I didn't want George (Bush) to win. I never agreed with him. I wanted Kerry to win. I registered, because I didn't want Bush to win. Because usually I say to myself, oh, why vote, they never listen to us anyways, but because I didn't want Bush to win, I said, perhaps my vote will count. So I registered and voted. But either way, Bush won.

Interviewer: So you answered my second question. This was a federal election. But have you voted at the local level, the district and county level?

Community Member: No. I haven't voted.

Interviewer: When you voted, why did you vote?

Community Member: Because I wanted Bush to lose. I didn't want him to continue. He promises and never follows through. The first people they send to war are the Mexicans, Latinos.

Interviewer: why do you think your vote matters?

Community Member: I think it matters because if we, those who do not vote, one day got up and decided to vote, the candidate we voted for would win. But we don't vote because they don't take into account our vote. But I feel like if we all voted, our vote would matter.

Interviewer: Have people come to your door to have you register or to inform you when elections are?

Community Member: No, nobody. I hear it on the radio and from the schools my children go to. I think it would be important if they reminded us when elections are, 'cause we as farm workers are gone all day. It would be nice if they would extend the nice gesture of letting us know when elections are.

Interviewer: When you vote, what language do you prefer the material to be in?

Community Member: Well, I prefer it in Spanish because it is my native tongue. But like this last time that I went, I filled it out an English ballot

Interviewer: Did you know you could get a Spanish ballot?

Community Member: No, since it was my first time, I didn't know. They just gave me the ballot, told me where to go and fill it out and that's it.

Interviewer: A few more questions and we'll be done soon. What do you think the already elected officials can do for the Latino community?

Community Member: First of all, no discrimination at work, 'cause there is. When there are Mexican and American workers, they always give preference to the American. Discrimination exists, even if the Mexican is the better worker. But because the American is of their race, they choose the American.

Interviewer: Do you think there are enough Latino candidates running for office?

Community Member: I don't see any. I would love to see some. Study, change this country. Yes we are well in this country, but there is inequality.

Interviewer: So why do you think that is, that there aren't enough Latino candidates?

Community Member: Well, I think it's because the majority of the Latinos don't finish their careers. When's the last time you saw a Mexican doctor or lawyer here? I always see American doctors and lawyers. That's why I think it is, they don't get to the point in their life where they become professionals.

Interviewer: Do you want your children to vote some day?

Community Member: Yes, so they make a difference. Right now there are studying. They are bilingual. They will know their rights. I think things will change if they finish their educational careers, they need to. The country will listen to them more because they will be educated. That's what I think.

Interviewer: To finish this interview, what is the most important political issue for you today?

Community Member: Education. We need more information of the education our children are receiving. I'm sure there are good teachers there, but most of us Mexicans don't know what's going on because we don't speak English. It would be nice if we could get help in Spanish in terms of the education being given at the school. Also, [we need] resources that we as parents could use to help our children, because those who have scholarships have no worries. But if my daughter does not get a scholarship, I don't know who to talk to or where to go to help her in her education.

Interview #4 – Adult male friend of family in front yard

Interviewer: Have you ever voted in an election in any country?

Community Member: No.

Interviewer: What were some of your reasons for not voting?

Community Member: Well, I don't think they believe or listen to what we say.

Interviewer: How man times in the past few years have people asked you to vote or said you should vote?

Community Member: they never ask me, they just send papers in the mail, but that's ever it.

Interviewer: Have you ever registered to vote?

Community Member: No

Interviewer: Do you think the government cares if you vote?

Community Member: No, they make their own decisions.

Interviewer: Do you think voting matters?

Community Member: Well, if they would listen, yes, but I don't think they listen.

Interviewer: Do you think in some countries it matters or maybe it doesn't matter here, or in all countries?

Community Member: In other countries, I don't think they care.

Interviewer: Do you think that politicians could make things better if they wanted to?

Community Member: Yea. If they wanted, yes.

Interviewer: Do you think they have the power to make changes

Community Member: Yes.

Interviewer: Do you think there are enough Latino or Mexican candidates running for elections these days?

Community Member: Not in this area, probably in Texas, Florida or California. That's where you hear of most Latino candidates. Because you see, I was born in Texas and there are more Latino candidates.

Interviewer: Why do you think that is? That there aren't enough Latino or Mexican candidates running for office?

Community Member: Here?

Interviewer: In Washington and in Walla Walla.

Community Member: Well, it started pretty slow. The Latino population is growing now. The Latino population before didn't exist.

Interviewer: Do you think that would be better for making changes, having more Latino candidates?

Community Member: It depends on the [candidate], because, is he gonna work for the Mexican people or American people?

Interviewer: Do you have children?

Community Member: Yes

Interviewer: Do you want your children to vote?

Community Member: If they want to, yes

Interviewer: What's the most important political issue for you today?

Community Member: Education and college entrance and stuff like that.

Appendix C:

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE EASTERN DISTRICT OF WASHINGTON
YAKIMA DIVISION

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

Plaintiff,

CV-04-3072-LRS
CIVIL NO.

v.

YAKIMA COUNTY;
CORKY MATTINGLY,
Yakima County Auditor;
JIM LEWIS, RONALD GAMACHE,
and JESSE PALACIOS,
County Commissioners.

CONSENT DECREE

Defendants.

I. Background

A. The United States of America initiated this action pursuant to Section 203 of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 ("Section 203"), as amended, 42 U.S.C. § 1973aa- 1a, 1973aa-2, and 28 U.S.C. § 2201, alleging that election practices and procedures used by Yakima County, Washington, for Spanish-speaking citizens violate Section 203. The claim under Section 203 must be heard and determined by a court of three judges pursuant to 42 U.S.C. § 1973aa-2 and 28 U.S.C. § 2284.

B. Yakima County's coverage under Section 203 is based on a determination by the Director of the Census that more than five (5) percent of the citizens of voting age in the County are members of a single language minority group (Spanish heritage) who do not speak or understand English well enough to participate effectively in the English-language election process (hereinafter referred to as Spanish-speaking citizens or voters), and that these persons have an illiteracy rate higher than the national illiteracy rate, 42 U.S.C. 1973aa-1(a).

C. In 1976 Yakima County was designated by the Director of the Census as a jurisdiction subject to the requirements of Section 203 for persons of Spanish

heritage. 41 Fed. Reg. 29,998 (July 20, 1976). In 2002, Yakima County was again so designated by the Director of the Census. 67 Fed. Reg. 48,871 (July 26, 2002).

D. The United States alleges in its complaint that Yakima County is not fully compliant with the requirements of Section 203 for Spanish-speaking citizens residing in Yakima County with respect to the need to:

1. Provide complete and accurate Spanish translations of all materials and information produced in English and provided to the public, including but not limited to, ballots, information about voter registration, candidate qualification procedures, voting by mail or absentee, voting at the polls, and voting-related information on the Yakima County website;
2. Provide effective Spanish language assistance at County offices and polling places regarding election-related issues;
3. Publish Spanish language materials in a timely fashion;
4. Make Spanish language materials, information, and assistance available to Spanish-speaking voters; and
5. Provide Spanish materials to those voters who need them or take steps to notify such Spanish-speaking voters that Spanish materials are available.

E. The named defendant parties (hereinafter "Yakima County") do not admit to the allegations of the complaint. Yakima County, however, does share with the United States a mutual interest to implement procedures that will protect the rights of Spanish-speaking voters to participate fully in the electoral process in compliance with the Voting Rights Act and the United States Constitution, and therefore, Yakima County agrees to implement fully the terms of this consent decree for enforcement of all applicable laws. Accordingly, the United States and Yakima County consent to the entry of this Order, as indicated by the signatures of counsel at the end of this document. The parties waive a hearing and entry of findings of fact and conclusions of law on all issues involved in this matter.

Accordingly, it is hereby **ORDERED, ADJUDGED, AND DECREED** that Yakima County, its agents, employees, contractors, successors and all other persons representing the interests of Yakima County are hereby ENJOINED from violating Section 203 by failing to provide in Spanish any "registration or voting notices, forms, instructions, assistance or other materials or information" that they provide in English. 42 U.S.C. § 1973aa-la(c). More specifically, Yakima County shall be required to do the following:

II. Translation of election-related materials

. All "registration or voting notices, forms, instructions, assistance, or other materials or information relating to the electoral process, including ballots," 42 U.S.C. 1973aa-1a(c), provided by Yakima County shall also be provided by Yakima County in the Spanish language. Yakima County shall ensure that both English and Spanish language election information, materials, and announcements provided by Yakima County are made equally available.

A. Yakima County shall translate into Spanish all election-related documents and information it provides in English. Such translation shall begin as soon as the English text is known and shall be completed so as to allow distribution along with the English text. To ensure the quality of translations, the County shall employ trained translators who are familiar with Spanish language election terminology to produce clear and accurate written translations. The County shall develop and maintain a glossary of Spanish election terminology using Spanish terms understandable to local Latino citizens in concert with bilingual members of local Latino communities.

B. All official ballots, including absentee ballots, shall be printed bilingually in both English and Spanish. Any new voting system adopted by the County shall offer bilingual ballots or a readily apparent option of a Spanish ballot, and any audible version of the ballot on such machines shall be available in English and Spanish.

III. Dissemination of Spanish language information.

. All voter registration and election notices, forms, instructions, and other materials available to voters in English shall also be printed in Spanish and shall be displayed or available in the County Auditor's Office, each polling place, and any other location where the County posts election-related materials on the same basis as English language materials and information.

A. Yakima County shall ensure that all Spanish- and English-language election-related information, materials, and announcements are made equally available. Spanish-language information shall be distributed through newspapers, radio and other media that exclusively or regularly publish or broadcast information in Spanish. Dissemination of these announcements need not be identical in all respects to dissemination of English-language announcements, but shall be in the form, frequency, and media best calculated to achieve notice and understanding equal to that provided to the English-speaking population.

B. Yakima County shall adopt a checklist identifying each Spanish-language and bilingual material that the County makes available to the public at each polling place. The checklist shall include, for each item, an attestation that the poll workers at the polling place posted or made available to voters such Spanish-language or bilingual document, or solicit a detailed written explanation of why individual items were not posted or available. The election inspector for each polling place must complete and sign this document before receiving payment for work in the election, subject to applicable state and federal law. Yakima County shall maintain a record of each failure to complete and sign the checklist.

IV. Spanish Language Assistance

. Trained bilingual (English/Spanish) election personnel shall be available to answer voting related questions by telephone without cost during normal business hours and while the polls are open on election days.

A. Yakima County shall recruit, hire, and assign sufficient bilingual (Spanish/English) poll workers, who are able to understand, speak, read, and write Spanish fluently, to provide assistance to Spanish-speaking voters at the polls on election days. To assist in the recruitment of bilingual poll workers, the County

shall survey its employees to identify personnel who speak Spanish and, to the extent such employees can be made available to provide assistance, allow and encourage such employees to serve at the polls on election day or be available "on call" to address questions or problems that may arise.

B. As part of its obligation to ensure that entities on whose behalf the County conducts elections are fully compliant with Section 203 in their elections, the County shall request that each entity for which it conducts elections perform similar surveys of its employees and shall request from such entities, and maintain copies of, all election-related materials and information created or disseminated by such entities for each election. In addition, the County shall request that each school district or other educational entity for which the County conducts elections implement a program that allows and encourages selected bilingual students (as allowed by state law and as part of an educational program devised by such district) to serve as poll workers on election day for all County elections, including election days that fall on school days, with such students receiving academic credit appropriate to their service as well as all pay and benefits of poll officials.

C. The County shall invite eligible members of the Advisory Group, discussed below, to serve as paid poll workers and to encourage other bilingual voters to do so. The County shall publicize to the Spanish speaking community the option of absentee voting to the same extent it does so for English-speaking voters.

D. Bilingual assistance shall be provided in polling places in accordance with the following:

1. In polling places where the number of Spanish surnamed registered voters is 150 to 299, there shall be at least one poll worker
   bilingual in Spanish and English.
2. In polling places where the number of Spanish surnamed registered voters is 300 to 599, there shall be at least two poll workers
   bilingual in Spanish and English.
3. In polling places where the number of Spanish surnamed registered voters is 600 to 999, there shall be at least three poll workers bilingual in Spanish and English.
4. In polling places where the number of Spanish surnamed registered voters is over 1,000, there shall be at least four poll workers bilingual in Spanish and English.
5. When assigning poll workers bilingual in Spanish and English to election boards at various polling places, assignment should be done
   in a manner that there will be at least one bilingual poll worker on each election board, whenever feasible.
6. The parties may agree to adjust the standards in this section in light of information that the actual language need in a particular polling place is lesser or greater than that set forth above.

E. Yakima County shall make available and train in Spanish language election terminology sufficient bilingual personnel who shall be on call throughout election day to provide language assistance to Spanish-speaking voters in person at any polling place in which additional language assistance is needed or where no bilingual poll worker is available. Such on-call staff shall be stationed in appropriate areas of the County, including in the City of Yakima and locations in the lower Yakima Valley, so as to minimize any delay for voters while the staff member travels to the polling place.

F. At each training session prior to an election, in addition to any required state or County training, the County shall train all poll workers and other election personnel present at the polls on the requirements of Section 203, including making Spanish language assistance and materials available to voters and being respectful and courteous to all voters regardless of race, color, language abilities, or national origin. In addition to the general training for poll workers and interpreters, the County shall train all bilingual poll workers on Spanish language election terminology and how to interpret into Spanish the ballot(s), voting instructions, and other election-related issues. The County shall maintain a record of which poll workers attend training sessions, including the time, location, and training personnel involved.

G. Yakima County shall post signs prominently in both English and Spanish at sites where voting occurs stating that Spanish language assistance is available. Bilingual poll workers shall be identified as such by badges. At sites without bilingual poll workers, signs in both English and Spanish shall be posted that explain how voters can obtain Spanish language assistance.

H. Upon receipt of complaints by voters, whether oral or written, Yakima County shall investigate expeditiously any allegations of poll worker hostility toward Spanish-speaking and/or Latino voters in any election. Yakima County shall report the results of each investigation to the United States. Where there is worker(s) have engaged in inappropriate treatment of credible evidence that a poll Spanish-speaking and/or Latino voters, Yakima County shall remove the poll worker(s).

V. Program Coordinator

. The County shall employ, on a full time basis, an individual to coordinate the County's Bilingual Election Program ("Program Coordinator") for all elections within the County. The County shall provide that individual with transportation and other support sufficient to meet the goals of the Program. The Program Coordinator shall be able to understand, speak, write, and read fluently both Spanish and English.

A. The Program Coordinator shall work under the supervision of the Yakima County Auditor to implement a bilingual election program. The Program Coordinator's responsibilities shall include coordination of translation of ballots and other election information; development of an election glossary to ensure uniform use of election terminology in Spanish; development and oversight of publicity, including selection of appropriate Spanish-language media for notices and announcements in Spanish and English-language print media that specifically serves Latino communities for announcements in English; recruitment of bilingual

poll workers and interpreters, including assessment of their Spanish language proficiency; devising specific steps to provide election information to the Spanish-speaking community; sending staff to make presentations and answer questions at events and meetings sponsored by Latino community organizations; and managing other aspects of the Program.

VI. Advisory Group:

. The Program Coordinator shall establish and chair an Advisory Group to assist and inform the Bilingual Election Program and shall invite participation from all organizations listed in Attachment A, as well as other individuals and organizations that work with or serve the Spanish-speaking and Latino communities in Yakima County. Such Advisory Group shall be open to all interested persons.

A. The Advisory Group shall meet at least once a month in 2004, at least every two months during 2005, and as the group determines is necessary in 2006. In these meetings, Yakima County shall solicit information on how most effectively to provide election materials, information, and assistance to Spanish-speaking voters and how to publicize the County's Spanish language election program. The Program Coordinator shall provide notice of all planned meetings to each member, including the date, time, location, and meeting agenda at least 14 days in advance, although members of the Advisory Group may agree to waive or shorten this time period as necessary.

B. Within five days after each meeting, the Program Coordinator shall provide a written summary of the discussion and any decisions reached at the meeting to all members and to the County Auditor. If the County Auditor decides not to implement an Advisory Group suggestion or a consensus cannot be reached respecting such suggestion, the Auditor shall provide to the group through the Program Coordinator and maintain on file a written statement of the reasons for rejecting such suggestion.

C. The County shall transmit to all interested members of the advisory group copies, in English and Spanish, of all election information, announcements, and notices that are provided or made available to the electorate and general public and request that they share such information with their members.

VII. Evaluation of the plan

The parties recognize that regular and ongoing reassessment may be necessary in order to provide the most effective and efficient Spanish language program. Yakima County shall evaluate the Bilingual Election Program after each election cycle (e.g., following 2004 elections) to determine which aspects of the Bilingual Election Program are functioning well; whether any aspects need improvement; and how to make needed improvements. The program may be adjusted at any time upon written agreement of the parties.

VIII. Federal Examiners and Observers:

. To monitor compliance with this Decree, the appointment of federal examiners is authorized for Yakima County pursuant to Section 3(a) of the Voting Rights Act, 42 U.S.C. 1973a(a), through December 31, 2006.

A. Yakima County acknowledges the authority of federal observers to observe all aspects of voting conducted in the polls on election day, including the observers' authority to view County personnel providing assistance to voters during voting, except where the voter objects.

IX. Retention of Documents and Reporting Requirements

. During the duration of this decree, the County shall make and maintain written records of all actions taken pursuant to this Consent Decree. Such documents, lists, and records shall be made available, upon reasonable notice, to the United States for inspection and copying.

A. During the duration of this decree, at least ten (10) days before each County-administered election held in the County, Yakima County shall provide to counsel for the United States, the name, address, and precinct designation of each polling place; the name and title of each poll worker appointed and assigned to serve at each polling place; a designation of whether each poll worker is bilingual in English and Spanish; and an electronic copy of the final, official voter registration list to be used in each such election. Within thirty (30) days after each election, Yakima County shall provide to counsel for the United States any updated report regarding changes in these items as well as information about all complaints the County received at the election regarding language or assistance issues and the voters' registration list used in the election.

X. Duty to Defend Consent Decree

The parties to this Consent Decree shall employ their best efforts to defend this Consent Decree against any legal challenge.

XI. Jurisdiction

The Court shall retain jurisdiction of this case to enter further relief or such other orders as may be necessary for the effectuation of the terms of this agreement and to ensure compliance with Section 203.

XII. Termination of Consent Decree

This agreement is final and binding between the parties and their successors in office regarding the claims raised in this action. This agreement shall remain in effect through December 31, 2006, and the United States may, within 90 days of that date, move to extend the decree for good cause shown, in the event of a violation of any provision contained herein by the County.

AGREED AND CONSENTED TO:

For Plaintiff:
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
_____/s/_____
James A. McDevitt, United States Attorney
William A. Beatty, Asst. United States

For Defendants:
_____/s/_____
Terry Austin, Esp.
County Counsel, Yakima County

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/s/
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Assistant Attorney General
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/s/
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Bruce I. Gear
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U.S. Department of Justice
950 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20530

JUDGMENT AND ORDER

This three-judge Court, having been properly empaneled under 28 U.S.C. § 2284 to consider the United States' claim under Section 203 of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (as amended), 42 U.S.C. § 1973aa-la (1992), and having determined that it has jurisdiction over this claim, has considered the terms of the Consent Decree, hereby enters the relief set forth above and incorporates those terms herein.

ENTERED and ORDERED this 3rd day of September, 2004.

/s/
Susan P. Graber
UNITED STATES CIRCUIT JUDGE

/s/
Fred Van Sickle
UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGE

/s/
Lonny R. Suko
UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGE