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Marcela Rodriguez-Campo

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NOS/OTRXS QUE FUIMOS SEPARADOS: RECOVERING TESTIMONIOS OF
SEPARATION AND RESISTANCE

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A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
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Abstract

In the U.S. xenophobia has been on the rise and current immigration policies have increased the occurrence of family separation. Experiences with family separation profoundly impact children and have a detrimental effect on their development and educational outcomes. However, limited research has been conducted exploring the long-term impacts of family separation on education, particularly as it relates to Latinx tender-age children (below the age of twelve). In the current political climate, Latinx children are precariously positioned to live under the constant threat of family separation due to anti-immigrant policies and xenophobic school climates. This hostile environment can have devastating effects on the educational access and attainment of Latinx children.

The purpose of this qualitative study is to build on previous research on the long-term impacts of family separation on Latinx educational trajectories by exploring the memories of adult Latinx immigrants. This study explores the following questions: 1) How do Latinx immigrants reflect on the long-term effects of family separation on their educational experiences? 2) Through their testimonios, how do Latinx immigrants remember and reflect on their experiences? 3) To what extent can testimonios of Latinx immigrants of family separation inform K-16 educators about how to develop a supportive school culture and climate for Latinx children?

Through a Chicana Latina feminist framework, this work challenges Eurocentric conceptions of research and blurs the line between researcher and participant. Through in-depth semi-structured interviews and *pláticas*, five Latinx immigrants who experienced family separation during a tender age recover their memories related to separation, education, and resistance to co-construct their testimonios. Findings from this research demonstrate the ways in

which family separation produces enduring vulnerabilities for Latinx immigrant children and the innovative ways that they resist fragmentation by reconstructing their families. Additionally, these testimonios reveal the role that schools play as sites of visibility and integration for Latinx immigrant children through teacher *cariño*, peer relationships, and connections to the curriculum. By theorizing from their experiences, testimonialistas reveal that the ultimate impact of family separation is the development of a critical consciousness which enables them to critically examine immigration systems. These testimonios have far-reaching implications for understanding how Latinx immigrants queer their families to navigate immigration processes and develop a radical *cariño* for reimagining their families.

Keywords: Latinx immigrant students, family separation, testimonio, Chicana Latina feminism, queering family, radical *cariño*

Land Acknowledgement

I would like to begin by recognizing the land that the University of Nevada, Las Vegas sits on, which is the traditional territory and homelands of the Southern Paiute, known as the Nuwu or Las Vegas Paiute People (Douglas, 2020). Their presence on these lands extends beyond 1100 A.D. and they continue to remain within these lands in ceremony, culture, and stewardship (Baldy, 2021; Bauer, 2019). I offer my gratitude to them, as protectors and caretakers of this land, who destabilize and resist notions of belonging, empire, and power. I invite all of us to interrogate our relationship to this land as we pursue an equitably just society.

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Chapter One: Introduction

We Were the Ones Left Behind: A Testimonio of Family Separation¹

When I was separated from my family I collapsed into myself and tried to become as small as an atom, infinitely divided. I folded my sorrow over and over again — hoping that by taking up less space, I may create room for my family to rejoin me. There is no understanding, no reconciling or consoling the feeling of abandonment. I grew up with a gaping open wound in the center of my chest and shrunk into myself to hide my permanent dissonance. When I was separated from my family, I forgot my parents' names: ma y pa's love required no introduction. When my teachers asked who they could call at home, I cried, believing that no one was there waiting for me. Being a child and separated from your family leaves you suspended in the space-time continuum: there is no up or down, no space or ground, no logic capable of explaining your utter displacement from within and without.

When my parents immigrated to the U.S. I was a healthy toddler, but when I finally saw them again almost two years later I was severely underweight, borderline malnourished, and mute. I was the shell of a child, my inner three-year-old trapped in the corners of my mind, peering out into this unknown new world. Physically and emotionally, I was stunted by the entire experience. I began talking eventually, but it was only when I entered college that the words came back, that I began to reopen the wound and make sense of what happened to me, to us. The words I did not have as a child finally arrived: abandonment, trauma, loss, pain, silence, sacrificio, separation.

I have been looking over old pictures of my childhood. I pause at a Polaroid, dated February of 1999, my name is written on the front between two sketched out stars. There is a principal's award between two small brown hands, hidden in an oversized sweater and school

¹ Reproduced by permission of Latinx Spaces (See Appendix G).

uniform. I am kind of smiling, without bearing my teeth. There is a lot of pride in this small photograph. I think about how when I first arrived in this country I did not speak English, and in fact did not speak at all. Five-year-olds do not have the language to make sense of abandonment, of loss, of mourning. I recognize the conviction and hope in this little girl's eyes. I remember her itching to go to school, crying when she watched her siblings leave, feeling her heart double in size when they brought her home juice boxes and lunch trays. This little girl wanted to learn. How did she still manage to learn?

Figure 1

Childhood polaroid, Kindergarten, Mrs. Safille's class dated 2/1/1999



As someone who experienced being separated from her family, I know that this experience does not leave you, but I also know that as children of immigrants we stay quiet and

hide our traumas. Pero el cuerpo recuerda; but the body remembers. I offer my testimonio to unsilence the traumas, to give voice to the little girl in this photograph, who despite it all, loved to learn. Here, I am researcher and researched, I am daughter and teacher, I am a storyteller and scholar. Here, I invite others who have lived similar separations into conversation, so that together we can reconcile memory and reunite our familias, so that we can give voice to the silences within us, porque no estamos solos. And together, we can heal. Juntos, podemos ser fuertes.

Statement of the Problem

Given the current sociopolitical climate of increased deportations, apprehensions, and xenophobic policies, Latinx² children in particular live under the constant threat of experiencing separation due to the migration or deportation of their families (Dreby, 2015). This has produced a culture of fear in schools, what scholars are calling the *Trump effect* which has stoked anxiety and depression at alarming rates in Latinx children and youth (Costello, 2016; Rivera-Calderón, Anonymous, Daiana Espindola, & Marie Gonzalez, 2019). Despite an extensive history of separating families of color in the U.S. through chattel slavery, boarding schools, the Bracero program, and internment camps, family separation is still weaponized in response to immigration and the long-term impacts of separation are largely understudied (Au, Brown, & Calderón, 2016; Rosas, 2014). While research exists depicting the experiences of immigrants in schools and exploring the harms of separation on youth, there is a gap in the literature in capturing the long-term impacts of family separation on tender age children (below the age of twelve years old) and its relationship to educational attainment, particularly in regards to understanding Latinx

² Latinx is used as an umbrella term for Latinas, Latinos, and non-binary Latinx people to disrupt gender binaries, and be inclusive of gender nonconforming communities within the Latin American diaspora. Additionally, unlike the term Hispanic-- which was developed and imposed by the U.S. Census, Latinx is inclusive of Indigenous, African, and Spanish ancestry (Gonzalez & Gandara, 2005; Pelaez Lopez, 2018; Rodríguez, 2017).

student persistence and resilience (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2002). This qualitative study will employ *testimonio* to uncover the memories of Latinx adults who experienced family separation as tender age children to understand its long-term impact on their education, and better yet, to reveal what these long-term impacts actually look like into adulthood and how they coped through their experiences (Deeb-Sossa & Rodriguez, 2019).

Overwhelmingly the existing literature on family separation experiences of Latinx children capture the harmful impacts on the family, child development, and educational attainment (Dreby, 2015). While previous research points to the impacts on youth, few have explored how family separation informs educational trajectories, and even fewer have specifically focused on the educational impacts it has on tender-age children. Extensive medical and psychosocial research exists on the damaging effects of family separation on the mental, emotional, physical, and social health of children and their families, let alone the doubly terrible effects of pairing separation with institutionalization on children which recent arrivals are experiencing (Rojas-Flores, Clements, Hwang Koo, & London, 2017). Children who are exposed to fears of separation are susceptible to experiencing these long-term harms. This is especially significant for immigrant and Latinx children who witness anti-immigrant policies playing out on the social stage and in their schools (Rubio-Hernandez & Ayón, 2016).

It is estimated that 5.1 million children in the U.S. live with at least one undocumented parent (Beltran, 2018). In 2018, 256,086 undocumented people were deported, an 11% increase from the previous year, and a 46% increase from 2016 (Department of Homeland Security, 2019). The Urban Institute found that “for every two immigrants apprehended, one child was left behind” (Capps, Castaneda, Chaudry, & Santos, 2007, p. ii). Recent zero-tolerance practices and tightened immigration policies have led to the detention and separation of immigrant families

increasing at record breaking rates, including those seeking asylum (Lind, 2018). Since Latinx students are one of the largest immigrant groups in the U.S. they have the highest risk of experiencing separation due to the migration or deportation of their families. The increasing detention of family units at the border along with xenophobic policies that further limit immigration and specifically target immigrants make separation a much more common experience.

Unfortunately, family separation is a far more common experience than the available data suggests since these numbers do not include the millions of children and youth who are left behind in home countries or sent to the United States alone during the immigration of their families, but who nonetheless experience some form of separation. In 2018, more than 52,000 unaccompanied minors (UAC) were referred for detention, and as of 2019 have an average detention of 89 days-- nearly double the length of stay for the previous fiscal year (Office of Refugee Resettlement, 2019). Tragically, six children (twice the number since the beginning of this research)-- Wilmer Josué Ramírez Vásquez (2), Jakelin Caal Maquín (7), Felipe Gómez Alonzo (8), Darlyn Cristabel Cordoba-Valle (10), Juan de León Gutiérrez (16), and Carlos Hernandez Vásquez (16)-- have died in government custody due to inadequate care, and have been permanently separated from their families (Hennessy-Fiske, 2019).

The Growth of Anti-Immigrant and Anti-Latinx Sentiments

Despite the popular adage that we are a “nation of immigrants,” the U.S. has traditionally taken a clear and hostile position against non-Western and non-Northern European immigration (Feagin & Cobas, 2015). In their inception, U.S. immigration policies worked to restrict and control which immigrant populations were granted entry all the while prioritizing European immigration, and even eventually expanding its understanding of whiteness to include

immigrants that were once considered less desirable, including Eastern and Southern Europeans (Sáenz & Douglas, 2015). This transformation of racial categories according to Bonilla-Silva (2004) is a function that protects whiteness by stretching to absorb previously excluded groups, including the new whites (Eastern and Southern Europeans) so that they may act as a buffer between elite whites and people of color. As a result, one fact that remained clear is that despite Eastern and Southern Europeans being othered in some ways, they nonetheless gained access into whiteness and many of the benefits of citizenship, all the while immigrants of color were perpetually positioned as foreign and unassimilable into U.S. society.

To naturalize within itself a white racial heteronormative hierarchy, the U.S. developed a federal immigration system that would in effect produce a white national identity through policies that favored European immigrants and enabled their access to rights, wealth, integration, and mobility. The first of which was the *1790 Nationality Act* which exclusively offered citizenship to white free men (Luibheid & Cantú, 2005). These policies also included national origin quotas, family reunification policies like the *Immigration and Nationality Act (1965)*, promises of prosperity and land through westward expansion under the *Homestead Act (1862)*, and the militarization of the border through the *Immigration Control and Reform Act (1986)* (Prieto, 2018; USCIS, 2016). These policies laid the foundation for the existing inequities and racial disparities that the U.S. continues to see today.

Simultaneously, policies were created that restricted and criminalized the migration of queer³ and people of color into the U.S. such as the *Page Act (1875)* which kept Chinese women out, the *Chinese Exclusion Act (1882)* which barred Chinese immigrants, the use of the census to

³ Queer is “an umbrella term used to refer to gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender people” (Revilla & Santillana, 2014, p. 178).

determine these national origin quotas, the dispossession of land from Native Americans and Mexicans on ceded territory, and the repatriation of Mexican nationals (and U.S.-born citizens) during Operation “Wetback” in 1954 (Acuña, 2015; Motomura, 2007). Anti-immigrant sentiments have most forcefully targeted people of color, such as: Chinese and Asian immigrants through exclusion policies, Africans after their forced migration to the U.S. and exclusion from citizenship, and Latinx immigrants who continue to be targeted by the *Latino threat narrative* to justify their illegality and deportation (Chavez, 2008). Likewise, queer immigrants were excluded until the *Immigration Act of 1990* was passed (Luibheid & Cantú, 2005).

Presently, the U.S. is progressively becoming more violent and aggressive in its campaign to maintain a white national identity as immigrant populations are becoming browner and darker (Prieto, 2018). For example, through policies like the *Johnson-Reed Immigration Act (1924)*, which created a quota system that favored Northern and Western Europeans based on the 1890 Census and excluded Asia completely, the U.S. was able to control which nationalities were admissible . The *Hart-Cellar Act (1965)* prioritized high skilled immigrants and family reunification, but capped visas so much so that 20% were from European countries (Chavez, 2008). Over the last century Latinxes have been at the center of the criminalization of immigration through their employment (exploitation of labor) or disposability (deportation). The *Immigration Control and Reform Act (1986)* granted amnesty to the sum of 2.7 million previously undocumented immigrants while at the same time establishing the E-Verify system which prevents employers from hiring undocumented people, with the intent of discouraging unauthorized migration (Ramirez, 2020). Since that tactic proved ineffective at thwarting immigration, the U.S. implemented the *Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (1996)* which created penalties for undocumented people and made them

deportable for misdemeanors and felonies. In effect, making it even clearer that the U.S. has constructed immigrant criminality in order to maintain its white national identity (Abrego & Negrón-Gonzales, 2020).

Nonetheless, *latinidad* in particular has been constructed in the U.S. imaginary as so outside and beyond Americanness that it cannot integrate, assimilate, or become a part of the U.S. in order to justify their exclusion (Feagin & Cobas, 2015). Chavez (2008) coined this concept as the *Latino threat narrative* as a frame that is commonly used by policymakers in their arguments to further restrict immigration and access to full citizenship. This is particularly true for U.S. conceptualizations of legality and immigration reform debates in which Latinx fertility, language, and culture are all used to stoke the xenophobic fears of white nationalism in order to rationalize pursuing birthright citizenship restrictions, rollbacks on family reunification priorities, and the criminalization of Latinx people. For example, Garcia (2017) found that Mexican American women, despite their U.S. citizenship, experienced heightened discrimination due to the ways in which “illegality” is racialized and how anti-immigrant sentiments produce hostile environments in work and school. Additionally, Jimenez (2008) found that multi-generational Mexican Americans continued to experience discrimination and demonstrated a salience to their Mexican identity due to their racialized experiences that continued to push them to the margins of American society. Regardless of their legal status, attempts at integration, or their history in the U.S., Latinx people continue to be denied entry into mainstream society. Unlike previous European immigrant groups which over time were able to metaphorically melt into the U.S. pot, Latinx people have not been granted such status and are viewed as “chili pepper[s] in the pot”, never quite melting into society and made into perpetual foreigners (Villanueva, 1993, p. 56).

The most recent iteration of anti-immigrant sentiments have mutated into the institutionalization of family separation as a political approach to reducing immigration and reaffirming the country's commitment to protecting whiteness. Most recently, the U.S. has used presidential executive orders to reduce immigration pathways by further restricting asylum eligibility, eliminating enforcement discretion, reducing quota caps, and pursuing public charge policies that would narrow immigration to merit-based and high-skilled immigrants (Moore, 2019; Sessions, 2018). Similar to the xenophobic propaganda used against nearly every other minoritized group, the threat of changing the racial makeup of the U.S. is currently being used to indefinitely detain Latinx children and their families (Escobar, 2015). Both short-sighted and misinformed, this racist nationalism ignores the circumstances which produce immigration to the U.S., namely the United States' long history and involvement in the destabilization of Latin American countries, their governments, and economies (Acuña, 2015; Galeano, 1997; González, 2011; Vargas, 2017). The crisis at the border is a consequence of the abuses that Latin American countries-- particularly Honduras, El Salvador, Guatemala, and Mexico-- have been victim to at the hands of the U.S. through capitalism, colonialism, and industrialization (Acuña, 2015; Eckstein, Künzel, Schäfer, & Germanwatch, 2017; González, 2011).

Despite this, recent U.S. federal zero tolerance policies on undocumented immigration compounded by rising family unit migration has led to increases in immigrant detention and have put in the national spotlight the human rights violations occurring at the U.S.-Mexico border and the separation of families (Lind, 2018; Vick, 2018). Family separation, however, is not a new tactic, but rather a strategy used by the United States since the formation of our country to further settler colonialism and maintain white supremacy (Au, Brown, & Calderón, 2016). Separation was used during the enslavement of African Americans and the forced separation of the family

unit. The dispossession of land of Native American tribes and the taking of their children to boarding schools (Child, 1998; Tuhiwai Smith, 2012). The incarceration of Japanese American families, and the present day separation of Latinx immigrants and asylum seekers (Au, Brown, & Calderon, 2016; Fenwick, 2019; Lind, 2018; Sessions, 2018). For Latinx immigrants, family separation has become a much more common threat for children and their families as stricter immigration policies impede immigration, criminalize immigrants, and punish families with impunity upon their arrival.

The Costs of Anti-immigrant Sentiments in Schools for Latinx Students

The human costs of family separation threaten our country's educational, economic, and moral future. While the Latinx population in the U.S. makes up 28% of K-12 public school student enrollments, Latinx families are vigorously targeted by anti-immigrant policies and toxic xenophobic sentiments in schools, making it unsurprising that the Latinx community has the lowest educational outcomes across all racialized groups (Krogstad, 2019; Huber, Malagón, Ramirez, Gonzalez, Jimenez, & Vélez, 2015). As Valenzuela (1999) suggests in her research on Latinx youth, "rather than students failing school, schools fail students" (p. 30). Latinx children across the U.S. are experiencing a daily attack on their safety and security, and our schools and teachers are entirely ill-equipped to support them. Schools are the frontlines for supporting Latinx children in their integration into U.S. society, however, they continually fail to support their success effectively and holistically (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2002).

Although Valenzuela (2005; 1999) found that Latinx immigrant youth demonstrated a more positive school ethos than their U.S. born peers, the current shift in immigration policies challenges us to consider how hyper-violent experiences and threats of family separation can be impacting tender-age Latinxs attitudes and resilience in schools. At the intersection of Latinx

immigrant health and education, Rivera-Calderón (2019) along with her co-researchers--her Latina students-- discovered the prevalence of the grave and dynamic impacts of anti-immigrant sentiments and threats of family separation on Latina youth in schools, including disproportionate rates of depression, anxiety, suicidal ideation, and suicide attempts. In Philadelphia, one in five Latina girls considered suicide, and one in ten attempted suicide. Despite Latina girls having large educational aspirations, the overwhelming impacts of xenophobic policies that stoke fear in immigrant communities significantly reduced their educational attainment, attendance, and engagement in school. Dee and Murphy (2019) corroborate this finding as they also found that anti-immigrant enforcement policies have negative effects on school attendance and engagement of Latinx children.

The fact of the matter is that family separation undeniably has long-lasting intergenerational effects on the lives of those who have experienced it and has proven to be an effective weapon for domination (Spring, 2016). A partner in pursuing this agenda is a U.S. educational system which has historically been complicit in maintaining a Eurocentric schooling system that reinforces white supremacy through the economic, educational, cultural, and social subjugation of people of color (Au, Brown, & Calderon, 2016; Vargas, 2017; Woodson, 1990). Valenzuela (1999) suggests that for Latinx youth “schooling is a subtractive process. It divests these youth of important social and cultural resources, leaving them progressively vulnerable to academic failure” (p. 3). Anti-Latinx schooling policies, which will be addressed in further detail in the literature review, coupled with xenophobic immigration policies positions Latinx immigrant children to be doubly vulnerable in ways that continue to reproduce negative educational and life outcomes.

Purpose of the Proposed Study

The purpose of this qualitative study is to: 1) recover family separation testimonios in order to understand the long-term impacts of family separation on child development, life outcomes, family life, and educational trajectories; 2) identify strategies and practices based on the results of the data collection that can support community healing, help reduce a climate of fear and produce a culture of empathy across communities. I intend to utilize testimonio as a means to understand how Latinx immigrants have been impacted by their separation experiences and how it has affected their educational trajectory. Documenting the experiences of Latinx immigrants contributes to the historical record since the Latinx community and the arduous experiences by which immigrants and their families endure in order to participate in the United States has largely been excluded. Understanding these experiences will help better inform public and educational policy, diversify the historical record, visibilize the experiences of Latinx immigrants, and begin the healing process for the community.

Research Questions

This study explores the following questions:

- 1) How do Latinx immigrants reflect on the long-term effects of family separation on their educational experiences?
- 2) Through their *testimonios*, how do Latinx immigrants remember and reflect on their experiences?
- 3) To what extent can testimonios of Latinx immigrants of family separation inform K-16 educators about how to develop a supportive school culture and climate for Latinx children?

Theoretical Framework

To inform my study, I adopt a Chicana Latina feminist epistemological (CLFE) framework which “maintains connections to indigenous roots by embracing the dualities that are necessary and complementary qualities, and by challenging dichotomies that offer opposition without reconciliation” (Delgado Bernal, 1998, p. 560). To claim a Chicana Latina feminist epistemological framework means grounding the work in intersectional feminism and critical race theory. Intersectional feminism came out of a critique to mainstream feminism which centered the experiences of White, middle class, ciswomen and disregarded the concerns and experiences of Women of Color (Mann, 2012). Intersectional feminism centers the experiential knowledge that Women of Color have to offer and it challenges traditional understandings of knowledge construction, production, and objectivity. While traditionally, knowledge is said to be objective and apart from the individual, intersectional feminists argue that knowledge is bound and informed by our specific identities which form our positionality. To claim otherwise, would be to center White cismale experiences as the default. Traditional approaches to knowledge have largely been white and male dominated, while in the process delegitimizing the experiences of women and people of color. Re-centering the experiences of Women of Color then is decolonial, anti-oppressive, anti-hegemonic, anti-patriarchal, and anti-racist in that it not only acknowledges their existence, but also positions these knowledges as valuable (Smith, 2012).

In *This Bridge Called My Back*, Moraga and Anzaldúa (2015) specifically create space for scholarship and thought by Women of Color as a critique of the white dominant narrative around women’s experiences. Here, they develop the concept of theory in the flesh, in which “the physical realities of our lives-- our own skin color, the land or concrete we grew up on, our sexual longings-- all fuse together to create a politic born out of necessity” (p. 23). From here is

where Chicana Latina feminism derives its roots, informed by Black feminist thought and critiques of white feminism. A Chicana Latina feminist perspectives interrogates every aspect of our work, from process, to product, to community, to honoring the inner working of our spirits.

Additionally, CLFE pulls from the work of critical race scholars which developed both theory and methodology for addressing the institutional and systemic inequities perpetrated by racism against communities of color. Solórzano and Yosso (2009) define critical race theory as:

A theoretically grounded approach to research that (a) foregrounds race and racism in all aspects of the research process. However, it also challenges the separate discourses on race, gender, and class by showing how these three elements intersect to affect the experiences of students of color; (b) challenges the traditional research paradigms, texts, and theories used to explain the experiences of students of color; (c) offers a liberatory or transformative solution to racial, gender, and class subordination; and (d) focuses on the racialized, gendered, and class experiences of students of color. Furthermore, it views these experiences as sources of strength and (e) uses the interdisciplinary knowledge based of ethnic studies, women's studies, sociology, humanities and the law to better understand the experiences of students of color (p. 132).

A Chicana Latina feminist epistemological framework intersects with CRT to position the Latina researcher as an outsider from within, by valuing experiential knowledge and centering the voices of the community to inform the development of research. CLFE assumes that objectivity in traditional research is a lie that props up white supremacy, and instead legitimizes the knowledge that communities of color create to theorize themselves and their lives (Delgado Bernal, 1998; Delgado Bernal, Burciaga, & Flores Carmona, 2012). A critical race theory perspective critiques the very existence of objectivity as a position situated in the dominant

culture that further alienates marginalized communities. Although Latinx in itself is not a racial group and Latinxes can be of any race, Latinxes are racialized as a pan-ethnic identity within the U.S. that nonetheless produces inequitable outcomes (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2002). As a result, the starkness between these disparities within the Latinx community is amplified through race. From this foundation, CLFE is a direct critique of eurocentric perceptions of knowledge construction, and in turn validates the very experiences and knowledges Chicana/ Latina students and scholars bring which have historically been left out. Delgado Bernal (1998) calls this standpoint the cultural intuition with which Chicana and Latina scholars engage their work as they use their personal experiences, professional experiences, the relevant literature, and the analytic process itself “to reclaim their own subjugated knowledge” (p. 574). This approach also allows for an intersectional analysis of the ways in which race, class, gender, sexuality, and immigration status interact with one another.

In other words, it empowers Chicana/ Latina feminist students and scholars by giving them a means to express the ways in which they have existed and experienced the world and their oppression in order to better inform their scholarship. Given my positionality as someone who exists within and outside of Latinidad, CLFE will allow me to leverage my expertise and experience to provide a unique standpoint that is currently missing from the literature and to develop a methodology that is located within the needs and demands of the community (Calderon, Delgado-Bernal, Perez-Huber, Malagon, & Velez, 2012; Delgado-Bernal, 1998). Chicana Latina feminist epistemology compels researchers to develop their *conocimiento*, their understanding and awareness of self, by looking beyond academic and traditional knowledges to create meaning, and connect it to their work to inform an ethic of care in conducting research (Anzaldúa, 2015; Calderon, Delgado Bernal, Pérez Huber, Malagon & Velez, 2012).

Significance of the Study

While significant research exists exploring the physical and psychosocial impacts of family separation on youth, this study seeks to fill a gap in the literature that specifically focuses on the impacts of separation on tender age children and their educational trajectories. Given the shift to a minority-majority demographic and the growing threat of family separation that Latinx children experience, it behooves us as a nation to understand the intersection of family separation and education for the betterment of our nation. The growing prevalence of family separation and its profound impacts on communities qualifies it as one of the human rights issues of our time, as it will have an indelible and intergenerational effect on the U.S. population. This experience compounds the challenges Latinx students already face in schools and is invariably connected to their educational achievement and incorporation into U.S. society (Brabeck, et al., 2016). Schooling, as Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco (2002) argue, is a key mechanism for supporting the incorporation of new immigrants and their children into society, however, the culture of fear that exists in schools due to fears of separation impedes Latinx success and their ability to contribute to U.S. progress. It is imperative that we understand this phenomenon in order to be able to better support the success of a significant and growing segment of our population.

Additionally, with the increase in xenophobic policies that produce family separations, it is imperative that we prepare educators on how to holistically support students who are exposed to this trauma in order to counter the school climate of fear that is far too common place for Latinx children. Testimonio has the ability to visibilize the experiences of marginalized communities and can humanize immigrants in a way that will allow for just and ethical immigration and education policy reform. It will help uncover key coping strategies adopted by

communities and develop a deeper understanding of the long-term impacts of separation into adulthood. This study hopes to move the needle forward in addressing sociohistorical inequity and injustice, while simultaneously recognizing that this project is one part of a larger movement required to effecting systemic change.

Los Muñequitos No Se Quedaran Calladitos

I cannot remember every event, but I certainly remember the big breaths. I remember not breathing the entire way across the shiny airport tile, small hand in a bigger hand, a Toblerone chocolate in the other. I remember my lungs inhaling big, then my knees touched tile and a pair of brown hands cradled me. Unexpectedly, I realized my father was holding me. He called me muñequita. It felt like the moment after you take your first breath after you have held it for a long time. You realize how much you needed it, the smallest sensation that you might have died otherwise. For a fleeting second you measure each exhale, try to slow each inhale. This is called breathing. You feel gratitude for your body, and your lungs, and the air entering and exiting out of them. You teach yourself how to stay alive again. In. Out. In. Out.

I remember the perpetual removing and setting aside of my father's shoes when he got home because you cannot leave home barefoot-- no one goes without shoes. I remember the routine and the promise of waking up tomorrow to another pa' toda la vida and another muñequita. I remember my mother teaching me to write my name. I remember realizing I had forgotten my parents' names. I remember a bald man trying to pick me up from school and the panic that set in when I had convinced myself that my father had disappeared again, only it was him, but with a new haircut. I remember the lies I told myself, the amnesia I induced in myself to mask the fears that I could lose them again.

I am still holding my breath, still waiting for the brown kids with the small brown hands who are pictured in the newspaper and tv, who are reaching and screaming for parents and family that have been taken from them, and them from them. I cannot help but feel that when America looks at us they do not see themselves, they do not see their own children, they do not see children. They do not wonder – as they would for their own child – if anyone is holding them, feeding them, changing them, cleaning their nose, making sure they are warm. I am still measuring my breaths. That I did not die is a surprise to me. Yet some days my anxiety makes me feel like I am dying all over again, but then I remember that naming my wounds is a part of healing. We are not artifacts or walking museums, we are a testament of what has happened, and we cannot let the world silence us. Los muñequitos no se quedaran calladitos.

Operational Definitions

Educación, as defined by Valenzuela (1999) “refers to the family’s role of inculcating in children “a sense of moral, social, and personal responsibility and serves as the foundation for all other learning... wherein one respects the dignity and individuality of others” (Valenzuela, 1999, p. 23).

Education is a democratic project for enabling and liberating students in such a way that all students participate fully in society. Unlike schooling, Freire (1996) envisioned and hoped for education as a “practice of freedom” intended to develop critical consciousness and enable self-determination (p. 62).

Family Separation refers to the experience of being forced apart from family, including but not limited to parents, grandparents, aunts, uncles, siblings, and extended family members due to external forces, such as immigration, detention, deportation, adoption, etc.

Immigrants are individuals and communities that move between and away from nation-states and cross borders, often due to economic, social, and political forces.

Latinx is used as an umbrella term for Latinas, Latinos, and non-binary and Trans* Latinx people to disrupt gender binaries, and be inclusive of gender nonconforming communities within the Latin American diaspora. Latinx is a term first adopted by queer activists which was not meant to “neutralize” Spanish, but rather to disrupt anti-Black and cisheteronormative understandings of Latinidad (Pelaez Lopez, 2018). Latinx is not a race, it is a pan-ethnic identity, and as such Latinx people can be any race who represent over 23 countries (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2002). Additionally, unlike the term Hispanic-- which was developed and imposed by the U.S. Census, Latinx is inclusive of Indigenous, African, and Spanish ancestry (Gonzalez & Gandara, 2005; Rodríguez, 2017).

Testimonio has its roots in Latin America and involves first person narratives of experiences that one has witnessed. Testimonios are politically urgent, personal, and represent collective community experiences which name injustice and oppression.

Queer is “an umbrella term used to refer to gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender people” (Revilla & Santillana, 2014, p. 178).

Chapter Summary

Chapter 1 discussed the background, statement of the problem, personal connection, purpose, theoretical framework, and the scholarly significance of the study. Chapter 2 provides a review of the existing literature regarding the impacts of family separation, Latinx immigrant education, and testimonio as a methodological tool. Chapter 3 addresses the methodological approach that will be used to execute the research. Then, Chapter 4 shares the significant themes

from the testimonios. Finally, Chapter 5 explores the implications of the study for education and policy.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

Chapter one provided the rationale, problem statement, conceptual framework, and the significance of the study on exploring the family separation experiences of Latinx tender age children through testimonio. The purpose of chapter two is to synthesize the existing relevant literature in K-16 education that focuses on the educational experiences of Latinx children that reveals the intersections of family separation, education, and testimonio. I have divided each major area of study into subthemes in order to further explore the implications for Latinx immigrant students lives and its application to the present study. In order to better understand the impacts family separation has on Latinx students and families, it is important to understand the sociohistorical and sociopolitical context of immigration separation policies. To understand its relationship to Latinx educational trajectories, we must explore the educational experiences of Latinx children in schools as it relates to their subordination, language and access, culture and representation, and resilience. And finally, to adopt testimonio as a radical research methodology we must understand its connections to healing and education. This chapter will provide a review of the extant literature regarding family separation, the role of education in the Latinx community, and the intersection of education and separation. It will examine the impacts that family separation has on children, their educational outcomes, and ultimately address the gap that exists in the current literature.

Restatement of purpose

The purpose of this study is to understand the long-term impacts of family separation on Latinx children in order to develop more inclusive and supportive school climates and classrooms for children. Understanding this unique experience can help better inform how we enable the success of Latinx children in schools and support their educational attainment.

Additionally, this work will help diversify the historical record by documenting the experiences of Latinx adults who experienced separation as children, which is an experience that is largely left out of existing narratives. While many narratives capture immigrant experiences, most focus on adulthood and youth, and few have conducted a deep dive into the tender age experiences of Latinx children, particularly as it pertains to family separation experiences. It is unclear how the effects of family separation experienced during childhood present themselves when Latinx immigrants have reached adulthood. This study uses testimonio to uncover the experiences of family separation of tender age children and learn about how the impacts of separation persist(ed) in their lifetimes.

Research Questions

To meet these objectives, this study explores the following questions:

- 1) How do Latinx immigrants reflect on the long-term effects of family separation on their educational experiences?
- 2) Through their *testimonios*, how do Latinx immigrants remember and reflect on their experiences?
- 3) To what extent can testimonios of Latinx immigrants of family separation inform K-16 educators about how to develop a supportive school culture and climate for Latinx children?

Approach to Identifying Relevant Literature

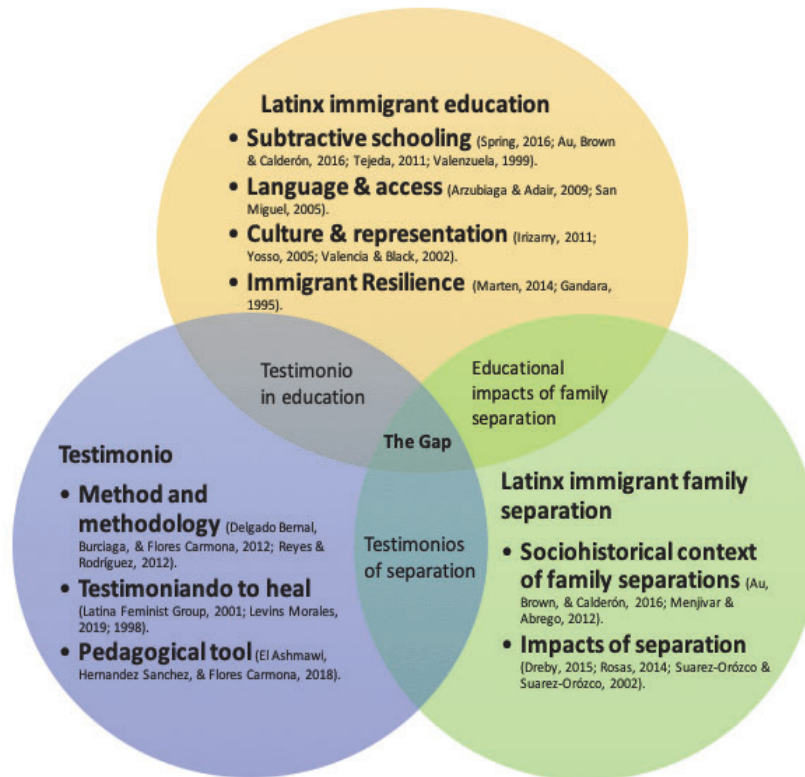
In conducting interdisciplinary research on Latinx immigrants— which spans across education, public health, ethnic studies, and immigration— narrowing down the extant literature proved to be incredibly challenging. As demonstrated in Figure 2 above, I chose to breakdown the literature through an overview of three specific categories related to the study: the education

of Latinx immigrants, Latinx immigrant family separation, and a review of testimonio literature in education. Additionally, given the interdisciplinary nature of each of these topic areas, I had to explore several iterations of literature on the same or similar topics. For example, experiences of family separation also presented themselves in research on transnational families and the experiences of immigrant children with deportation, repatriation, and immigration. Likewise the literature often refers to Latinx communities as Hispanic, Latin American, Latino/Latina, and specific ethnic Latin American communities. Once key terms across disciplines including education, ethnic studies, sociology, and history were determined, I scoured through the bibliographies of high impact articles and books to identify key scholars and scholarship patterns.

Each of these major areas overlapped one another and demonstrates a strong relationship between Latinx immigrant and family separation, however, in analyzing the literature I was able to determine a significant gap in the literature at the intersection of these three areas: testimonios of Latinx immigrants who experienced family separation at a tender age are largely left out of the historical record, and the role education played in their making sense of their family separation experiences is unaddressed. While emerging scholarship is recognizing resilience patterns in Latinx immigrant youth, including youth who experienced separation, their schooling experiences and its relationship to their resilience in managing family separation hardships were not clearly articulated.

Figure 2

Map of the intersections of relevant literature



Family Separation

no one leaves home unless

home is the mouth of a shark

you only run for the border

when you see the whole city running as well

Warsan Shire (2011) *Home*

In the summer of 2019 a photograph quickly circulated through news and social media outlets of a father and daughter, Óscar Alberto and Angie Valeria Martínez Ramírez. Óscar, a 25

year old Salvadoran father, had been seeking asylum and been forced to stay in Mexico through President Trump’s “Remain in Mexico” policy (Chappell, 2019). After two months of waiting, they made the bold decision to cross the border on their own. In the Rio Grande near Brownsville, Texas, Óscar would first cross the river with his daughter Valeria and place her on the other side. He would return across the river to help his wife, Tania Vanessa Avalos. Valeria, who was one month shy of turning two years old, panicked and jumped back into the water so as not to be apart from her father. According to Tania, Óscar acted and managed to get to Valeria quickly, however, the currents of the river were far too strong for the both of them and they were pulled under. Their bodies were found twenty-four hours later. Their photograph taken, published, and reshared across the world. Óscar had tucked Valeria into his shirt, her arm around her father for safety, father and daughter, *juntos*, together— even in death (Le Duc, 2019). I look at her tiny brown hands, I see a version of myself. I see a father, *con todo el cariño* tuck his daughter against him, I think of my father, and the longing, and the separation, and his crossing, and his *cariño*. I see a version of us, *muñequita y papito*, a part of each other— apart from each other.

Recently, the separation of immigrant families have been in the national spotlight with the hyper-detention and deportation of asylees seeking refuge at the U.S.-Mexico border due to anti-immigrant policies that have further criminalized immigration. Additionally, public dialogue regarding the conditions of the detentions and treatment of immigrant families have sparked further questions into the lives of immigrants and their children. It is estimated that 5.1 million children in the U.S. live with at least one undocumented parent (Beltran, 2018). The State of Grandfamilies (2018) report revealed that of the 3.7 million immigrants deported between 2003 and 2013, 20-25% were parents to U.S. citizen children. Additionally, 1 in 5 children are cared

for by extended family and live in immigrant households (Wiltz, 2018). In Suarez-Orozco, Todorova, and Louie's (2002) well-known Longitudinal Immigrant Student Adaptation (LISA) study, 80% of Central American participants had been separated from one or both of their parents.

An Abridged History of Family Separation

Family separation involves the forced splitting up of the family unit through direct or indirect social, political, or legal means. According to Spring (2016) family separation is a favorite tactic of the U.S. to deculturalize communities of color by entirely removing them from their home communities in order to indoctrinate children with the dominant culture. Regrettably, family separation is an all too common experience for historically marginalized communities who have experienced it mainly through legal processes, but which are largely entirely unaddressed and dismissed. Menjivar and Abrego (2012) suggest that immigrants experience what they have coined as *legal violence*-- which they argue "incorporates the various, mutually reinforcing forms of violence that the law makes possible and amplifies" (p. 1384). This includes recognizing how experiences of exploitation and family separation--which are often not taken into consideration--impede the long-term incorporation of immigrants and consequently causes a "slow death" (p. 1385). In effect, legal violence causes immigrants to live lives of heightened vulnerability, omnipresent fear, limited access to social services, and trumped educational motivations in children which have a cumulative effect on their quality of life. For example, children in undocumented households are less likely to benefit from social services which their families may be eligible for including health care supports, due to their fears of coming out of the shadows (Menjivar & Abrego, 2012). The trauma of family separation has left an enduring mark on historically marginalized communities within the U.S. To understand the full scope of

contemporary family separation on Latinx immigrant communities, we must explore the historical uses of separation against other marginalized communities.

A common theme across memoirs of Holocaust survivors, Japanese interment victims, freedpeople, and Native Americans are the sentiment that family separation may have been the most traumatic part of the violent and oppressive experiences that marginalized communities had lived through (Blumberg, 2018; Fenwick, 2019; Taylor, 2018). Separation was used during the enslavement of African Americans through fugitive slave laws and the forced separation of the family unit. Slaveholders used this strategy to prevent uprisings and to profit off of those they kept enslaved to build their wealth. After the ending of slavery, thousands of freed Africans placed ads in newspapers to try to reunify with their separated families (Brown, 2018). In uncovering instances of family separation of enslaved and newly freed people, Williams (2012) found clear and poignant evidence of the harsh and lasting impacts of families being separated, as seen through the unforgettable memories of those who recounted through documents, narratives, journal entries, and letters their final moments with their parents or siblings. One such example was of Charles Ball who wrote about a memory from when he was just four years old and the day he was taken from his mother. He remembers her begging his new “owner” to purchase her and her children, so as not to be separated. He remembers her cry, as it grew more and more faint when her own “master” dragged her away. He shared that “the horrors of that day sank deeply into my heart, even at this time, though a half century has elapsed, the terrors of the scene return with painful vividness upon my memory” (Williams, 2012, p. 24-25).

Similarly, Native American tribes name the taking of their children to boarding schools and the threat of laws that forced them to send their children away as profound sites of violence (Au, Brown, & Calderon, 2016; Child, 1998; Fenwick, 2019; Taylor, 2018; Tuhiwai Smith,

2012). The U.S. forced First Nations people to send their children to boarding schools for over forty years, including to the infamous Carlisle Indian Industrial School in which children were stripped of their culture, language, traditions, religion, and identities (Fear-Segal & Rose, 2016). The conditions of these schools were so horrid that hundreds of children died during their time in boarding schools, and many remains are still being repatriated today (Brown & Estes, 2018). Iconically, Geronimo's (2013) one request during his surrender at Fort Sill was that they not separate the families. Even Holocaust survivors Rachele and Jack Goldstein (2018), co-directors of the *Hidden Children Foundation*, an organization that represents holocaust survivors who hid during World War II, said that the "separation of the family, for [them] was probably the worst thing that happened to [them]" (Blumberg, 2018, 00:00:21-00:00:25). A distinction they made in response to recent family separations at the border.

Recently, Japanese American survivors of internment and their descendants organized in Fort Sill in 2019— the same military base which was used to detain Geronimo and intern Japanese Americans previously— to protest the present-day inhumane detention of immigrants and the proposal to re-open Fort Sill to detain Central American immigrants (Fenwick, 2019). The bottom line is, kids need their families, and when they are taken from them we cause irreparable harm to them (Madara, 2018). Yet, today it has become common practice to deploy family separation as what some politicians have called a "deterrent" of immigration (Rosenberg, 2018). In April of 2018 Attorney General Jeff Sessions issued an immigration memo adopting a "zero-tolerance" approach to the prosecution of undocumented immigrants entering the United States ("Memorandum for Federal Prosecutors Along the Southwest Border"). By dissolving discretion and due process proceedings, it led to the detention and separation of immigrant families fleeing violence from Central America increasing at alarming rates, including those

seeking asylum. It is estimated that upwards of 2,000-3,000 children had been separated since the implementation of this new policy (Lind, 2018). However, a recent report by the Office of the Inspector General (2019) found that “the total number and current status of all children separated from their parents or guardians by DHS and referred to ORR’s care is unknown” due to improper tracking methods of parent-child relationships (p. 13). It is estimated that hundreds of children may never be reunited with their families.

Family separation is but one part of the violence being directed at immigrant communities. President Trump (2018) responded to the discontent and public outrage over the separation of families by challenging the *Flores v. Reno (1997)*— settlement that limited child detention periods, by issuing an executive order in which instead of separating children from families they would be indefinitely detained with their families during proceedings. This however, resulted in further exacerbating the cruel and inhumane conditions children and their families were experiencing at the border since these facilities were never intended for holding family units for long periods of time. The latest Inspector General Report (2019) concluded that there were “egregious violations of detention standards at facilities including nooses in detainee cells, overly restrictive segregation, inadequate medical care, unreported security incidents... food safety issues, and facility conditions that endanger detainee health” (p. 3). The situation has devolved so severely, that Jewish and Japanese community members have come forth to reclassify the detention centers as “concentration camps” given the harsh and deadly environment that mirrors that of the Holocaust and Japanese internment camps which they or their families experienced (Fenwick, 2019).

Additionally, new policies have been rolled out that further impede and restrict immigration, including the “Remain in Mexico” policy which has prevented refugees from being

able to enter the U.S. and declare asylum at ports of entry. Instead asylees are now required to stay in their country of origin or in Mexico as their case is processed (Moore, 2019). This has resulted in refugees having to live in squalid conditions on the U.S.-Mexico border while they await their court date or be detained if they try to enter the U.S. despite these policies. It is estimated that only 1% of asylees have been allowed to wait in the U.S. while their case is processed, despite previous data overwhelmingly demonstrating that 99% of asylees released in the U.S. show up for their court hearings (Levinson, Rosenberg, & Cooke, 2019; TRAC, 2019). Higher standards have been placed to determine who qualifies for asylum by eliminating previously qualifying concerns and putting in place rules that disqualify claims of individuals who did not previously seek asylum in a third country (Department of Homeland Security & Executive Office for Immigration Review, 2019).

New changes and developments are regularly issued making it even more challenging to stay up to date on current policies. Several Trump policies have since been rescinded by the incoming administration or are currently being challenged in court. However, immigrants are still being detained and deported, and consequently separated as a result. Ultimately, beyond the separation of families due to adoptions and the passing of a parent, separation caused or sanctioned by government entities takes on an additional layer of violence. While national security and patriotism are waved as the source for these policies, they are merely a mask for the ongoing xenophobic white nationalist agenda of the Trump-era that is using children's lives and well-being to force a perfunctory revision to the current immigration system. The impacts of family separation are far-reaching as it is an experience that is not unique to the U.S. immigration experience and has international and sociohistorical implications. Latinx immigrants experience family separation not merely at the hands of government agencies, but regularly

throughout the migratory process and live under the constant threat of being separated from one another upon arrival.

Latinx Experiences of Family Separation

For Latinx immigrants, the recent family separations are a continuation of over a century of government sanctioned violence through various immigration policies and programs that have specifically targeted Latin American communities. Through oral histories Rosas (2014) captured early experiences of family separation in which she shares the recollections of Mexican families who lived through the Bracero Program. In the 1940's, due to labor shortages incited by World War II and the vestiges of the Great Depression, the U.S. approved the Mexican Farm Labor Program (1945). In this agreement, the U.S. and Mexico developed a temporary labor program with two commitments: "humane treatment" for workers and the promise of 30 cents per hour of work (Leon & Scheinfeldt, 2017). A consequence of this U.S.-Mexico policy was the separating of families due to it explicitly disregarding the needs of families and forcing immigrants to live transnational lives. In fact, the U.S. actively worked to censor Braceros and their families by intercepting letters, including those sent by their own children which they believed could "embolden their Bracero and undocumented Mexican immigrant parents to break U.S. immigration laws in order to reunite with them as a family in the U.S." (Rosas, 2014, p. 139). They maintained a record of such messages and used it to deny entry into the U.S. to Bracero family members.

A key sticking point in the oral histories Rosas collected were experiences of family separation and desires for reunification. So much so, that even the children of Braceros would write letters to relatives pleading to be reunified with their families, and many would risk their own lives by travelling North in search of their relatives. For the children, the separation meant a

transformation of the roles in the family, a stripping of their innocence, and a taking on of adult responsibilities that they otherwise would not have been exposed to. Rosas' participants shared that as children they were thrust into adulthood, and were considered "children without equal", meaning that they "had to prove themselves in silence, paving the way for an alienation that they rarely dared to discuss with anyone" (p. 255). The children of Braceros were not afforded the same level of humanity, despite their innocence and for many, despite their American citizenship. At the end of the program, Operation Wetback (1954) was established to repatriate Braceros and their families, resulting in the deportation of an estimated 1 million U.S.-born citizens (Acuña, 2015). Unfortunately, the children of Latinx immigrants have heightened risks of experiencing family separation due to the shifts in the immigration process, the rise of xenophobia, increased detentions, and rampant deportations. Even so, the practice of family separation persists today and those who experienced it continue to live with the long-term effects including its impact on family, child development, and educational attainment.

Disrupting and Queering the Family

Within Latinx communities, *familismo* is viewed as a significant value that informs familial dynamics and structure (Marín & Marín, 1991). According to Triandis, Marin, Betancourt, Lisansky, and Chang (1982) familismo:

is usually described as including a strong identification with the family, great importance being assigned to the nuclear and the extended family, the presence of mutual help and obligations, and strong feelings of loyalty, reciprocity and solidarity among members of one same family. (p. 1)

The familismo relationship can extend beyond the immediate family and integrate extended and fictive kin. This means that grandparents, aunts, uncles, and friends create a network of support

on which Latinx families depend on to care for the development of Latinx children during these significant transitions. As such, separation and reunification does not only occur nuclearly, but also involves separation and reunification between these fictive kin and networks. In the lives of Latinx immigrant children, familismo has traditionally been seen as a key factor in shaping the identities, decisions, and futures of Latinx immigrant children, including their educational choices and sense of stability (Martinez, 2013; Suarez-Orozco, Pimentel, & Martin, 2009; Valenzuela, 1999).

However, the queering of the family offers an expansive view of the role of these kinships, or *complex families* that enable a more nuanced understanding of how we define family. Oswald, Blume, & Marks (2011) define the queering process as “acts and ideas that resist heteronormativity” (p. 5). Complex families then, “include not only families as defined by biological and legal ties but also the many other kinds of relationships that may be considered family by given persons or groups” (Oswald, Blume & Marks, 2011, p. 9). Queered families then operate beyond the nuclear family and challenge the ways in which gender, sexuality, and community is performed. This conception of the family is not new however, as historically Latinx families have queered the family structure to manage and navigate immigration policies. For example, in the case of families with fathers working as Braceros, mothers had to fill multiple roles that diverted from heteronormative familial roles, and likewise children were forced to take-on adult responsibilities, like becoming economic contributors in their families (Rosas, 2014). DeJonckheere, Vaughn, and Jacquez (2017) found that Latinx immigrant youth were often placed in caretaking roles or as cultural brokers to help their families navigate systems due to their English literacy. The perils of disrupting the family unit can prove to be devastating, especially so for Latinx immigrant children who culturally are raised to position

family at the center, however, queer family scholarship is contesting heteronormative family practices (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2002). Additionally, queering family scholarship demonstrates great promise in nuancing experiences with family separation experiences and the ways in which Latinx communities construct their families (Acosta, 2018).

According to Dreby (2012) children that experienced separation from their family reported conflicting feelings including at times resentment towards their parents and familial instability. Marrun (2016) offers in her own testimonio a nuanced analysis of the impossible decisions families are forced to make in a climate of rising anti-immigrant hostilities, all the while negotiating on behalf of the best interests of their children, including physical separation so that their children may access opportunities. As Marrun shares in their own experience, the instability produced by these anti-immigrant policies was steadied by the queering of her family through adoption. While separation fundamentally presents significant challenges for students' mental health and familial relationships, the queering of the family structure by Latinx immigrants is a resistance strategy for navigating these otherwise challenging processes. Nonetheless, children whose parents had been deported described feeling anxious and insecure about what their futures would look like (Dreby, 2012).

The Impacts of Separation on Child Development

The mental warfare of family separation is one way in which white supremacy replicates institutional inequities and creates inequality by disempowering communities of color in their infancy. Children who are exposed to fears of separation are especially susceptible to experiencing long-term harms, particularly immigrant and Latinx children who witness anti-immigrant policies playing out on the social stage (Rubio-Hernandez & Ayón, 2016). The American Medical Association opposed the recent separation of families, citing the lifelong

trauma and impact on child development in a written statement to the Department of Homeland Security and the Department of Justice (Madara, 2018; O'Reilly, 2018). Extensive quantitative and qualitative medical and psychosocial research exists on the harmful effects of family separation on the mental, emotional, physical, and social health of children and their families, let alone the doubly terrible effects of pairing separation with institutionalization on children (El Baba & Colucci, 2018; Juabsamai & Taylor, 2018; Rojas-Flores, Clements, Hwang Koo, & London, 2017; Sinnerbrink, Silove, Field, Steel, & Manicavasagar, 1997).

The National Scientific Council on the Developing Child (2014) found that when children experience severe stress it can alter the chemistry of the brain and can affect their long-term development in detrimental ways. Children who experience a disruption in their relationship with their primary caregiver (i.e. children separated from their parents) are especially susceptible which leads to “alter[ing] the development of brain circuits in ways that make some children less capable of coping effectively with stress as they grow up” (National Scientific Council on the Developing Child, 2014, p. 4). Latinx parents have reported that anti-immigrant policies severely affected their children and caused them to demonstrate constant concern, fear, hypervigilance, sadness, and crying. In some circumstances the culmination of the emotional trauma the children experienced developed into anxiety or depression (Rubio-Hernandez & Ayón, 2016). Despite attempts by Latino parents to ease their children’s worries, fears of separation had a significant impact on the mental health and development of their children (Philbin & Ayón, 2016). These harms however, persist long-term and can result in producing mental health issues in otherwise healthy children. In fact, neuroscientists and mental health professionals are finding that the impacts of traumatic experiences like family separation can extend several generations from the original abuse, causing DNA to mutate so that

stress-induced mental illness and health issues are passed down to future generations (Kellermann, 2013; Wolynn, 2017).

The Impact of Family Separation on Latinx Educational Achievement and Engagement

The impacts of family separation are compounded by an educational system that continues to disregard the needs of Latinx students. Responsible for educational disparities are negative schooling experiences that disempower students along with anti-Latinx and xenophobic policies that target Latinx youth and impede their success. Although Valenzuela (2005; 1999) found that immigrant youth demonstrated a more positive school ethos than their U.S. born peers, the current shift in migratory patterns challenges us to consider how hyper-violent experiences of family separation can be impacting Latinx youth in schools. According to the U.S. Border Patrol and Customs (2018), family unit apprehensions in 2018 were up 42% from 2017, providing fertile ground for Latinx children's fears of separation to be heightened. Increased xenophobic and anti-immigrant policies have caused detentions to rise and fears of deportation to become far too common place.

Children from mixed-status families who live under the constant threat of losing a family member due to detention, deportation, or worse are severely impacted by these same stressors (Brabeck, Lykes, & Hunter, 2014). Delva, Horner, Sanders, Lopez, and Doering-White (2013) argue that these children live under heightened fear and are exposed to stress that causes children to develop anxiety, depression, and other mental health issues which affect their educational performance. These issues can result in deleterious consequences for a student's education. In fact, Dee and Murphy (2018) found that the presence of Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) partnerships in cities reduced Hispanic enrollment in schools by 10% within 2 years (p. 3). Meaning that children are less likely to attend school, and more likely to miss school due to fears

of being separated. Zayas (2015) found that deportation and family separation even exacerbated the risks citizen-children faced by creating unstable economic, health, and social circumstances that further compound the long-term effects of these stressors on child development and education. Ultimately, the stressors of parent deportation and family separation negatively impacted student educational outcomes and reduced their educational attainment (Bean, 2015; Brabeck, Sibley, Taubin, & Murcia, 2016). As Dreby (2012) suggests, the impacts of deportability and family separation are cumulative and constant.

Youth who experience family separation are particularly susceptible to falling behind academically and becoming disinterested in school due to the trauma and emotional turmoil they experience from the instability it produces (Goodman & Fine, 2018). Suárez-Orozco, Pimental, and Martin (2009) found that caring relationships within and outside of school are critical components to student success, especially for students experiencing significant transitions or traumas in their personal lives. In addition, when children experience family separation this eliminates one of the remaining avenues by which students develop their linguistic and cultural identities. For immigrant children, the loss of family further complicates their adapting to a new country, new schooling system, and community. As Menjívar and Abrego (2012) make clear, the exposure to this legal violence prevents Latinx immigrants from being able to fully incorporate into society because of their constant suffering.

Education of Latinx Immigrant Children

Latinx students continue to have the lowest educational attainment outcomes across racial groups (Huber, Malagon, Ramirez, Gonzalez, Jimenez, & Velez, 2015; Lopez, 2009; National Center for Education Statistics, 2017, Table 104.10). According to the *Chicano Studies Research Report* (2015) for every 100 Latina elementary aged students, 63 graduated from high school, 13

completed an undergraduate degree, 4 went on to a master's or a professional degree, and less than one percent (0.3) conferred a PhD, a rate that is more than half of their white⁴ female counterparts (Huber, et al., p. 1). While subtle gains are being made, our educational system continues to be ill equipped *and* unwilling to support the academic success of Latinx students. Low educational outcomes for Latinx students are not a coincidence, but rather a consequence of a system set on maintaining their subordinate status.

While it could be argued that schools are dysfunctional, Stovall (2015) instead posits that schools are doing precisely what they were designed to do. That is, reproduce structurally inequitable hierarchies that continue to situate students of color in the role of subordinate. According to Bruner (1996) “education is never neutral, never without social and economic consequences. However much it may be claimed to the contrary, education is always political in the broader sense” (p. 25). Tejeda (2011) argues that historically Latinx students have been provided with a *schooling for subservience*, which, in its design and execution, aims to “facilitate their social and cultural domination” (p. 12). Gonzalez (1990) posits that the system “ensured that it would contribute to the reproduction of the Mexican child as cheap labor. By doing so, the educational institution assumed the function of an international border...[employers] could trust that the school system would provide cheap labor locally” (p. 143). Donato and Hanson (2012) extend Gonzalez’s work by suggesting that “such segregation perpetuated the low status of the Mexican community within the larger political economy” by positioning them as the labor force from which elites could profit off” (p. 204). It is no wonder then, that Latinx students’ performance continues to be low as it is embedded within the design of the system itself and is necessary in order to protect the social hierarchy. It is to the benefit of U.S. capitalism and white

⁴ The racial category *white* is intentionally left uncapitalized in order to decenter white and rhetorically honor the historic subjugation of Communities of Color. Whiteness, however, is left capitalized as it refers to a system by which asserts white superiority.

nationalism to relegate Latinx and immigrant children to the margins by positioning them as unwelcome foreigners incapable of melting into American society (Huntington, 1993). So apart, that policy must distinguish them, laws must criminalize them, and institutions must separate them.

With Latinx people becoming the largest minoritized group in the U.S., they account for 28% of all Pre-K through 12th grade students in public schools, and as such necessitate the bridging of existing educational disparities for the future of the country (Krogstad, 2019; Longoria, 2015). While the U.S. has depended on Brown labor to build its socioeconomic power with programs like the Bracero program and the present-day exploitation of migrant workers, it has obscured the history of Latinx peoples to the point that they have become foreigners in their own lands and own bodies in order to discredit their claims to American citizenship, opportunity, and an equitable education (Casas, 2007; Vargas, 2017). All of these efforts to undermine and assimilate Latinx people into the U.S. mainstream, have had the express goal of blanqueando (whitening) the Latinx community so as to uphold Eurocentric culture and dominance all the while continuing to exclude Latinx people from conferring those privileges (Brodkin, 1998; Burdick, 1992; Godreau, Reyes Cruz, Franco Ortiz, Cuadrado, 2008). Despite attempts by some factions of the Latinx community to try to adopt Whiteness, nonetheless Latinx students continue to be marginalized and exploited by a system set to profit off their labor (Rochmes & Griffin, 2006).

Subtractive Schooling

Valenzuela (1999) reaffirms that Latinx students “oppose a schooling process that disrespects them; they oppose not education, but *schooling*” (p. 4). Subtractive schooling distinctly critiques historic and contemporary assumptions about Latinx students attitudes on

education and shifts the responsibility to a system which in its design has relegated Latinx youth to substandard life outcomes (Valenzuela, 1999). In sum, schooling subtracts language, culture and identity from Latinx students so as to maintain their minoritized and subordinate status. Historically and contemporaneously, the Latinx and Chicanx community have had to fight for the rights of their children to access an equitable education and counteract the harms caused by the system through extreme xenophobia and nativism in schools (Nieto, 2004; San Miguel, 2005). Despite deficit myths on Latinx parents and students presupposed disinterest in schools, both have been at the forefront of organizing to demand more equitable and better quality education for their community (Galán, 1995; Martinez, 2016; Valencia & Black, 2002). Nonetheless, the schooling system continues to subtract wealth from students through linguistic and cultural domination.

Notably, Valenzuela's (1999) three year long ethnographic work used a mixed methods approach to develop a multidimensional perspective on the experiences of Mexican youth at Seguin High School through collecting qualitative (observations, interviews, focus groups) and quantitative data (surveys, assessment data, etc.). By applying Coleman's (1988) social capital theory, Valenzuela was able to articulate how schooling deprives students of resources, particularly Mexican American youth, who are aggressively de-identified from their communities through assimilationist policies. Valenzuela's study arrived at two major conclusions: first, school policies attempt to eliminate Mexican students' social capital, (tied to their linguistic and cultural identities) by forcing assimilation; and second, cultural differences in perceptions of caring plays a significant role in student success and achievement. In other words, Mexican youth culturally define education differently, and as such experience it distinctly different than the normative white experience. Assimilationist schooling impedes their success

by disregarding student cultural differences and devaluing the role it plays in the classroom. Teacher caring-- generally informed by the dominant culture-- is perceived as uncaring to Latinx students and ultimately affects their (dis)engagement as it impacts their cultural perspective on schooling. According to Suárez-Orozco, Rhodes, and Milburn (2009), caring relationships significantly affect student performance and success in school.

This mismatch in schooling attitudes coupled with racist and xenophobic politics have created an environment in which Mexican and Latinx students are dehumanized and disempowered throughout their schooling experiences. Attempts at “Americanizing” youth is inevitably a dehumanizing process which causes low educational outcomes, decreases access to social mobility, and as such perpetuates other systemic inequities like generational poverty (Au, et. al, 2016; Tejeda, 2011). Valenzuela’s findings directly contradict the assumptions and stereotypes that depict Latinx communities as disinterested in schools, apathetic, and as best-suited for manual labor. In effect, she demonstrates that “rather than students failing school, schools fail students” (p. 345). While Latinx students and their families demonstrate interest and high aspirations in education, schools fail to meet the needs of their Latinx students in ways that enable their success (Valencia & Black, 2002).

At the heart of this reality is the damaging deficit mindsets applied to Latinx students which situate their culture and language as innately inferior to white-normative knowledge. Traditionally, Bourdieu (1977) referred to this phenomena as *cultural capital*, “one’s accumulated assets and resources” which were typically limited to white standards of culture and capital (Yosso, 2005, p. 76). However, Yosso (2005) challenged this view by applying a Critical Race Theory (CRT) lens and providing a counter-narrative of the cultural wealth that Communities of Color possess and offer. She extrapolates on the six forms of community

cultural capital as being aspirational, navigational, social, familial, linguistic, and resistant capital. Historically, Communities of Color have been perceived through a deficit lens as lacking the same “necessary” skills, knowledge, and mobility that privileged white communities have had access to (Yosso, 2005, p. 70).

It is through this perspective and the distortion of Bourdieu’s cultural capital theory that traditional schooling has adopted banking-models to “catch up” Communities of Color to the perceived level of white students who enter the classroom already being exposed to white standards through their upbringing and cultural experiences (Yosso, 2005, p. 70). Freire (1996) critiques the banking-model of education, as he argues that this approach is counter to liberation and instead invalidates students' various knowledge and experiences that they enter the classroom with. He goes so far as to suggest that the banking-model “serves the interests of the oppressor” by treating students as “empty vessels” into which all-knowing teachers deposit knowledge (p. 54). Instead, Yosso (2005) validates the various types of community cultural capital that Communities of Color enter the classroom with that are often overlooked or undervalued.

Educational Subordination & Domination

Juxtaposing Valenzuela’s (2005) concept of subtractive schooling alongside Yosso’s (2005) community cultural wealth model, the present day reality of Latinx students involves a systematic attempt by schools to divorce students from their identities, experiences, and humanity. Unfortunately, cultural genocide and intellectual colonialism are nothing new as schooling has traditionally been weaponized to mediate domination (Au, et. al, 2016; Tejeda, 2011). Woodson (1990) coined the term miseducation, referring to the process by which Black students are taught revised, misleading, inaccurate, and limited histories of their own people to

internalize the inferiority of their community as a means of mediating their subordination. For Native Americans, boarding schools mandated the separation of children from their tribal communities and imposed forced Americanization by banning indigenous languages, removing any connection to their communities, and anglicizing student names and appearances (Au, Brown, & Calderon, 2016; Crow Dog & Erdoes, 2011). Within the Black-white binary of social inequity, Latinx peoples have also been the victims of violent lynchings in the Southwest, the dispossession of land, the exploitation of Brown bodies, the forced sterilization of Mexican and Puerto Rican women and the forced segregation and deculturalization of their children in schools (Acuña, 2015; Tajima-Peña & Espino, 2015; Tejeda, 2000; Vargas, 2017). The reality is that racial terror and domination are not unique to Latinx students, and instead is the legacy by which the U.S. has maintained the status quo. For Latinx children this violence has been mainly experienced in education through attacks on their language and culture which are deeply connected to their sense of self and humanity.

Language & Access

Arzubiaga and Adair (2009) compare the U.S. to a “cemetery of languages” due to its xenophobic and nativist ideologies and policies towards difference (p. 306). Despite the U.S. valuing bilingualism for a significant portion of its history, a shift occurred in the 19th century that led to new immigrants experiencing schools as sites in which home languages were eradicated and in which children were assimilated into American society (Crawford, 1991). This included attempts at eliminating German and Italian language education through the Anglicization of education. Not surprisingly, language has been used as a proxy for racist mindsets and reveals the insidious ways in which the U.S. has tried to control its white national identity by restricting which groups were given entry (Arzubiaga & Adair, 2009). During the

1946 *Mendez v. Westminster* court case, Mexican parents organized across school districts in Southern California to file a class action lawsuit against the segregation of their children on the basis of race and language (San Miguel, 2005). The *Mendez* case-- which is largely overlooked despite being the first of its kind and setting the legal precedent for the *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) to be successful-- demonstrated how Spanish surnames and language were used as a means of marking students as racially inferior, despite their children's proficiency in English. The case led to California becoming the first state nationwide to desegregate schools and revealed the racist mindsets behind school segregation.

The segregation of Mexican students was also justified through the use of assessments, most infamously the IQ test, to determine student intelligence which were given to students in English despite their language diversity (Au, et. al, 2016). Rather than a students' low performance being attributed to the assessments being in a language they did not know, instead they were used to conflate low performance with racial inferiority. The underbelly of schooling is laden with notions of white superiority and eugenicist perceptions of Latinx students which emboldened policy makers to justify segregation and relegate students to a substandard quality education (San Miguel & Valencia, 1998). This can be seen in the aftermath of *Mendez* and *Brown*, when despite the Supreme Court deeming segregation unconstitutional, school districts continued to develop policies and practices that intentionally segregated Latinx and Black students from their white classmates (Nieto, 2004; San Miguel, 2005). In fact, after *Brown*, Mexican and Mexican American students were used as a pawn for mitigating Black-White segregation by using Mexican students who were virtually designated as "Other white" to integrate African American schools and maintain all-White schools (Nieto, 2004). These negative attitudes can be traced back to the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo (1848) in

which the U.S. took 55% of Mexico's territory and opted to only cede sparsely populated northern areas so as not to have to absorb more of the "mongrel race" than was "necessary" and have to grant American citizenship to Mexicans who remained in the newly conquered territory (Glenn, 2002; Vargas, 2017).

The 1957 *Hernandez v. Driscoll County School District* court case in Texas, demonstrated the persistently subversive attempts by the schooling system to protect the status quo. Eight children, with the support of their parents and organizing efforts of the American G.I. Forum, revealed the inherently racist and punitive policies the schools used in their efforts to maintain separate facilities for Latinx students (Luna, 2013). The student plaintiffs on the *Hernandez* case recounted their experiences with receiving corporal punishment for speaking in Spanish, being held back for several years, and being placed in special education classes all under the guise of language deficiencies. Students were essentially terrorized into renouncing their language in order to fit within the confines of schooling expectations, and even then were denied access.

With growing anti-immigrant rhetoric, the English-only movement gained traction and was formalized in the 1980's with 31 states adopting English as the official language in the decades to follow all the while setting the stage for large-scale cutbacks on bilingual education (Liu & Sokhey, 2014; Vargas, 2017). Proponents of English-only policies revered English as an inherently superior language and prioritized maintaining a national identity and country unity while they condemned Spanish and portrayed non-Western European immigrants as invariably foreign. In response, Valenzuela (1999) critiques the way in which schools have situated language diversity as a "barrier" and Spanish as foreign, despite all the data pointing to the effectiveness of bilingualism and the fact that Spanish pre-dates the arrival of English in the

Americas. Regardless, students in bilingual education programs consistently outperform monolingual students, yet the educational system continues to discourage students from maintaining their home languages and instead calls on them to discard their linguistic identities in order to be accepted into U.S. society (Rolstad & McSwan, 2009; Tran, 2010).

Regrettably, Spanish language retention drops dramatically among later generations, with only 24% of third generation self-identified Latinx/Hispanics identifying as bilingual (Lopez, Gonzalez-Barrera, & López, 2017). Ironically, employers continue to tout the global value of bilingualism while schools force Latinx students to surrender their home languages. As Anzaldúa (2007) suggests, “ethnic identity is twin skin to linguistic identity-- I am my language. Until I can take pride in my language, I cannot take pride in myself” (p. 81). Thus, the demand to shed language is a painful rejection of one’s ethnic and cultural identity (González, 2001). As a result, schools and educational policies that persist in maintaining a linguistic hierarchy subtract from Latinx youth not just their linguistic identity, but their social and cultural ties to home resulting in schooling being an overwhelmingly dehumanizing experience.

Valenzuela (1999) articulates that this history of subtractive schooling not only divests students from learning, but also reproduces low educational outcomes and maintains the subordination of Latinx students. Through Youth Participatory Action Research (YPAR), Irizarry (2011) found that “[school] policies that stifle student voices and limit their expression,... not depressed aspirations, are responsible for elevated drop out/ push out rates among Latinos” (p. 85). For Irizarry’s students, such as Nieves, language is about “community” and “home”, but when teachers police students voices and expression they make students feel like “who [they] are and how [they] express themselves are not valued” (p. 92). Moraga (2015) likens the experience of rejecting her mother tongue to “cut[ting] off the hands in [her] poems” (p. 26). Indeed, the loss

of language represents more than simply losing a skill, but relinquishing ties to parts of one's identity and place. Language policies then, are used to further marginalize the Latinx community by robbing their languages of their merit and othering it outside of U.S. society to in effect deny Latinx people their right to belong and mark them as foreign (Arzubiaga & Adair, 2009).

Culture & Representation

The Latinx community is often stereotyped as being culturally deficient and apathetic towards education (Kiyama, 2017). These assumptions, however, are situated within Eurocentric definitions of education that do not allow space for Latinx perspectives and funds of knowledge to be welcomed. Moll, Amanti, Neff & González (1992) define *funds of knowledge* as the “historically accumulated and culturally developed bodies of knowledge and skills essential for the household or individual functioning and well-being” of a student (p. 133). Unlike U.S. constructions of education as formalized knowledge, for Latinx students the meaning of educación is relational, informal, and grounded in a sense of respeto (Arzubiaga & Adair, 2009; Valenzuela, 1999). From a Latinx context, “*educación* refers to the family’s role of inculcating in children a sense of moral, social, and personal responsibility and serves as the foundation for all other learning... wherein one respects the dignity and individuality of others” (Valenzuela, 1999, p. 23). The traditional educational structure delegitimizes Latinx conceptions on educación and invisibilizes the funds of knowledge that they bring into the classroom from their communities by devaluing students’ experiences, identities, and attempting to separate their knowledge from the formal learning that occurs in the classroom (Moll, Amanti, Neff & González, 1992). In other words, schools frame learning as a one-sided process by which teachers impart knowledge on needy students, this disrespect in turn causes students to disengage as learning becomes devoid of the reciprocal relationship they desire (Valenzuela, 2005).

Undoubtedly, schools have demonstrated their lack of care of Latinx youth as they exclude students experiences from curricula, develop harsh policies on language, defund bilingual education, and track students into less rigorous courses (Galán, 1995; Lavariega Monforti & McGlynn, 2010; Vargas, 2017; Yosso, 2006). Valenzuela (2005) argues that “teachers expect students to *care about* school in a technical fashion before they *care for* them, while students expect teachers to *care for* them before they *care about* school” (p. 336). Similarly, to cultural differences in understandings on education and educación, Latinx students depend on an authentic sense of caring in order to invest in schooling in meaningful ways. For example, during the *East Los Angeles Student Blowouts of 1968*, students refused to continue to receive an “inferior education” to their white counterparts so they walked out of their schools by the thousands to protest the inequities they were experiencing (Tejeda, 2011, p. 15).

The following year in Arizona the *Tucson Walkouts of 1969* occurred where students demanded improved quality education, called-out unfair disciplinary practices, and requested increased investment in the educational development of Mexican American students (Acuna, 2011; Vargas, 2017). At the heart of their concerns, was the reality that Latinx students were being groomed to become laborers and fated to the working-class, despite their aspirations for higher education and social mobility. The school system failed to care about the negative outcomes that it continued to reproduce for its Latinx students and as a result, the students refused to continue to participate in a system that-- as Valenzuela (2005) suggests, “disrespected them” (p. 5).

Efforts to decolonize curriculum through ethnic studies programs by centering Latinx histories and epistemologies have been met with resistance and have even been banned in states like Arizona (Palos & McGinnis, 2011). Regardless of their effectiveness in eliminating the

achievement gap between Latinx students and White students, strengthening Latinx students sense of belonging, and increasing student engagement, ethnic studies curriculum is consistently rejected or underfunded by districts, schools, and institutions (Acosta, 2012; Cabrera, 2014; Marrun, 2018a; Palos & McGinnis, 2011). Arizona has been a battleground state for implementing Chicano and Ethnic Studies programs. Initially, the Tucson Unified School District sought out a curriculum that would increase Latinx student graduation and academic performance in response to the desegregation lawsuit that student activists filed against the district.

Out of that call came what is now known as the *Precious Knowledge* curriculum which anchored its work in critical race theory, culturally responsive pedagogy, the community cultural wealth model, and ultimately Chicano history texts that centered Latinx experiences and acknowledged the intersecting identities of Chicano/a students (Palos & McGinnis, 2011). While the program managed to increase student graduation to 93% and improve academic performance across subject areas including math, legislators and state officials accused the program of “encouraging the overthrow of the United States government” and “resentment towards a race of people” due to its candid inclusion of the U.S.’s role in colonization, imperialism, and exploitation (Acuna, 2011; Cabrera, 2014; Strauss, 2017). In 2010, the state successfully banned the MAS program and the textbooks used in the curriculum. In 2017, a U.S. District Court, Judge A. Wallace Tashima declared the ban unconstitutional due to its blatant discrimination and “racist animus” against the Chicano community (Depenbrock, 2017; Strauss, 2017).

School curricula continue to exclude Latinx experiences, and when they are included they reinforce narratives that situate Latinidad as forever foreign and criminal (Aronson, 2004; Busey & Russell, 2016). Lavariega Monforti and McGlynn (2010) analyzed a wide-range of teacher

edition history textbooks in which they found that the majority of the texts included a miniscule amount of Latinx/ Chicano history, that is if they included it at all. Evenso when Latinx people's were mentioned the majority of the time they were discussed in the context of immigration and at least half of the texts discussed immigration in negative terms (Lavariega Monforti & McGlynn, 2010; Rojas, 2010). Not surprisingly, the curriculum taught in courses consistently depicts whiteness in alignment with "the master narrative of white male supremacy and American exceptionalism" while simultaneously lacking responsive cultural diversity entirely or portraying Latinx communities in tokenizing and inferior roles (Busey & Russell, 2016, p. 10). Latinx students reported feeling underrepresented, naming the focus on Eurocentric history, and yearned for an inclusion of a variety of histories that included their own specific heritage. Low expectations and misconceptions of student abilities largely tied to culture and language, maintains the self-fulfilling prophecy of students becoming disengaged and disinvested in their education due to the lack of rigor and support from their teachers (Arzubiaga & Adair, 2009; Irizarry, 2011; Kiyama, 2010).

The Intersection of Separation & Education

Latinx youth find themselves at a crossroads between wanting to maintain their identities and the need to blend into the dominant culture for survivability. Spring (2016) argues that the attempt to destroy home cultures through the process of cultural genocide-- as has been done to Native Americans and African Americans-- is a key "weapon" for domination (p. 11). The impacts of subtractive schooling harm Latinx youth since these students depend on their cultural and linguistic identities to maintain a connection to their home countries and families (Jaffe-Walter & Lee, 2018; Valenzuela, 1999). By schools attempting to nullify and eliminate these qualities as they progress through the system, the lack of a sense of belonging and

dissonance experienced by youth is amplified severely as they are already vigorously othered by the dominant culture. In essence, the educational system causes a second separation for Latinx children by divorcing them of their culture and language after many have already been separated from their home countries and families. Since Latinx youth are especially susceptible to experiencing family separation due to migration, it is critical to understand the relationship between family separation and education in order to support their success in schools.

Family separation further contributes to reproducing low educational outcomes for Latinx students in two significant ways: firstly, by further distancing students from their families and culture; and secondly, by instilling fear in Latinx students to mediate their subordination. Separation from family assists in the deculturalization of students by further estranging them from their home language and culture (Spring, 2016). Children acquire their first exposure to language in the home, however, when families are separated, attachments and language development are both interrupted. Schools reinforce this subtractive process by replacing students' home culture with the dominant culture all the while not supporting students in sustaining their original language and culture (Paris & Alim, 2014; Tejeda, 2011). Additionally, Latinx and immigrant youth consistently experience heightened fears of family separation which cause undue stress and emotional trauma on students, and ultimately further allows for their subordination (Dreby, 2012). Students who experience family separation are more likely to develop anxiety, depression, and post-traumatic stress disorder which negatively affect their educational achievement and attainment (El Baba & Colucci, 2018; Juabsamai & Taylor, 2018; Rojas-Flores, Clements, Hwang Koo, & London, 2017; Rousseau, Mekki-Berrada, & Moreau, 2001).

In schools however, these experiences often go undetected and present themselves as either over-compliance or defiance since children who experience separation often exhibit either silencing or anger to cope (Suárez-Orozco, Hee Jin Bang, & Ha Yeon Kim, 2011). Valenzuela (1999) also found a pattern of *empeño* as a form of silencing and of minimizing student needs in order to appear as grateful and humble recipients of the sacrifices that were made to enable them to access education and a better life in the U.S. Her participants demonstrated how these attitudes are mainly reflective of Latinx students' "structurally disempowered position in society. Similarly, the 'politeness' and 'compliance' of immigrant youth follows logically from their lack of social power. Their 'politeness' is perhaps as much about deference as it is about powerlessness" (p. 140). In other words, immigrant students' compliance in schools is less about their willingness to comply, and more so about their inability to defy because of their subordinated positioning as outsiders and their desire to appear grateful. Coupled with the institutionalized fear that Latinx students experience due to the possibility of deportation and separation, Latinx youth are even more so unlikely to contradict traditional schooling practices. Similarly, Rodriguez (2018) corroborated this finding in her work with mixed-status families in which students with access to legal status were fearful of appearing ungrateful for discussing the precarity of their family members status. In effect, schools continue to be complicit in disempowering immigrant youth by deprioritizing the needs of linguistically diverse learners, forcing Latinx youth to renounce their cultural and linguistic capital, and leveraging fears of separation to mediate their subordination (Menken & Kleyn, 2010).

Latinx Immigrant Resilience & Schooling Attitudes

Despite the targeting of Latinx youth by xenophobic and anti-Latinx policies, immigrant youth continue to demonstrate a promise for resilience and persistence in education. Resilience,

as defined by Masten (2014), is “the capacity of a dynamic system to adapt successfully to disturbances that threaten system function, viability, or development” (p. 10). Contrary to persistent stereotypes about Latinx communities, Latinx families inculcate in their children the importance of education and serve a significant role in producing positive educational outcomes in students, including college going attitudes (Kiyama, 2010). In fact, Latinx parents espouse to their children not only the importance of education, but also share with them inspiring family histories or *historias familiares*, *dichos*, and *consejos* that enable their completion of college (Marrun, 2018b). While historically myths have portrayed Latinx communities as being disinterested in their children’s success, all the evidence points to the contrary as ample studies demonstrate Latinx and immigrant parents involvement in encouraging high educational attainment and high aspirations for their kids (Delgado Bernal, 2001; Valencia & Black, 2002; Yosso, 2006; 2005). Gandara’s (1995) seminal work in particular demonstrates how Chicano parents fostered a *culture of possibility*, in which their children could dream and envision fruitful lives that resulted in students developing high levels of resilience and college going attitudes regardless of obstacles related to race and class.

While immigrant students traditionally carry more positive attitudes towards schooling than their U.S. born peers, exposure to American culture and heightened acculturation is what research suggests causes a significant decline in immigrant student perceptions and investment in education (Suarez-Orózcó & Suarez-Orózcó, 2002; Valenzuela, 1999). Gandara’s work demonstrated how parents' authoritative parenting styles counteracted the impacts of environmental factors and instead enabled their academic success. Unfortunately, the loss of family and loss of community through immigration is a significant stressor reported by Latinx students which can threaten academic achievement and access (DeJonckheere, Vaughn, &

Jacquez, 2017). Despite this challenge, Latinx students continue to demonstrate resilience and a willingness to persist in their education in spite of significant obstacles and institutional barriers placed in their way. While immigration and acculturation stressors pose significant risks for Latinx immigrant youth, they continue to demonstrate high levels of resilience that are offset by individual, familial, cultural, and community protective factors which enable their success (Cardoso & Thompson, 2010). Family separation however, threatens their ability to access these protective factors.

Testimonio as a Tool To Capture Education and *Educación*⁵

Within the span of the last forty years, testimonio has become a powerful tool of resistance, healing, and transformation. In the early 1980's testimonio was codified by indigenous and Latin American communities to document their oppression and life experiences. Most famously in *I, Rigoberta Menchú (1984)*, where a Guatemalan Quiche woman polemically names the genocide and atrocities for which the Guatemalan government was to be held accountable for. Later, in the Recovery of Historical Memory project (REMHI) led by Catholic Archbishop Juan José Gerardi Conedera in which he helped confront the violence and human rights violations experienced by the indigenous community in Guatemala during the civil war by documenting their experiences (Ogle, 1998). Archbishop Gerardi was later assassinated after publishing his findings. In Chicana/ Latina studies the collective work of Moraga and Anzaldúa (2015) have worked to legitimize the use of testimonio in academic spaces and decenter Eurocentric methodologies. Scholars like Levins Morales (1998) deployed testimonio in *Remedios* to rewrite Puerto Rican history through the eyes of women in which she emphasized the “medicinal uses” of testimonio for healing (p. 25). Most recently, testimonio has been used by education researchers to critically examine education and educación of Latinx people in every

⁵ Reproduced by permission of Oxford University Press (See Appendix F).

stage of schooling through the work of Delgado Bernal, Burciaga, and Flores Carmona (2012), Huber (2009) and in *Telling to Live* (2001) by the Latina Feminist Group. The pioneers of testimonio situated this practice through the lens of empowerment, solidarity, humanization, and healing.

Delgado Bernal, Burciaga, and Flores Carmona (2012) further distinguish testimoniar as, “the act of recovering *papelitos guardados*—previous experiences otherwise silenced or untold—and unfolding them into a narrative that conveys personal, political, and social realities” (p. 364). A key distinction of testimonio to personal narratives, memoirs, or oral histories is its inherent political urgency and intentional attempt to demand change as it is representative of not merely the individual experience, but the realities of the collective group (Delgado Bernal, et al., 2018; Reyes & Rodríguez, 2012). Unlike oral history, testimonio is inherently polemical, it is a desperate voicing, of making the unseen palpable, visible, accessible.

While a common argument made against decolonial methodologies is that it has not been “tested” or is “well-established” in comparison to Eurocentric faux-objective alternative research, the reality is however, that testimonio itself has a long history of not only being used, but being effective in achieving its aims of visibility and liberation (Levins Morales, 1998). Its codification and legitimization in academic spaces is indeed young, however this is a reflection of our late arrival in appreciating and understanding the full weight of testimonio as a methodology, rather than a mark against its value. According to Tuhiwai Smith (2012) “the obliteration of memory was a deliberate strategy of oppression” making testimonio an even more so important means by which to preserve and record the experiences of marginalized communities in order to hold oppressors fully accountable for their crimes and affirm the humanity of oppressed communities (p. 147). Levins Morales (2019) further affirms this in

demonstrating how “secrecy and silence are the perpetrator’s first line of defense” (p. 56). It is in the gaslighting, the revisioning of history, and the miseducation of these realities by which settler colonialism washes its hands of its crimes and paints itself as extinct in contemporary society.

Testimonio in K-16 Education

Within educational settings, testimonio itself is a promising tool for addressing the lived experiences of students, educators, and scholars of color, particularly Latinx and undocumented students whose intersecting identities push them to the periphery of the margins (Gonzalez, Plata, Garcia, Torres, & Urrieta, 2003). Testimonio serves a pivotal role in the process of conducting research, just as it does in the manner by which the research is completed. A key element of testimonio is its ability to visibilize the once invisibilized-- be it experiences, world views, traumas, funds of knowledge, or community cultural wealth. Testimonio is a crucial tool for combatting the role that schooling plays in revising history, excluding the voices of communities of color, and erasing their existence by creating opportunities for students, educators, and scholars to include themselves in the classroom and the curriculum (Pérez Huber, 2009).

Testimonio has a long history of bringing to light otherwise marginalized knowledge and ways of knowing. El Ashmawi, Hernandez Sanchez, and Flores Carmona (2018) define testimonio pedagogy as “the process of making oneself visible/seen through the divulging of our stories as they connect to larger systems of power, privilege, and oppression” (p. 75). DeNicolo, Gonzalez, Morales, and Romani (2015) found that testimonio was a useful pedagogical tool for identifying the community cultural wealth that students enter the classroom with. Their research study conducted observations and interviews with third grade Bilingual students during their unit on memoirs in which their teacher embedded testimonio into the curriculum. While English-only classrooms tend to make Bilingual and non-English speaking student’s knowledge “invisible” by

excluding their language, testimonio gives students the opportunity to identify the knowledge they enter the classroom with and make it “visible” for their teachers, such as: aspirational capital, navigational capital, and linguistic capital. Students shared *consejos* that their families shared with them, they indicated how they use language to navigate through spaces and help their families, as well as their goals for acquiring English for the future (DeNicolo, Gonzalez, Morales, and Romani, 2015). This study debunks the misconceptions that exist about non-English speaking students’ ambition and intelligence, and clearly demonstrates how students have a sense of their dreams and can be successful in school when encouraged to do so.

The transformative role of testimonio is that it invites students’ funds of knowledge to the forefront of the classroom and challenges traditional literacies by demonstrating the complex, intuitive, and perceptive ways that children talk back to oppressive systems like racism and xenophobia. In a study conducted by Dutro and Haberl (2018), they analyzed the testimonios produced by second grade students who discuss and make sense of borders, immigration, and power hierarchies through their discourse. Dutro and Haberl show how children serve as critical witnesses, and within the context of testimonio as a pedagogical tool in the classroom, students and teachers are able to be witness to one another’s experiences. They argue that children’s perspectives are a critical reality that must be included in policy-making as they are typically the first affected and which-- inherent in their testimonios-- can speak to the far reaching impacts of these policies on their lives and their communities. Unlike adult perspectives, children are uniquely positioned to serve as critical witnesses due to their lack of inhibitions and candid reactions. As such, they can provide researchers and policymakers insights on the impacts of policy decisions.

El Ashmawi, Hernandez Sanchez, and Flores Carmona (2018) studied the use of testimonio as a pedagogical tool in a higher education setting to help pre-service teachers develop a multicultural perspective. They emphasized that through testimonio they themselves are not “giving” students voice, but rather when used as a pedagogical tool they “create spaces” where students can use their voice, which inherently disrupts the traditional power dynamic that exists between teacher and student (p. 81). It is through the process of testimonio then, that communities can develop their critical consciousness and be active players in their own liberation, all the while developing the empathy of their listener and demanding that their humanity be heard. Their students were able to make sense of their own educational experiences by reflecting on their positionality and their community’s larger collective memory. This approach allowed students to build solidarity with one another, to name their experiences, and to liberate themselves. Their realizations and reflection of their own experiences helped deepen their respect and appreciation for the life histories of others.

Additionally, testimonio can play in helping individuals develop their critical consciousness and build empathy across lines of difference in educational settings. Gonzalez, Plata, Garcia, Torres, and Urrieta (2003) analyzed the testimonios of three undocumented students’ which discussed the hostile schooling environments that they experienced, largely related to struggles with their status, language, separation, immigration, and access to quality education. The researchers found that when the undocumented students presented their testimonios to pre-service teachers, the teachers were deeply impacted, regardless of the teacher’s level of social consciousness, and began to develop empathy and solidarity with the students who spoke. Unlike narrative or storytelling, testimonio demands that we act and it demonstrates the urgency that exists in addressing the harsh realities and inequities experienced

by undocumented communities. Each testimonio highlighted important educators that played a role in empowering the undocumented students, which in turn have the potential to serve as models that aspiring educators can follow to become allies to their students. More importantly, the testimonios humanized undocumented students to the aspiring educators. Tenenbaum (1947) argues that “nearness blurs the stereotypes” (p. 92).

Testimonio has also been used to document resistance in other contexts, particularly in higher education programs through mentorship of PhD students to increase retention and progress (Burciaga & Cruz Navarro, 2015; Vasquez, Flores, & Clark, 2001). Additionally, it has served to develop collective consciousness by creating a record of the experiences of Chicana/Latina scholars in order to give voice to our presence in higher education institutions and to serve as guideposts for future generations (Flores Carmona, 2018). Unlike traditional pedagogical tools, testimonio builds solidarity across and within groups by honoring the humanity that exists within each of our lives (Martínez-Roldán & Quiñones, 2016; Latina Feminist Group, 2001).

Testimonio as Method and Methodology

Testimonio is a Chicana/ Latina feminist method and methodology which challenges traditional approaches to research and pushes back against the boundaries of academia. Pérez Huber’s (2009) research demonstrates the potential of testimonio as a method *and* methodology. Testimonio serves a pivotal role in the process of conducting research, just as it does in the manner by which the research is completed. Pérez Huber shows how testimonio blurs the lines of traditional research roles by inviting participants to also become active collaborators in the design process. As such, testimonio is a vehicle for collecting data and the process by which one uses to acquire it. She argues that testimonios foundations in Latin American, Native American, and African American communities makes it a method that both validates the knowledges of

communities of color and empowers them to co-construct their own realities (Huber, 2009; Reyes, & Curry Rodriguez, 2012). Similarly, Chávez (2012) makes the case for the transformative power of autoethnographic methods like testimonio which can induce an “emotional jarring” in readers that will challenge their long held beliefs and create the necessary conditions for more equitable outcomes for historically marginalized students (p. 341). Unlike traditional approaches to research, scholars who adopt testimonio argue those who come from and occupy the margins are best equipped to question and theorize about the margins because of their proximity, not despite it.

Using this approach, Prieto and Villenas (2012) take a similar stance in their co-construction of testimonios, in which they recovered childhood memories, and connected them to the sociopolitical context of their communities and named their experiences using language from both their academic critically conscious perspective and community knowledge. They take the definitive stance that testimonio erases the line between researcher and participant as they analyze their own experiences, and make sense of the social justice orientations that they developed at an early age due to the raced, gendered, and classed experiences that they both lived and witnessed. They are able to juxtapose the impact of recovering their testimonios alongside the effects of the process of sharing it with one another. Pérez Huber and Cuevas (2012) used their positionalities to analyze the testimonios of K-12 students experiencing and resisting hostile schooling environments. Their study demonstrates how the academic can be blended with the communal knowledge to not only legitimize community cultural wealth, but theorize the experiences of historically marginalized communities through Chicana/ Latina feminist perspectives. Testimonio has, and continues to be used as a tool for challenging power and injustice.

Apart from disrupting Eurocentric approaches to research by centering and valuing the experiences of marginalized communities, testimonio also instills empathy and builds solidarity within and across groups (DeNicolo, Gonzalez, Morales, & Romani, 2015; Latina Feminist Group, 2001). Also, Martínez, Hernandez Sanchez, Flores Carmona, & El Ashmawi (2017) argue that testimonio allows us to not only recount and name our experiences, but to “seek deeper meanings”, to interpret our own lived experiences and their implications in order to develop our consciousness (p. 41). Testimonio has, and continues to be used as a method and pedagogical tool for challenging power structures and naming our experiences in the margins.

Intersection of Family Separation and Testimonio

As a method and healing practice, testimonio has been adapted, implemented, and called upon in a multiplicity of forms to center the needs of historically marginalized communities and to name the experiences of family separation. Herman (1997) suggests that “in order to escape accountability for his crimes, the perpetrator does everything in his power to promote forgetting. Secrecy and silence are the perpetrators first line of defense” (p. 8). Testimonio offers survivors the opportunity to remember and reclaim their experiences in order to begin to heal from traumatic experiences. In public health, testimonio has been used as an intervention mechanism for supporting mothers in processing disrupted family structures (Jalisi, Vazquez, Bucay-Harari, Giusti, Contreras, Batkis, Polk, Cook, & Page, 2018). Conversely, testimonio has been used to challenge the invisibility of undocumented communities through grassroots efforts to produce policy change to address deportation and family separation practices (Mangual Figueroa, 2015). Other scholars, like Benmayor (2012) have used digital storytelling as testimonio to invite her students into documenting and theorizing about their experiences, “to testimoniar from the flesh, to create and represent through the flesh, and to construct and

interpret their identities in mind and body” (p. 522). One of her students, Velazquez (2010) shares her feelings of displacement and “homelessness” in lacking a mother figure to confide in due to being separated and placed in the care of her grandmother (in Benmayor, 2012).

Most recently, Voice of Witness (2019) collected oral histories of youth refugees fleeing Central America who crossed by themselves (Mayers, Freedman, & Zamora). In their testimonios survivors shared their immigration journeys, the process of establishing themselves in the U.S., and the impact of the separation on their family. Recent refugees from the migrant caravan at the U.S.-Mexico border have presented their own testimonies before Congress to address the inhumane conditions of detention facilities and immigration policies (Juarez, 2019). Additionally, testimonies have been submitted in the challenge to the *Flores v. Johnson* (2015; 2018) settlement that is currently seeking to revise the legal requirements for child protection (such as holding periods), required resources, and the level of care the government is obligated to provide to detained families (Dolan, 2019; Gee, 2018). Additionally, numerous media and news outlets have released statements and first-hand accounts of experiences of separation, most from parents and their children discussing their separation and detention experiences (Haag, 2019; Hennessy-Fiske, 2019; Jordan, 2018).

Addressing the Gap: Uncovering the Testimonios of tender-Age Children

Many accounts exist sharing contemporary experiences of family separation, however, the experiences of tender-age children remain under explored and it is unclear what the lasting effects of these experiences will be on the children and their families who lived it. Additionally, many narratives focus on the procedural processes of separation and less so on the emotional, psychosocial, and personal experiences that shaped their separation. Narratives, accounts, and quotes from separation victims are powerful, except many accounts are secondary tellings of

separation experiences that have been altered or provide soundbites of their experiences, rather than first-person accounts or testimonios.

Testimonio is uniquely positioned to offer an un-silencing, by creating space for marginalized communities to account for the ways in which they have experienced oppression, and by asserting their right to be heard while also naming their collective experience (Rodriguez & Reyes, 2012). Using testimonio with Latinx adults who experienced family separation as tender-age children will provide additional color and texture to already existing understandings about separation by providing insight into how the impacts of separation can persist into adulthood, how the experience informs educational trajectories, and by exploring how communities heal and cope with these experiences.

Chapter Summary

This chapter provides a review of the relevant literature related to the intersections of Latinx immigrant experiences with education, family separation, and the uses of family separation. First, it explored the sociohistorical uses of family separation, and recognized the familial, developmental, and educational impacts of family separation on children. After, this chapter addressed the role of schooling and education in shaping Latinx outcomes. Finally, this chapter discusses the role of testimonio as a methodological approach to uncovering family separation experiences and its uses in education, along with existing narratives that discuss family separation.

Chapter Three: Methodology

The previous chapters offer an overview of relevant literature and the sociopolitical context of the phenomenon of family separations that occur through immigration. Chapter 1, presented the background, rationale, connection, conceptual framework, and scholarly significance of the study. Chapter 2 provided interdisciplinary synthesis of relevant literature related to family separation, education, and testimonio across several fields, including sociology, history, education, and psychology. This chapter addresses the methodological approach to the study. First, I offer a rationale for a qualitative study and define my role as a researcher. Then, I operationalize a Chicana Latina feminist epistemological framework through testimonios and pláticas, to inform my methodological decisions in identifying participants, data collection, and analysis methods. Testimonio is a Chicana Latina feminist method which empowers marginalized voices to make their invisibilized experiences visible (Delgado Bernal, Burciaga, & Flores Carmona, 2012). This research seeks to use testimonio to understand how Latinx immigrants who experienced family separation make sense of their experiences and how the separation has overlapped or collided with their educational trajectory. Through the use of testimonio, this study unearths the long-term impacts of family separation and demonstrates the diverse ways in which separation is experienced and lived.

Research Questions

This study explores the following questions:

- 1) How do Latinx immigrants reflect on the long-term effects of family separation on their educational experiences?
- 2) Through their *testimonios*, how do Latinx immigrants remember and reflect on their experiences?

- 3) To what extent can testimonios of Latinx immigrants of family separation inform K-16 educators about how to develop a supportive school culture and climate for Latinx children?

Research Design

Approach to the Study: Rationale for Qualitative Study

This study demands a qualitative approach in order to honor the voices and complex perspectives of Latinx immigrants who experienced separation from their families. While mainstream research might designate this work as a narrative research study, this work takes up a tradition of testimonio that pre-dates the formalized theorizing around the use of story to capture collective experiences (Creswell, 2013; Reyes & Rodríguez, 2012; Beverley, 1987). Testimonio is a community practice that has been deployed by indigenous and Global south communities for centuries to mobilize, historicize, and build solidarity (Tuhiwai Smith, 2012). In this vein, this study privileges this practice in order to give clarity and insight into the lived experiences of Latinx immigrants who have been separated from their families. Coupling testimonio with a Chicana Latina feminist epistemological framework situates my own positionality as a *nepantlera*, an in-between person, alongside and in cooperation with community members in ways that enable them to name the complexities of separation, family, and memory (Anzaldúa, 2015). Monzó (2015) suggests this approach “attempts to transform our communities toward our own liberation...through respect, reciprocity, and placing primacy in relationships” (p. 375). Likewise, this approach allows us to honor the lifeblood of our communities with *cariño y amor*.

I use a Chicana Latina feminist epistemological (CLFE) framework to develop the design and process for my research. Delgado Bernal (1998) argues that a Chicana Latina feminist epistemological framework enables Chicana and Latina scholars to use their intersecting

inseparable identities to inform their research and challenge traditional Eurocentric approaches to research that have historically further marginalized or colonized our communities. Additionally, it pushes against notions of objectivity that position Whiteness as the norm and which further “other” the epistemologies of communities of color (Calderón, Delgado Bernal, Perez Huber, Malagón, & Vélez, 2012). Rather CLFE positions my own subjectivities as integral strengths that critically and more meaningfully inform my perspective and approach.

The Nepantlera as Researcher

In this work, I position myself as a nepantlera, a nahuatl word which Anzaldúa (2007) borrows to express the insider-outsider status that Chicanas and Latinas occupy in their work as researchers, scholars, and writers. Keating (2005) builds on this and offers the definition of a nepantleras as:

Threshold people: they move within and among multiple, often conflicting, worlds and refuse to align themselves exclusively with any single individual, group, or belief system... nepantleras recognize “the deep common ground and interwoven kinship among all things and people; and attempt to awaken this recognition in others”. (p. 15)

A nepantlera approach allows for us to name the physical, mental, emotional, and social borderlands that exist within and without, to make sense of the tensions that exist between and within communities. By leveraging my positionality as a nepantlera, I am able to forge partnerships with community members, adopt an ethic of care that humanizes the community, and ultimately is informed by my own experiences tied to the work that I am doing as an immigrant, Latina, Colombiana, mujer, and once undocumented person who experienced familial separation.

In the wake of the family separations occurring at the U.S.-Mexico Border, I released my own testimonio of my family's separation experience during our immigration to the U.S. Initially, I wrote it to process the retraumatization I experienced after hearing children, whose voices and languages were very similar to my own, plead for their parents (Rodriguez, 2018). I remember in particular the sound of a young boy, in the void of the static of a detention center cry, "mami" (Miller & McGill, 2018). I felt my inner three year old reach out to him, his voice a mirror of my own small voice, we shared similar scars. From this place, I voiced for the first time all the sobs and sounds I had swallowed as a child. hooks (1994) suggests that in theorizing we can find a "location for healing" our hurt (p. 59). For me, this was my deepest hurt, this was my *papelito guardado*. Until I finally chose to share it on social media through a popular blog platform, I had never fully disclosed to anyone the experience and the impact it had on me. I reflected on Anzaldúa's (2015) reflections in *Light in the Dark*, where she shares her own experience with testimonio and writing:

Intento dar testimonio de mi propio proceso y conciencia de escritora chicana. Soy la que escribe y se escribe. I am the one who writes and who is being written. Últimamente es el escribir que me escribe. It is the writing that "writes" me. I "read" and "speak" myself into being. Writing is the site where I critique reality, identity, language, and dominant culture's of representation and ideological control. (p. 3)

In never acknowledging the experience, I had managed to dissociate myself from my trauma. It was writing it that made it real, it was the reading of it by others that made it a part of my history (Herman, 1992). Perhaps it was the fear of vulnerability, or the guilt of appearing ungrateful if I spoke out, but this was a story that I had swallowed only for it to resurface again and again, in my relationships, in my schooling, in my personality, and in my scholarship.

I exist in this world as a heterosexual ciswoman, Colombian immigrant, once-undocumented now recent citizen who experienced separation from her parents for almost two years and has lived in indefinite separation from her extended family. I am racialized by this world as a Woman of Color, a mixed girl, racially ambiguous and difficult to place because of the long legacies of colonization and enslavement in Colombia, a history erased by society and by family. All of these identities both confer privilege and have denied access throughout my life, to educational opportunities, to resources, to stability, to freedom. Nonetheless, many of these identities have also evolved or shifted, granting me access to higher education, to citizenship, and to other privileges. As such, I continue to be critically reflective of how these shifts may limit or further inform my work.

To be clear, my experiences of separation should not be conflated as the same as other individuals who have been separated. I position my experience not as a template or model of separation experiences, but rather leverage it as a metaphorical flashlight in conducting this research. While my experiences may be vastly different from that of others, my lived experience as a nepantlera enables me to better inform my research. That is to say, there is no way of knowing what a person's separation experience has been. Much like when one enters an unfamiliar room or a house with no lights on, we cannot see or even begin to imagine who and what exists in it. My experiences, however, give me insight (a knowing of the places where the light switches might be, a familiarity with where furniture is typically placed) and it functions as a flashlight (from experience I know the places where our memories might hide, the closets and boxes that we store our traumas away, the corners where our three year old selves might curl up). In other words, I know where to look, I know what to ask, yet still, I do not know everything. Through this approach I can guide others in constructing testimonios about their experiences, to

bring to light their silenced experiences, and support them in making their memories a place they can feel at home in once again.

Testimonio as Method

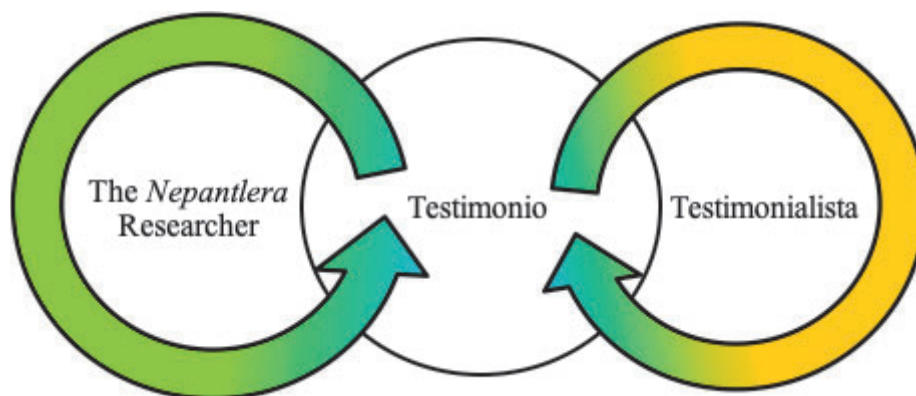
Reyes and Rodríguez (2012) define *testimonio* as being “a first person oral or written account, drawing on experiential, self-conscious, narrative practice to articulate an urgent voicing of something to which one bears witness” (p. 525). For Chicana Latina scholars writing of these experiences is an attempt at what Anzaldúa (2007) argues is “an act of making soul”, to reconcile the warring experiences within (p. 169). For queer people of color this is especially important, as Revilla and Santillana (2014) suggest, “only by telling our stories can we open doors to our movements and new possibilities. As marginalized people, we must actively remember how we have survived and resisted” (p. 171). This writing from the wound, Anzaldúa suggests allows us to begin the process of healing by addressing the ways in which we have been hurt. Levins Morales (2019) offers that “only through mourning everything we have lost can we discover that we have in fact survived, that our spirits are stronger than we thought” (p. 66).

Figure 3 demonstrates the circularity in the process of building testimonio. As I disclose my own lived-experience, I enable others to do the same. As they disclose their own, they inform the community of their needs and name their experiences. This approach is a disruption to Westernized modes to research that force a linear approach. Instead, this approach demands a constant calling back and checking-in in order to reposition the community and participants as active co-creators, experts of their own experience. Particularly, given the tenuous relationship between communities of color and research, this circularity serves as a safeguard for disrupting power dynamics between the researcher, participants, and the research. Monzó (2015) calls this formula a means of maintaining a “constant vigilance” as insider-outsiders in order to blend

ethnography with advocacy and intervention in ways that can produce equitable conditions for our/ their communities (p. 378-388).

Figure 3

Co-Construction of Testimonios



Additionally, I pull from Levins Morales' (1998) curandera handbook in which she outlines how testimonio can be used as a remedio, a medicine for healing historical trauma as the “story of how we survived becomes community medicine” (p. 50). Namely, I adopt six of the key tenets of her handbook: 1) tell untold or undertold stories, 2) show agency, 3) restore global context, 4) access and digestibility, 5) show yourself in your work, 6) cross borders (p. 26-38). Testimonio is polemical. It is the telling of a truth that represents the community's collective experience and which invokes the urgency to act, to change the status quo. Levins Morales (1998) suggests, “recovery from trauma requires creating and telling another story about the experience of violence and the nature of the participants, a story powerful enough to restore our

sense of our own humanity to the abused” (p. 15). Therefore, testimonio, especially testimonios of separation experiences, necessitates an approach that is reciprocal, and which can empower the testimonialistas to reclaim their stories and humanity.

Co-Constructing Testimonios

Deeb-Sossa (2019) suggests that “the experts on the issues of their community are the members of the communities themselves” (p. 5). As such, I position the participants of this work as testimonialistas which El Ashmawi, Hernandez Sanchez, and Flores Carmona (2018) argue have the capacity to:

...not only to share her stories, but also to make meaning from them, to theorize about their significance, and to use them to reflect deeply about how she wants to advocate for social justice considering what she has learned through her testimonio. (p. 71)

This positioning disrupted the traditional dynamics common in scholarship, and instead reconfigured the ways in which we shared power throughout the process.

Pizarro (1998) challenges researchers (including himself) to find ways to include participant voice in the design and analysis of research as well as centering the need for creating real positive change within the communities the research is conducted in. He suggests that this empowers “participants to define themselves as authorities. They must know that we are turning to them for guidance” rather than depending on traditional approaches that are inherently exploitative and voyeuristic (p. 67). Watson (2019) emphasizes the importance of developing a reciprocal relationship between researcher and participant so that it can be “a site of radical inquiry” (p. 84). Similarly, Revilla (2004) applies this approach in her work with Raza Womyn by engaging in dialogical exchanges with participants that is grounded in muxerista praxis and dissolves the distinctions between researcher and participant. The building of these testimonios

was a reciprocating co-construction process which involved in-depth semi-structured interviews, reflexive memoring, and pláticas.

Participant Selection and Recruitment

This study included five self-identifying Latinx/a/o, Chicanx/a/o, Mexican, Latin American, or Hispanic adults who experienced family separation due to immigration during childhood before the age of twelve who can recollect a separation experience related to immigration, including but not limited to separation caused by travel, detention, deportation or some other means. Participants were recruited from across the U.S. through national community networks and organizations, purposeful and snowball sampling was used to identify and refer potential participants who currently reside in the U.S. (Creswell, 2012). Rigorous procedures were taken to de-identify and code data in order to protect anonymity and participant safety, such as obtaining a Certificate of Confidentiality.

This study focuses on adults, first and foremost, in order to protect children from being re-traumatized from their recent separation experiences. Adults are uniquely positioned to shed light on the long-term impacts of family separation and how the impacts persisted beyond the initial experience as well as to understand the degree to which these events shaped their life outcomes. As Salazar (2014) argues, “filtering” experiences through adult-eyes provide sufficient distance from the original experience that allows participants to make meaning of their own life and “reconstruct their past into an organized and coherent series of important identity-shaping experiences” (p. 156). Tender age experiences of family separation are largely unaddressed in the literature, making the testimonios of Latinx adults who experienced it during tender ages particularly important for understanding how family separation experiences shaped family structures, educational access, and informed student resilience. Adults then are perfectly

situated to articulate the long-term impact of the separation on their lives, their education, their resilience and make sense of the relationship that exists between them.

This study used a snowball sampling approach to identify participants by collaborating with community members, organizers, volunteers, and advocates involved in Latino and immigrant focused community organizations serving the Latino community (Creswell, 2013). Flyers were posted in community centers, on social media, and shared by word of mouth. Due to Covid-19, recruitment primarily occurred through social media and word of mouth. I reached out to each of these potential participants and discussed with them the purpose of the study, its design, the consent process, and answered any questions they had. This initial conversation also allowed me to ascertain whether the interested participant met the specific parameters of the study. The participants of the study also provided other leads for additional narrator participants. As is traditional in Latinx culture, a word-of-mouth created a sense of *confianza* (trust) by having been recommended by community members of whom are already informed about the study.

At the conclusion of recruitment, fifteen individuals indicated interest and initial *pláticas* occurred to determine their eligibility and identify a diverse group of participants. Five participants were invited to participate in the study based on including a wide range of experiences from multiple Latin American countries and statuses (See Table 1). All participants were in their 30's at the time of participating. Participants included 1 nonbinary person, 3 women, and 1 man. All participants indicated shifts in their immigration status, including experiencing periods of time in which they were undocumented. Four participants identified themselves as Queer or as members of the LBGTQIA2+ community. Participants experienced being separated from their families of origin between 1-2 years while below 12 years of age. The majority of participants indicated that they were still separated from their extended families, and

several expressed that they had never been able to return to their countries of origin due to their status or due to choice. The testimonialistas were racially diverse, in terms of participants choosing a wide range of language to articulate their identities.

Table 1.

Testimonialista Demographic Data

Names	Gender Identity	Time Apart	Race	Ethnicity	Sexuality
Sirena	Woman (She/Her)	> 2 yrs* +	White	Mexican	Queer/ Lesbian
Nafta Azteca	Woman (She/ They)	+1 yrs	Black, Indigenous, & White (Multiracial)	Colombian	Queer
Pilar	Nonbinary (They/Them/She)	~ 2 yrs*	Mixed (Indigenous & White)	Mexican	Queer
Francisco	Cisman (He/Him)	~ 1 yr* + ~20 yrs	Mixed (Black, Indigenous, & White)	Peruvian	Gay/ Queer
Marisol	Woman (She/ Her)	~ 1 yr +	“Latina”	Ecuadorian	Undisclosed
Language-based on participant self-identification. *Time apart based on estimates.					

Data Collection: Individual Interviews, Platícas, and Reflective Memoing

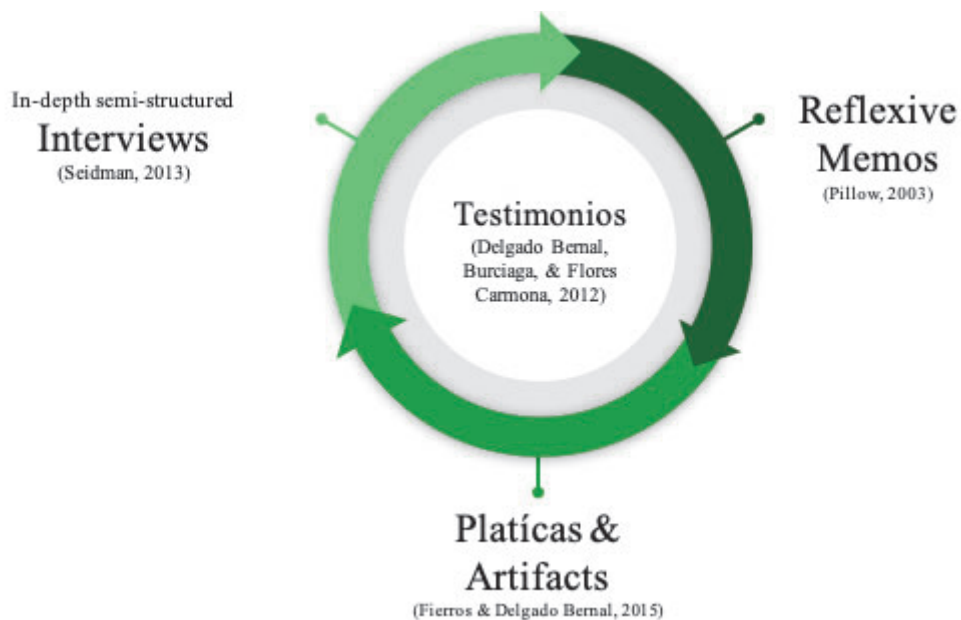
Individual Interviews

To co-construct testimonios, the methods of data collection for this study included individual semi-structured interviews, platícas, and reflexive memoing (See Figure 4).

Participants were invited to take part in a two hour audio recorded in-depth semi-structured interview, with additional phone calls where necessary (Seidman, 2013). Some interviews extended well beyond two hours, and involved follow-up phone calls. Additionally, some participants chose to share personal writings and other artifacts that were also analyzed to better understand their testimonios. Participants were able to share their testimonio in English, Spanish, or by translanguaging between the two. Participants were asked to discuss their childhood experiences, family memories, the immigration journey, reunification (if applicable), educational experiences, and reflections on healing. Due to Covid-19, interviews were conducted either face-to-face following safety protocols (social distancing, masks, hand sanitizer, etc.) or virtually using Zoom encrypted software.

Figure 4

Data Collection



Each testimonio was transcribed verbatim. Repeated words and expressions, such as “like”, “you know”, and “right” were removed to help with clarity and flow. Repeated sentence fragments were left out and an ellipsis was placed to indicate the deletion of more than three words. All participants spoke English and Spanish with varied fluency, and translanguaged within their testimonios. The testimonios were transcribed exactly as they were spoken, commentary spoken in Spanish was intentionally not translated to honor the voices of testimonialistas. This is a rhetorical decision to de-center the English language and legitimize experiences that are often marginalized for being spoken in Spanish. Names and places were removed or changed to protect the identities of their families and communities. After transcription, I shared copies with testimonialistas and offered them the opportunity to membercheck the transcript to ensure quality and accuracy of the transcripts (Creswell & Miller, 2000).

Pláticas and Artifacts

Throughout this process, I engaged in pláticas, informal chats to gain clarity and understanding of testimonialistas life histories. Fierro and Delgado-Bernal (2015) argue that pláticas are a “relational practice” in which significant knowledge and insight is shared and which allow the researcher to be vulnerable by sharing their own experiences as well (p. 116). In this way, pláticas create space for reciprocity and can be used as a tool for reimagining how we conduct research by establishing a sense of responsibility to the individuals that engage in our work. Pláticas are also a way for sharing research progress and analysis to receive feedback and guidance from testimonialistas to ensure that the work being conducted is humanizing and maintains an ethic of care. These testimonios also compelled each of us, the testimonialistas and

myself, to engage in pláticas within our respective families in order to ask pressing questions, to reflect, and to name the ways in which this experience impacted our lives.

Additionally, participants shared significant texts and personal writings that went beyond the scope of our conversations. They often wove these texts into their testimonios or organically shared these texts through pláticas, to demonstrate the connections they were making beyond their testimonios. They often referenced specific readings from school, scholars they connected with, and literature they had pulled from to make sense of their own experiences. To honor the ways in which the testimonialistas own stories interacted with, challenged, confirmed, and spoke back to these narratives, they were analyzed throughout the process and themes emerged from these supplementary texts to further elucidate the findings.

Reflective Memoing

Extensive reflective memoing was conducted to process and document the journey, in addition to help adapt the process as it progressed. Reflexivity is a feminist practice which challenges the researcher to deconstruct themselves for their reader, not in order to transcend their subjectivities, but rather in order to sit within their discomforts and name the messiness of their research (Pillow, 2003). Unlike bracketing, this approach aligns with CLFE in that it does not claim objectivity, instead it names with clarity the limits and extent of our perspective. In effect, reflexivity allows researchers to testimoniar about their research process as they bear witness to the realities and truths of their participants in order to problematize their blind spots and assumptions. Nonetheless, even as nepantleras we can be and are colonized-colonizers in our role as researchers, in revealing these tensions the researcher can find accountability (Villenas, 1996).

After testimonio interviews, 20-30 minute long audio-transcribed memos were recorded using Otter software to capture initial reactions, emotions, connections, patterns, challenges, tensions, relationality, and key insights that have been uncovered. This served as an outlet for documenting the experience of conducting research as a nepantlera and provided space to reflect on my position, the dynamics of the research, and problem-posed potential changes and challenges especially as it related to power, utility, reciprocity, and community needs. Reflexive memoing provided a space to honor my cultural intuición and to challenge the power dynamics of serving in an insider-outsider position (Monzó, 2015; Villenas, 1996). Additionally, due to the Covid-19 pandemic, these reflexive memos became a space to explore alternative options for conducting this research.

Data Analysis

Methodologically, data analysis occurred once all interviews were conducted and transcribed to ensure accuracy (Creswell, 2012). Thematic analysis was used to code the testimonios, notes, artifacts, and memos. I identified deductive codes curated from the existing literature, and then developed inductive codes as data was collected and significant themes emerged (Mitchell & Irvine, 2008; Monzó, 2015; Saldaña, 2016). Atlas.ti was used to code the data. Since these testimonios were spoken accounts, transcription could not fully capture the emotions, pauses, and sounds included within their testimonios, so the audio was listened to through an iterative process to identify salient memories. Testimonialista reflections and feedback from pláticas were used to further direct the analysis.

Scholarly Significance

Given the growing diversity of our country's youth and the increase in xenophobic policies that produce family separations, it is imperative that we prepare educators on how to

holistically support students who experience extreme traumatic experiences like family separation by developing research on the impacts of trauma and healing informed engagement. Family separation is a timely issue that is at the forefront of public dialogue and new policies are being developed to address immigration, however, the voices and experiences of immigrant children are not included in the larger conversation and not taken into consideration during policy development. In large part, these policies are increasingly targeting Latinx and immigrant communities in demonizing and dehumanizing ways. Testimonio has the ability to visibilize the experiences of marginalized communities and can humanize immigrants in a way that allows for just and ethical immigration and education policy reform (El Ashmawi, Hernandez Sanchez, & Flores Carmona, 2018; DeNicolo, Gonzalez, Morales, and Romani, 2015).

It is widely documented in educational research that students who have experienced adverse childhood experiences require additional support and well trained educators who are prepared to assist children through crisis. Unfortunately, educators (albeit well-intentioned) are severely underprepared to support immigrant children experiencing and surviving separation, as children's reactions to separation often go undetected (El Baba & Colucci, 2018; Juabsamai & Taylor, 2018). In this way, this study is intended to support teacher development and policy making by understanding the experience of family separation in order to develop a humane and compassionate response to the increased displacement and transnational movement of people across and within nations. This study hopes to move the needle forward in addressing sociohistorical inequity and injustice, while simultaneously recognizing that this project is one part of a larger movement required to effecting systemic change. The findings of this study are not generalizable as they are reflective of the specific experiences of participants, and as such cannot capture the full scope of human experiences related to family separation.

What This Work Does (And Doesn't Do)

This work does not give testimonialistas a voice because that is not for me to give. In fact, some of the participants in the study are prolific scholars, activists, and creators. And if anything they have always had a voice and have used it in service of their community throughout their lives. What this work does offer is a place to share fragments of their story of which they have not been able to share due to family obligation and duty, for sake of privacy, or even due to safety. Nonetheless, each testimonialista sought out a place to speak into existence these fragments, sometimes in a whisper, sometimes in secret. Throughout these testimonios there is a clear recognition that these stories do not exist in a vacuum because they are connected and intertwined within larger communities and testimonialistas are accountable beyond their immediate needs. In many ways, they are not the sole owners of their testimonios because to tell their testimonio is to speak of their mothers, their grandmothers, their countries, their siblings, and their fathers. And as testimonio tends to do, these testimonios speak to collective memories that represent those like them beyond time and space.

This work also does not pretend to be generalizable. Within these stories there is truth, but it does not position itself as the truth, rather they represent multiple truths that both nuance existing immigrant narratives and builds what Partnoy (2003) calls a discourse of solidarity, “a weave, a tejido around the oppressed” (p. 176). Additionally, contained within the limits of these written words you will not hear their entire testimonio. As there are things that are not for me to tell, there are things that they are still writing and rewriting, there are things that written words miss, and that translations simply do not capture (Tuck & Yang, 2014). In this second telling, you may miss out on their laughter, their labored pauses, their hesitations, their unspoken fears and joys. These are things to which I bore witness, and through my nepantlera filter I attempt to

convey in all their complexity mere fragments of their larger stories. You will however hear, in their words, intimate details of their lives which for many were the first times they spoke them outloud. You will hear the very clear and omnipresent connections that they make between these moments in time and its relation to their life histories.

Ethical Considerations

Given the nature of the study, I used an ongoing consensual decision-making approach to obtaining consent from participants which not only informs participants of the risks, but as Ramos (1989) suggests also keeps participants informed, meaning that there is ongoing dialogue about potential risks and benefits. Particularly, given the volatile nature of immigration in the United States and the shift in policies, it is critical that the participants' safety and privacy are prioritized in every conversation. As such, this approach further maintains a reciprocal relationship by acknowledging the power differentials between the researcher and participant and reasserting the participants agency in the process (Haney & Lykes, 2010; Wax, 1982).

To further protect participants, a Certificate of Confidentiality was obtained from the National Institute of Health (NIH) “protects the privacy of research subjects by prohibiting disclosure of identifiable, sensitive research information to anyone not connected to the research except when the subject consents or in a few other specific situations" (National Institutes of Health, 2019). This gives participants autonomy on how, when and with whom their information is shared. Additionally, it protects the data and the researcher from being subpoenaed, as no data collected during this study can be shared without the express permission of each individual participant. This is an added safety measure to protect undocumented participants whose disclosure of undocumented status could present significant risks (Lahman, Mendoza, Rodriguez, & Schwartz, 2011)

Conclusion

While the family separation initiative has been rescinded and various courts have ordered the reunification of families, Latinx students continue to be separated from their families beyond the application of this single policy. Students continue to be exposed to severe trauma throughout their families immigration journeys and negotiation with legality, unfortunately these traumas are not singular or limited to government sanctioned separation due to the larger structure of the immigration system's inhumane responses to immigrants. Nonetheless, it is urgent now more than ever that we at the very least begin to understand the experience of separation as it is a much more commonplace fear and experience than we will ever be able to predict.

Through this study, Latinx immigrants who were separated can take up the tradition of testimonio to make their experiences visible and name the ways in which this country has deployed this cruel strategy again and again to protect its white national identity. As a nepantlera, I am uniquely positioned to take up this work and create space for their stories to be told. A study such as this demands an ethic of care that moves beyond understanding a phenomenon, and strives to collaborate, empower, and be empowered by the community with which the research is conducted.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I outlined the Chicana Latina feminist methodologies which were used to design and execute this study. Additionally, this chapter problematized the role of objectivity in research by laying bare the researcher's role and the ways in which a nepantlera positionality is used to collect and analyze data. Finally, this chapter offers some key ethical considerations necessary for conducting research with vulnerable populations.

Chapter 4: Papelitos Guardados

You remind me that the only possessions we have in this world

Are our bodies and our voice

And the combination of the two must be used

TRE (My Revolutionary)

Yosimar Reyes

In Chapter 1, I discussed the background, statement of the problem, personal connection, purpose, theoretical framework, and the scholarly significance of the study. Chapter 2 explored the relevant literature related to Latinx education, family separation, and testimonio to understand the gap. Afterwards, Chapter 3 outlined the research design and methodology chosen for data collection and completing the research. This chapter explores the significant themes that arose from the testimonios and their contributions to the field.

Restatement of purpose

The purpose of this study is to explore the long-term implications of family separation experiences on Latinx immigrant students through the testimonios of adults who experienced separation at tender-ages. This research nuances existing narratives of immigration and family separation experiences by recovering memories of separation and identifying how this experience threads itself across the life histories of testimonialistas. This work centers the experiences of those who lived it and creates a space for them to theorize the ways in which separation shaped and influenced their families, their education, and their sense of self. Through their testimonios, we can aspire to and create more supportive and transformative school climates for Latinx immigrant students and their families to enable their success.

Research questions

This study explores the following questions:

- 1) How do Latinx immigrants reflect on the long-term effects of family separation on their educational experiences?
- 2) Through their *testimonios*, how do Latinx immigrants remember and reflect on their experiences?
- 3) To what extent can testimonios of Latinx immigrants of family separation inform K-16 educators about how to develop a supportive school culture and climate for Latinx children?

The first question explores the long-term impacts of family separation related to the physical realities and educational experiences of Latinxes, such as the enduring vulnerabilities produced by family separation. The second question grapples with the salient memories that Latinx immigrants thread throughout their life histories and their constructions of family and sense of place, including how they negotiate family, fragmentation, and belonging. The final question targets the role of schools and educators in supporting Latinx immigrant children through an analysis of the memories of school shared by testimonialistas.

The Testimonialistas

The testimonios captured in this research study include a diverse array of perspectives from immigrants from countries throughout Central and South America, but which nonetheless share one binding thread: separation. They each nuance and complicate existing immigrant narratives and challenge the preconceptions that exist around the lives of immigrants, their families, and journeys. Contrary to stereotypical narratives of who immigrants are, each participant expressed significant shifts in their socioeconomic status leading up to their

separation. Some participants were born into middle-class and even wealthy families, many attended private schools and came from highly educated families, some owned businesses, some owned property, some came on Visas while others crossed the border, but they each nonetheless were compelled to take the risk of immigrating to the United States due to the unstable and often destabilized economies of their countries of origin.

Overview of Findings

The testimonios captured here refuse to be essentialized. They are intimate stories that were shared in whispers, told between laughs and tears, and almost always kept hidden or unspoken until this moment. While family separation produced significant ruptures within their lives, they nonetheless found inventive and sincere ways of reintroducing these moments and the people in them back into their stories in order to name the ways in which they have experienced harm and healing. Each testimonialista experienced moments of great loss, vulnerability, and at times resentment, but they each made families for themselves despite the world's attempts at denying them that very essential sacred space. They redefined, reimagined, and reinvented family for themselves from what they had available to them (Moraga, 2007).

These testimonios contain within them specificity and ambiguity, as they reconstruct memories from long ago of events that for some have never been spoken out loud until this moment. While they do not pretend to contain absolute truths, they nonetheless convey a truth-- a single experience, a thread that is part of a much larger collective memory (Partnoy, 2003). Together, these threads create *tejidos*, a tapestry of our experiences, and each thread adds color and dimension to the complex experiences and tensions that separation has produced for us. Within these testimonios emerged theories in the flesh, the significant understandings that testimonialistas conceptualized from their lived experiences and physical realities (See Figure 5).

Through their testimonios, they reveal the precarity that xenophobic immigration policies exacerbate and the ways in which children navigate them. From an analysis of their testimonios, three salient themes emerged: 1) separation produces enduring vulnerabilities that have long-term impacts; 2) testimonialistas resisted fragmentation by reconstructing their families; and 3) memories of feeling seen by their teachers and seeing themselves in their classmates and curriculum was critical for their schooling.

Finding 1: Separation Produces Enduring Vulnerabilities

An evident theme across testimonialistas was that separation produced enduring vulnerabilities for children and their families. These vulnerabilities extended far beyond the single memory of separation as they created conditions that limited access to the legal economy, to dual-income households, to resources, to trust in government entities, and perhaps most importantly, to compromising the safety of children (Dreby, 2012; 2015; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001; Zayas, 2015). Despite how common separation is for immigrant communities due to restrictive immigration policies, separation experiences are often left undisclosed because they contain such intimate details about families, about trauma, and about the survival and resistance strategies immigrants must use to navigate these larger systems (Abrego, 2017). Additionally, these separations are typically not singular events, but rather recurring themes in the lives of immigrant families.

Un-silencing Abuse, Visibilizing Struggle

When Marisol (She/ Her/ Hers) first reached out about sharing her testimonio she was specific about her desires to share a particular piece of her immigration story, that despite being an author and researcher herself, she had not been able to find the medium to share it. For her, the separation was her *papelito guardado*. She had a deep understanding that disclosing these

particular memories were tied beyond her experience and could ripple through to her family, her children, and potentially her career. In the early 1980's when Marisol was seven years old, her country of origin, Ecuador, experienced an economic crash due to an oil crisis that left her father out of work and her family in a financially unstable situation. As a result, her father immigrated to the U.S., leaving behind his wife and three daughters to seek out opportunities and stability. Soon after his departure, Marisol's older sister was severely injured when a car hit her as they were crossing a road. The culmination of her sister's accident and her father's departure left Marisol especially vulnerable and feeling like she had lost both parents as well as her sister because of her accident. Marisol's experience bears witness to this vulnerability, as the competing forces of immigration left her unprotected and exposed her to significant harm, a harm which she shared for the first time in her testimonio:

I ended up feeling really like I had lost my mom and my dad. Because he had left and now she was really concerned with the care of her older child. And really, in a sense, losing my older sister as well because she was now hurt and different. And I ended up spending a lot of time at my grandmother's house. This was my mom's side of the family. And this is hard.... Then, I was sexually abused by my uncle during that time and I just felt like I couldn't tell anyone because my dad wasn't there. My mom was struggling. I don't know how I know she was struggling. I don't even know, I still don't remember what made me think "don't talk to mom", but I must have picked up on it and I just knew that I had to keep it to myself... Yeah, so it just felt like whatever that safe world I had had, you know... It just crashed. And so really it removed the adults from my life and I just felt like I had to figure it out on my own (Marisol, 00:30:35- 00:31:51).

For Marisol, the separation produced a double vulnerability, both by leaving her susceptible to abuse and by effectively silencing her. As children observe their families navigating these systems, they become aware at early ages of the precarity that immigration produces.

Additionally, they also begin to internalize the immigrant bargain even earlier, as they are compelled to not add to the challenges their families are already dealing with or to dishonor the sacrifices that have been made for them (Smith, 2006). Nonetheless, even into adulthood they

continue to negotiate these conflicting emotions and roles, to have been harmed, but to also have a responsibility to their family.

Immigration separation and all of these things just kind of end up creating the opportunities to be vulnerable by removing these people in your life that are supposed to care for you, and they do and they're trying. Right. So I don't blame my dad for leaving, I am thankful he did and I wouldn't be here if it wasn't for that decision. So I don't have anger, resentment about that, but the reality is that it does create that vulnerability, that precarity that has real impacts on people and then for the rest of their lives, right and at the core of who they are because certainly that experience then shaped... Everything... I don't even know who I would be if it had not been for that. (Marisol, 00:29:55- 00:33:12)

Leaving Ecuador, in addition to representing reuniting with her father also “meant getting away from the danger that [she] was facing” (Marisol, 00:38:50). The dissonance that resulted from both the separation and the abuse led her to feel isolated and invisible, a thread that stitched itself through and across her life history. Rather than seek out help, she learned to make herself small and invisible all the while grappling with such difficulties. Immigrant children are often forced to grow up quickly, taking on responsibilities and burdens not meant for their still developing minds, spirits, and bodies, but that they inevitably feel compelled to take on in part due to the immigrant bargain and in another, a desire to not want to add to an already impossible process (Rosas, 2014). It is evident however, that separation is not a singular memory, but rather a salient experience that then stitches itself through the life histories of immigrant children. Marisol goes on to share how these experiences shaped her relationship to other adults and the ways in which she hid her pain:

So if I didn't feel comfortable reaching out for help, when you know the abuse was happening, that pattern in my life continued to high school where I was not going to reach out to adults for help. They hadn't been helpful in the past and that was just stuck. Right? And so unless somebody was gonna come to me-- and it wasn't that I wasn't willing to accept the help, I just needed somebody to know and nobody did. Nobody did. And so I think sometimes you think kids are okay because they're high functioning in some kind of capacity. They pretend they have it together, but they're struggling. You know, and maybe they're not acting out because I was acting out in some ways, but people weren't noticing right away. I was experimenting with drugs and drinking and I was ditching school. But I [would] come back and do my homework and take my test.

Right? Like I knew when I had a test and I only showed up for that and I studied, right. So I somehow managed to pretend like it was all okay and then because people didn't ask, I just flew under the radar...(Marisol, 1:15:59- 1:18:53)

Marisol's experience speaks to the invisibility that children often experience and that is amplified by immigration processes that deny them their full humanity and criminalize their families. The very essence of what brought Marisol to finally disclose her testimonio she described as a desire "not to be erased" (Marisol, 1:21:10). In sharing this *papelito guardado*, Marisol is able to make herself "seen", by recognizing the abuse and by naming it (El Ashmawi et al., 2018).

Separated Again, and Again

When Sirena (She/ Her/ Hers) was nine months old she was placed in the care of her grandparents in a small town in Mexico, who she would grow up to know as her only parents. Her world was completely flipped upside down when she discovered at almost seven years old that she would be reunited with her family of origin and that she would be immigrating to the U.S. with them. As she was reunited with her biological family, she was separated once more from the only family she knew, her grandparents. However, this would not be the last separation she would know, as deportation would eventually leave her apart and away from her biological father. Sirena experienced separation twice: first, from her family of origin at nine months, and again from her grandparents at almost seven years old. When she was reunited with her family of origin this left her perplexed and angry, to have been left and then sent away within the same fell swoop destabilized her entire world. The persistent thread of separation stitched within Sirena's testimonio left her susceptible to isolating herself from the remaining adults in her life once she arrived in the U.S., a response common by children who experience separation and familial instability (Dreby, 2012). As a result of the repeated abandonment and invisibility she experienced, she ran away multiple times as an adolescent, first as a means of vengeance and

eventually as a means to cope with the distance she felt from her family. She recounts these complex memories here:

When I was 15, I ran away, then I ran away again when I was 16, and then stayed away. So that's where it was easy for me to just leave my family behind. Now that I think about it, I think I did it on purpose. I think I did it like to show them how it feels... to be left behind. And you know, we move on. And I didn't see my mom for about three years when I left because I just felt like I didn't need to... I never realized that. I mean, that's one of the reasons why I really was just able to so easily walk away from my family because they were so easy to walk away from me... The first time I ran away to my friend's house, but she called my parents and told them where I was.

The next time that I run away, I told him I was like, watch, one day I'm gonna leave and I'm not gonna come back. And my dad laughed at me and my mom was like, "okay, okay, cuz you're such an adult". And I'm like, "you think you were an adult when you did that to me?" Like, no, I'm going to show you what it is to walk away and stay away... I think that's when I realized how distant I was from my parents, and how much it really affected me. So then it was like, "oh, she's back. We have her back". And then they were easy to walk away. My dad was easy, like he just left us behind when I was 13 and then so that was the first time it happened to my sisters. That was the second time that happened to me. You know what I mean? I think that's something that they don't see because he left them, yeah-- but he left me again. That was my again. (Sirena, 00:48:03-00:49:26)

As Sirena shared the ways in which she mimicked the behaviors of her family of origin, she began to make connections between their actions and her decisions, including choices that would later become what Solórzano and Delgado-Bernal (2001) consider self-defeating. She resisted their abandonment, but at the same token left them in return as an attempt to "teach" and communicate to her family of origin the feelings that she experienced during her separation and reunification. Her testimonio speaks to the complexity of family and how immigration processes force families to reconstruct themselves. While separation represents a jarring yet significant rupture in the testimonialistas' innocence, it can also lead them to resist their integration into their reconstructed families and refuse to be made invisible by committing what Rios' (2012) calls crimes of resistance, "a deviant politic" in which youth break the rules consciously to

communicate their position to the adults in their lives (p. 53). She expresses the fragmentation she was experiencing:

Because it's like the person you thought they were, isn't and now you have like these strangers that are hugging you and holding you and telling you, we love you and you're our daughter and it's like...but they were my parents, you know? It was one of the hardest moments of my life because I was separated from who I thought were my parents and weren't. So I felt separation there, abandonment there, like, you were so easy to give me away and they were so easy to leave me behind...(Sirena, 00:30:19-00:31:43)

Sirena compared the reunification to being like “furniture, getting moved” (Sirena, 00:31:38-00:31:43). This hurt is one which even now as an adult Sirena struggles to reconcile because for her when her grandparents passed, “her parents died” (Sirena, 00:56:21). As a result, she still fears that she will not be able to mourn for her biological parents the same way. Unfortunately, this precarity during her adolescence also led to her seeking out validation through other means, including falling into abusive relationships during her periods of running away and eventually turning to destructive coping mechanisms like drugs. It eventually took her family’s intervention to get her out of this cycle. She added:

I think I always knew, but then it got really real when the aggressive part and the abusive part was coming directly from her... That's when I was like “I need to go. You need to leave, it's gonna be a lot better being alone than being with someone that makes you feel alone”...I started drugs... And they got so bad to where they found me like in a little room in my own vomit and I needed to come back. That's when I asked for help from my mom. Within a day I was back here.... You don't have to tell your parents when you need them. They should already know. And I think that's also where she feels the disconnect. (Sirena, 01:27:24- 01:29:02)

What once felt familiar, suddenly became foreign and strange. The one constant she understood in her life, her grandparents, was suddenly an illusion. The abrupt dissolution of everything she knew alienated her even further from her family of origin and as a consequence her grandparents. This created a sense of not belonging anywhere, a disconnection that goes beyond the nuclear family and extended family to her understanding of place, to country, and to ideas of what and where home was for her. Despite attempts at reconciling these tensions in her family and with

her mother in particular, Sirena still expressed that she did not know “how... to love her like that” (Sirena, 1:24:26). Add to these vulnerabilities, the other challenges that were exacerbated once they were reunited with their families, including becoming undocumented, facing further economic hardships, and struggling in school due to language barriers and discrimination.

Additionally, immigrant children experience separation not only from their families of origin, but also from their extended families and even their siblings. For example, Pilar (They/Them/She), Sirena’s older sibling, who identifies as a queer nonbinary Mexican, was exposed to persistent vulnerabilities. Their families multiple separations and undocumented immigration status produced unpredictable and unstable environments for them throughout their life. Without fully knowing why or when, Pilar was first separated from their middle sister, Sirena, when they were three years old. They would not see her again until almost three years later. When they reunited with their sister they were surprised to find that they were more strangers than relatives. However, life in the U.S. for their family did not get any easier, as they moved constantly due to their undocumented status, and even experienced multiple separations as a consequence of deportations and detainments. Pilar shares the aftermath after their father’s deportation:

I was sad, angry, lonely, depressed. I was suicidal... like my dad had left again... And then that's when he called my mom to sell her house in Mexico, so we could bail him out... My mom decided to take my younger sister and she's like, “let's go to Mexico” and I'm like, "No, I'm not going. I'm not leaving again." And I decided to stay, I have a really bad feeling and I told my mom, “please don't go. Please don't get on the bus. Please...Don't get on that bus. Please don't take away my sister, please don't get on that bus. Please don't leave me”... And she did. She left. And my dad was in jail, my other sister had runaway, and my mom was on her way to go help a man who didn't give a fuck... My mom had to sell the house for cash to... ya te imaginas. And so she was carrying a giant amount of cash and tried to cross a few times, was caught once, and detained for like a few weeks with my sister. And this entire time I was here by myself, I was 17 staying with my aunt, her husband, and her seven kids. That's when I learned how to wash dishes, I learned how to clean, so I cleaned her house like every day, and took care of her kids when I didn't have school... I never let anybody know until I was basically homeless, when my mom

finally came back... maybe four or five months, maybe closer to six months [later]. (Pilar, 1:22:31- 1:32:36)

This period of separation for Pilar meant experiencing extended periods of homelessness, food insecurity, exploitation at the hands of extended family, and most clearly mental health challenges. During this separation, Pilar was put in a caretaker role with their aunt to earn their keep. They would later find out that their mother was sending money to their aunt which was never shared with them resulting in them experiencing persistent hunger due to the economic instability. Additionally, the separation inevitably produced significant emotional distress for Pilar and other testimonialistas, including some disclosing their struggles with depression, anxiety, substance abuse, and even suicide (Dreby, 2015).

For Pilar, what would pour further salt on the wound was the betrayal they perceived when their father opted to self-deport after being released from detainment to return to Mexico.

They elaborated:

Then I find out that my dad had been out for two weeks, he hadn't come to see me, he hadn't said nothing to nobody. He had been out for two whole damn weeks. And he finally came to see me to tell me that he was leaving that same day to Mexico. I was so pissed. He was hugging me and all I could do was just make fists in my hands and I wanted to punch him so bad. I wanted to punch him, to sock him straight up in the jaw and I think about it and I'm still so mad. How dare he have the audacity to bail himself out? Do the self deportation. I didn't know that part until recently, and be out for two weeks and not even check up on his only daughter who is here by herself with people that were obviously taking advantage of her. It just didn't make sense. It didn't make any sense and nobody will ever make it make sense like I don't care, I get to be mad about that because I still remember, I remember the whole thing. Like I can see the fucking cement staircase and I can feel the fucking heat, and I can feel the wind, and I can feel being mad when he's hugging me, and me just not hugging him back. And I thought that was gonna be the last time I saw him but I didn't talk to him for eight years...It just doesn't make sense. Like, make it make sense, you get out of jail, you don't see your kid? (Pilar, 1:26:53- 1:28:48)

For Pilar, there was no way to rationalize their father's behavior and the enduring impact that it had on them, their life, and their education. As a result of their family's absence, Pilar would have to repeat their senior year of high school in order to graduate and work incredibly hard to

save up enough money to pay off the debt on their school account from books their sisters' had not returned after they dropped out. Dreby (2015) outlines the burden that is placed on children as a result of family separation and recognizes the long-term impact that such experiences have on them, including the emotional distress and economic instability it produces. Pilar recognized these two components as the first manifestations for when they experienced being separated. First, the significant loss of income, and second, the emotional withdrawal that followed due to its impact on their mental health. These compounding impacts had significant ramifications for their educational access and attainment, including delaying their graduation (Brabeck et al., 2016). Nonetheless, despite such significant challenges, Marisol, Sirena, and Pilar learned to adapt in order to survive and as a result, the continued struggles they each faced were made invisible by societal expectations that portray responses to harm as singular and which diametrically invisibilize the experiences of immigrants through their criminalization. Their experiences are evidence of the numerous ways in which immigrant children regularly both fear and experience family separation beyond deportation (Pelaez Lopez, 2003).

Finding 2: Resisting Fragmentation: Memories of reunification, home, and nepantla

In the scars on my knee you can see children torn from their families

Bludgeoned into government schools

You can see through the pins in my bones that we are prisoners

Of a long war

My knee is so badly wounded no one will look at it

The pus of the past oozes from every pore

The infection has gone on for at least 300 years

My sacred beliefs have been made pencils, names of cities, gas stations

My knee is wounded so badly that I limp constantly

Anger is my crutch

I hold myself upright with it

I Walk in the History of my People, Chrystos

(Moraga & Anzaldúa, 2015, p. 53)

As a result of immigration policies, families become fragmented and scattered across continents and countries, oftentimes never being able to see one another again. Family separation scholarship typically focuses on the psychosocial impacts of separation from the nuclear family on children, but it often underexplored how immigrant families are forced to reconstruct themselves in order to survive and resist being fragmented (Dreby, 2015; Rubio-Hernandez & Ayón, 2016). From this fragmentation, immigrant communities are constantly reconstructing and reimagining what family looks like, including queering their families by doing gender and family itself differently (Acosta, 2008; Marrun, 2016).

Reconstructing & Reconciling Familias

Although well-intentioned families sometimes keep the details of the separation from their children, and overtime their communication and connection becomes strained (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001). This fragmentation produces a cognitive dissonance which is amplified when the separation is not fully or clearly communicated to children. Francisco (He/Him/His) identifies himself as a cisqueer Peruvian of mixed descent. At nine years old his family's once financially comfortable middle-class status shifted as Peru went through an economic crash in the early 2000's that resulted in his father, who worked for a bank, becoming unemployed. Growing up Francisco became glaringly aware of the racial dynamics that existed within Latin America and in his family through his interactions with his older light-skinned

brother and through his schooling, as his darkness and difference were both used to Other him, often referring to him as a “negrito de cariño”, a comment entangled within Latin America’s anti-Black colonial history (Bonilla-Silva, 2010).

Not long after the economic crash, his mother made the difficult decision to immigrate to the U.S. to seek out economic opportunities for her family. That meant leaving her two sons and spouse in Peru for a year while she saved enough money to send for them. Throughout this time, Francisco’s family learned to do family and gender differently, what Oswald, Blume, and Marks (2011) would call queering the family to adjust to the absence of their mother. Not knowing the hardships his mother had faced, Francisco had grown resentful and was stunned to discover the humble conditions she had been living in when he and his brother were finally reunited with her one year later. When he was reunited with his mother again for the first time, all he said to her was: “Hola Ma”. To which, his mother’s friend retorted, “wow, ni un abrazo le vas a dar a tu mama?” (“You aren’t going to give your mother even a hug?”). His cold greeting was a symbolic gesture of the resentment he had been holding, however, like many immigrant children his attitude changed quickly once he was made aware of the real conditions of his mother’s life in the U.S.

At that moment, I was very resentful. Pero se me quiteo super rapido porque after we landed and that happened and we got our bags. We drove to the apartment complex, where we would live for many, many years after that. And walked up to like the third story of the building to enter this apartment that we were sharing with another family. Right? And that had never happened to us before. And it wasn't until I walked into the room where my mom, my brother, and me were going to sleep in, right? Like "our room". It wasn't until that moment when I realized everything that she had been through. So when I walked into that room, what I found was the following: so I entered the room and I saw two twin size beds with these beautiful comforters and pillows, they were super pretty. And next to them there was an air mattress and that's it, where my mom would sleep. Right? And to me that just like [sound effect] like, la cara de fuchi que tenia se me quiteo haci [Snap], right? And I was like, fuck. I mean not with those words obviously but I was just like wow... It hit me. That was a big reality hit for me...

Despite his family being accustomed to a more comfortable socioeconomic status in Peru, their arrival to the U.S. on visas that would eventually expire meant that his family would become undocumented. Francisco explicitly connected his undocumented status to undocuqueer poet Yosimar Reyes (2017), who frames undocumented status not as an identity, but as “a social condition constructed by the U.S. government”. In witnessing the reality of his mother’s life in the U.S., Francisco developed a growing awareness of the inequities that existed, making the sacrifices she had made all the more significant in his life:

So I went to the restroom, I closed the door and that's when I started crying. Right? And I was alone, I was just like, I was crying my eyes out because I finally understood how rude I had been to my mom without having zero understanding of what she went through and it wasn't until I saw again those twin size beds with matching sets of comforters and pillows and then this like really humble air mattress on the floor next to it. And I was like, Oh my god, like, this has not been easy. Like it wasn't the US that I imagined right. The land of opportunity and where money grows on trees where, you know, where my mom was making good money in my head and not sending us money because she was being mean, to like she was barely surviving herself and not just barely surviving, but barely surviving to ensure that my brother and me to be here with her. Right? So... It was a very emotional moment for me. I remember crying, and then promising myself that I would do school... Like the only way in which I could repay my mom for all her sacrifices, was by me doing well in school and exceeding and going to university and, you know, doing that, right. So, ever since my attitude changed, like, again, not that I didn't love my mom, I was resentful, because as a child nothing made sense. (Francisco, 00:50:06- 00:53:52)

Immigrant children are simultaneously navigating often contradictory and complex emotions, while trying to reconcile what their role is within their families larger immigration story. His feelings of resentment are consistent with Abrego’s (2014) findings, in which children left behind in their home countries often expressed the complex sentiments that come with separation, particularly when parents were unable to maintain their promises, such as sending remittances, communicating regularly, or reuniting sooner. However, as Francisco came to realize the sacrifices his mother had made, his resentment was replaced by a commitment to succeed in school, an exchange referred to as the immigrant bargain in which the children of

immigrants feel a duty to repay their families for their sacrifices (Smith, 2006). This desire in many ways fuels and inspires their educational aspirations and inculcates in students' college going attitudes as a means of repaying their debt (Kiyama, 2010; Valencia & Black, 2002).

These tensions also hold true for children who experience separation in multiple ways like Francisco who was reunited with one parent only to be separated from the other indefinitely, as his father did not immigrate with them, a reality that still remains true to this day. In spite of that ongoing separation, Francisco shares how he reconstructed his understanding of family through his relationship with his father:

I've had to rationalize it and say this is what a father-son relationship looks like so it's my normal so I don't feel bad for me or the manner that it happens...My dad hasn't had a job since you know I came to the US 20 years ago nearly. And when I was 15 years of age and I got my first job that's when I started sending my Dad money behind my mom's back... It's really sad with him it's kind of like, I love him and he's my dad, but I have no relationship with him except for the fact that I send him money. And I've normalized that so now that I've been able to be older and...I think that seeing how much my mom suffered helped me humanize her and por ende humanize him too. Right? So his struggles and whatever he had to endure because of all the systemic forces I became a little more compassionate or empathetic.

At the same time, I grew kind of nonchalant to it and said like, you're my dad, I love you. I will do what I can to support you. But like I said, like, I don't make an effort to have long conversations with him... And, sadly, I don't do it because part of me is afraid to know the answers... The other part of me is the number of birthdays that he has forgotten. Right? And he has texted me and asked for money on my birthday and not even wished me a happy birthday. And I have to wonder, if there was no money associated in our relationship, would there still be a relationship? So I rather not know to be honest with you, I rather depress it... I'm really fortunate for that experience to have learned that and I'm really grateful for what happened, that I had to learn that so that's why I was able to rationalize my relationship with him a little differently. With my mom it hurt more because it was like, my mom left and she was gonna send for us and she hasn't whereas it's like, "oh, yeah, like the world sucks!" [Laughter] Yeah, and they're just trying to make it by like all of us are. They're human. (Francisco, 1:10:47- 1:15:35)

He shares how he compartmentalizes his relationships with his parents which speaks to how separation forces immigrants to reimagine family, and to do family differently. Additionally, it reemphasizes the profound ways in which immigrant children reconcile these tensions and

develop a radical ethic of care to resist being fragmented. Despite once holding their families and parents up as pillars of protection and perfection, this experience revealed to them the humanity of their families by rupturing the perfect narratives they had built up. In the recognition of their imperfection, they were able to reconcile their separations or at the very least, accept their families' humanity, despite the rest of the world's every effort to deny them that very essential thing. The silences that Francisco holds are “a way to put love first”, where a mutual deep sense of respect for one another is prioritized over the desire to confront the tensions (Chavez-Leyva, 1998, p.432). Francisco explicitly contextualizes these competing forces as he speaks back to his childhood self:

I would tell that little boy, I would tell myself like you know, *vas estar bien por seguro*. Pero like tu puedes seguir adelante y be willing to question the world more...Honestly, like, I think that was a big reckoning for me being in that bathroom como te digo...I think that was the moment where I started to question the world....That event is tied to all these years of history and all these years of oppression and it's tied to all these people who are beautiful and incredible and will become your best friends in the world. And it's not an isolated event. 11 million is a significant number of people and I still don't think I have the capability to understand how many people it is because I don't think I've ever seen 11 million people in one room, but I know that I would like my younger self to know that again, what my family went through is not an isolated event? (Francisco, 1:46:23-1:49:25).

Within this sage advice, there is a clear critique of the structures that seek to dehumanize and criminalize immigrants, and position them as undeserving by identifying the mechanisms that produce separation. Additionally, in Francisco naming his connection to the other 11 million undocumented people in the U.S. he is situating himself within this larger context and demonstrating the intimate solidarity he feels within this community.

For other testimonialistas, their experiences reconstructing their role in their family was heavily influenced by gender roles and age, which shaped the responsibilities they were expected to take on (DeJonckheere et al., 2017). As the demands of arriving in the U.S. took their toll on their families and were exacerbated by their undocumented status, their role shifted from a child

to a caretaker. Nafta Azteca (She/ They) identifies as a Queer Colombian immigrant whose family immigrated to the U.S. in the early 90's, in large part due to the omnipresent day-to-day violence produced by the systemic inequities persistent in Colombia as well as their family's desire to seek out new futures. Nafta Azteca shared this particular dynamic with their two younger brothers:

Once my mom went to work, I became his caretaker. And then I was just like an authority figure to him. And that also made it difficult for us to have a relationship because... I had to be responsible and I had to make sure that I knew where he was and what he was doing. And if he was doing something bad I had to scold him or like, if you hadn't eaten I had to yell at him to eat... Just be a caretaker and I couldn't be his sister. And actually, like, that's true for both of my brothers. They both hate the fact that I feel like their mom. I mean, I don't like it either. I wish it wasn't the case, but they really resent me for it. And, you know, I hope one day they realize it wasn't my fault, but it's really strained our relationship... I mean, I did it, because I knew that I had to help my mom. There was like, no other way to do that. (Nafta Azteca, 00:25:03- 00:26:44)

While Nafta Azteca did not choose this role for themselves, they nonetheless rose to the occasion to support the well-being of their family. They recognize both the tensions that it produced with their siblings and the duty they were honoring as they did what they could to fill the empty gaps that were created in their family as a result of the financial instability produced by their undocumented status. Similarly, Pilar experienced pressures to intervene in their siblings' lives as a caretaker while their family worked.

And then I had to become the parent, or I felt the need to become a parent because of my parents, then my sister started fucking up and started hanging out with really bad people, then their grades got worse and that's how I found out about the... tracking system in school. And how like the more As I got, the better teachers that I had access to. While my sisters got worse and worse and worse and worse until they dropped out. (Pilar, 1:38:55- 1:40:23)

Despite feeling a conviction to look after their siblings, in this new role Pilar quickly began to recognize the distinctions between their sibling's educational experiences and the larger systems at play that informed the outcomes they were each experiencing and which would ultimately make them unsuccessful in correcting their trajectories. In many ways, family separation forces

immigrant families to reconfigure their entire lives and the roles they play within them to survive the economic and legal limitations placed on them. This results in children trying to fill roles otherwise reserved for adults or having to redefine their understanding of specific familial roles in order to cope and make sense of their family (Rosas, 2014).

While immigrants manage to successfully and quite regularly reconcile these contradictions, the children of immigrants still feel the brunt of the burden as they are negotiating how to reintegrate into their families. Sirena struggled to accomplish just that, as she tried to reconcile having been left, and now having to fit within her family in the U.S. In her testimonio, she directly speaks to her family of origin's demands after returning from having run away:

You left me. Who are you to tell me who I'm supposed to be? That's why when I did come back I was apparently very cold, and I still sort of am to my parents, cold--, but I just don't feel the love my sisters feel. And I know they think it doesn't hurt me, but it does. I wish I could feel that, that pain they feel, but I don't. Out of respect, I, you know, I get my dad money, or I'll help my mom when she needs it because I know that it's the right thing I'm supposed to be doing, but it's not something I'm feeling... (Sirena, 00:54:05- 00:56:01)

Sirena captures the contradiction that immigrant children often have to mediate while dutifully maintaining their commitments to family. Despite Sirena viewing her grandparents as her parents, she nonetheless tried to fulfill the traditional expectations of a “good daughter” within her family of origin. The radical care that immigrant children embody demonstrates the ways in which they still hold onto their desires to be “niños buenos” or to be “bien educados” by filling these roles (Valenzuela, 1999). These values are shaped by the cultural educación that Latinx immigrant children grow up learning and which informs how they do family and demonstrate respeto to their elders (Valdez, 1996).

Living in Nepantla

Francisco would go on to seek out moments in his memory of home and familiarity by looking for what he describes as the “strings” that connect people to one another, what he

considered the visible love that binds us to one another. As he shares this memory, he is transported back in time and can hear the Peruvian radio playing in the background, blaring salsa or merengue or Shakira or pop in his family's kitchen. The two women who worked for them, migrants and sisters from a different province in Peru, chatter as they prepare fragrant dishes, but more than what they were cooking it was their stories of migration that captivated him:

Pero the conversations they we're having were so frank and so real and again, so grounded in those experiences of home that you know, it felt so... real to me. And-- this is just me thinking out loud and I don't know if it has nothing to do with it-- but this idea of finding home like, especially as a young closeted queer kid who could not say that out loud anywhere. I always had ideas of leaving home, right, like as a child. I wanted to leave my house to be myself, right? Pero it's not nothing that I've ever expressed or nothing that I ever like, was going to do right because I was a child, pero maybe as a child, it was so beautiful to me to hear these stories of home, that felt so real and authentic and genuine... Those memories definitely make me happy because of that, it seems like oh, look, how beautiful would it be to have this very... it felt like their connection was so transparent, so honest and like, it felt like they knew everything about each other, and they saw each other for who they were and embraced each other for that too, right? And that was beautiful to me. Because again, this was at a time in particular when I thought I couldn't be that person. (Francisco, 00:22:09- 00:25:24)

Francisco's experience nuances this idea of home and family, and speak to the ways in which immigrant children, especially queer children of color, experience longing and yearning for a sense of connection to a space or place they can be themselves. This visibilizes the simultaneously occurring mechanisms that he was navigating and the compounding effects of restrictive immigration policies and heteronormative values which amplified this dissonance.

Valerio in *This Bridge Called My Back*, describes this tension as a "painful separateness", to be a part of something while being ineradicably apart from it (Moraga & Anzaldúa, 2015, p. 39).

Francisco conceptualizes this bridging here:

It's those strings, and I feel... I see them, you know, coming out of each other's bodies and like, connecting and it was like an avatar moment. And again, it's beautiful. It's just so real. It's just beautiful. It was so filling. It's so wholesome. It's so powerful. It's just a sensation. It reminds me of the conversations [they] would have, the sisters right? So authentic, so real. So like, transparent, and grounded in memories, right, which I think it's just beautiful. And it wasn't to hurt each other, it was just to be there in each other's

presence and it just makes me really happy to think about those moments. I had a lot of walls up... I was guarding myself a lot with my status, being queer and closeted...Also, again, being a person of color, undocumented, being darker than my family, blah, blah. Like all those things that made me so I couldn't, like really let my guard down and be vulnerable with them, but now that I've grown older and I've been able to have really important relationships...We've been able to build those relationships where, like, walls were torn down, and it's just like, let's talk, let's be real, like if we cry, we cry, if we laugh, we laugh. The constant thread is support, right? Being that support system for one another, it's just beautiful” (Francisco, 1:19:14- 1:20:08)

Through naming his multiple and intersecting identities, Francisco demonstrates the ways in which this experience is not tied to a single system, but rather bound up and connected to larger systemic issues that produce this fragmentation at a physical, emotional, and spiritual level. In his testimonio, Francisco is making meaning of his childhood experiences and connecting them to their sociopolitical context (Prieto & Villenas, 2012). Despite systems that sought to tear him a part, he pulled from these memories to ground himself in the hope of what authentic community, support, and love could look like. Additionally, through his testimonio he reveals what Perez (2003) might consider a “decolonial queer interpretation” of family, which recognizes the kin that queer immigrant communities construct for themselves to fill the spaces left by the separations that exist because of xenophobia and homophobia.

This profound feeling of being disconnected however, was a common sentiment across testimonialistas who were negotiating both the hardships of having been separated alongside trying to make new meanings from the families they now found themselves in. Nafta Azteca called on Anzaldúa’s (2007) *Borderlands* to capture this complex feeling:

It made me think of that phrase, ni de aqui ni de alla...Family separation is definitely a part of that feeling. Being like, so rooted, and so like in your place, and then all of a sudden being somewhere else, but never really letting go of that feeling. And, like, wanting-- like the fact that I never got to say goodbye to that apartment that my grandparents lived in that I would roller skate in. And I never got to be in that space ever again....Feeling like, you don't belong when you go, like, you belong, like, you know that you're from there somehow. And it feels good to be there. But also, like, you're just not. You feel like people look at you crazy and you feel strange... I'm constantly looking for things that feel familiar when I'm there. And it's gotten harder and harder, because I've

gone less and less, and things have changed more and more, it's like my family. Like, my grandma doesn't live there anymore, and my aunt never really kept that close of a tie. And so it wasn't just family separation in the sense, like, my mom and my dad came here, but it was like all of the other family separation that happened, right? And the disconnection of all of these people... That feeling of being from neither place I think is very much rooted in that family separation. And the fact that you've like been pulled out by the roots and now they're just dangling. And they're always dangling, you know? I'm looking for another place. (Nafta Azteca, 2:20:07-2:24:38)

Their articulation demonstrates the remnants of separation that extend Anzaldúa's concept of the borderlands to feeling displaced, in place, while at the same time searching for place. Separation does not occur as a singular moment, but rather as an iterative process as immigrant children are separated from their immediate family, then separated from their extended family and community, and in effect slowly become separated from who they are through their acculturation in another country. Anzaldúa (2015) calls this liminal space *nepantla*, an in-between space where transformation can happen. Testimonialistas expressed this very feeling of being made to feel as though they were uprooted and might never be able to ground themselves again because separation via immigration means living in a constant state of separation. If not from your family of origin, then from your extended family, if not from them, then from your country of origin. By exploring these memories, testimonialistas were able to identify the "deeper meanings" of their childhood separation experiences (Martínez et al., 2017).

Finding 3: Being Seen, Seeing Ourselves in School

Invisibility is not a natural state for anyone

Yamada (in Moraga & Anzaldúa, 2015, p. 35)

The experience of being separated from their families for testimonialistas is inextricably linked to how they remembered their schooling, including which memories were the most meaningful to them throughout their educational trajectory. They each carried the throbbing remnants of their immigration into the classroom with them, making visibility, safety, and a

sense of connection all that much more significant for them. Being seen by their teachers and ultimately seeing themselves in their classmates and curriculum transformed how they viewed their schooling.

Communicating Cariño

Each remembered at least one teacher that played a key role in their schooling which altered the trajectory of their education, a finding consistent with Delpit's (2012) research on teachers as warm demanders. Marisol, who had developed distrust towards adults due to her earlier memories, tenderly remembered the role that her ESL teacher played in her schooling:

Mrs. [Berry] was my ESL teacher. And I think it's just because she was more than a teacher. I remember my mom had a car accident one day and so she couldn't make it home because she had to go to the hospital. She was fine. But it was Mrs. Berry that made sure that we got home okay and that we had dinner. So it was that sense of like somebody caring beyond the classroom. And then actually her husband, Mr. Berry worked at the middle school. So then he was my English teacher, not like ESL, but like English English. And so she passed on like, "take care of [Marisol]" kind of thing. And so then he was one of the teachers that I really kind of appreciated in junior high. So yeah, she was special. (Marisol, 1:06:45- 1:07:55)

While in her earlier memories, Marisol had experienced betrayals and harm at the hands of adults she was supposed to trust, Mrs. Berry's effort to not only care for Marisol and her sister, but to ensure that their needs were met by communicating authentic care. Bartolomé (2008) suggests that authentic care or *cariño*, is political, in that it recognizes the underpinnings of the conditions that produce these needs. For Marisol, it was her mother's inability to pick them up both due to the emergency and the fact that her family was overextended as both parents were working to make ends meet. Additionally, this moment challenged the invisibility Marisol had become familiar with due to her prior experiences and instead allowed her to feel acknowledged. She continues:

It's that sense of like, people are paying attention, somebody is paying attention to what's happening to you, and they'll notice you know, if it's good or if it's bad or if something's changed, right? Where for the general part I just felt like nobody was paying attention.

Nobody was noticing, right? And these themes carry from my family. Oh, like, nobody's paying attention to what's happening with me because they're busy with other people. They're busy with the good kids and the bad kids, but the middle of the road kids is just kind of again, like eh, we don't need to pay attention to them. So you feel seen, you feel like you matter to some extent (Marisol, 1:08:07- 1:08:59).

This directly contrasts her past experiences in which her needs were either completely disregarded or minimized. As a mentor she had been assigned through a Big Sister's program once put it, Marisol "*looked fine*", however her tendencies to appear high-functioning were less a result of her actually being okay, and more of a consequence of a coping mechanism she had adopted in order to not add to the hardships her family was already experiencing (Marisol, 1:15:59). This aligns with the experiences Pilar shared previously with homelessness and deportation, in which despite experiencing such difficulties, no one around them knew the extent of what they were going through until they finally disclosed it. When educators communicate *cariño* to their students through their actions, it enables their students to trust that they may be someone they can turn to for help. Suárez-Orozco, Pimental, and Martin (2009) suggest that these caring relationships are critical for the success of immigrant students, particularly as they are experiencing big transitions like separation, reunification, or integration into a new country.

This same pattern persisted across testimonialistas experiences which identified schooling memories that spoke to the significance of feeling seen by their teachers. Francisco, for example, recounts a moment in school when he recently arrived in the U.S. He suddenly did not feel well in class, but did not speak English yet, and his teacher managed to detect that something was wrong. He shared:

I vividly remember a time that I was really sick. I had a really high fever in school... and even though I couldn't speak the language she was very caring and she showed a lot of affection towards me and was able to get a hold of my mom who then came to pick me up. But that moment lives in my head because I felt so heard by someone who didn't even know me or understand me or... And it was just a really like, I don't know why it has been such an impactful moment for me, but the fact that she didn't dismiss me or like, you know, or ignore it that she actually said, "okay, you're feeling sick". And she felt my

forehead, and she knew that I was very feverish. And you know, she sent me aside but it was very comforting and she was comforting me throughout all this and, and I don't know, to me that really stood out to me. (Francisco, 1:00:46- 1:01:56)

Here he recognizes not simply the action, but the recognition of what he was feeling as being a validation of both their care for him and of his deservingness of being cared for. For other students like Sirena, teachers demonstrated small acts of care through their accountability, especially when she procrastinated on her work.

I was always trying to do like a million things at once. And then I procrastinate a lot. I'm always, I don't know, I think I'm just expecting people to tell me to hurry up or to do something. Maybe that's why I procrastinate...I think it's more like, I want them to see. I think it's like going back to [the] seeing me thing. Like, I want them to see that I'm taking long so they have to take the time to tell me like, "Hey, you need to do this". And I'm like, okay, they know that I need to do something...[That feeling of being]...wanted or acknowledged. (Sirena, 1:25:07- 1:26:07)

The procrastination was less a result of her lackadaisical approach to school, and more of a way to determine who was looking out for her. In the classroom, instances like this are regularly perceived as laziness or disengagement on the part of the student, but Sirena's perspective demonstrates the subconscious intentionality behind these small acts, and instead reframes them as opportunities for communicating care.

Likewise, Pilar identified key teachers that went beyond the call of the classroom to support them in graduating high school. Since they experienced homelessness, that regularly meant food insecurity and not having access to money to participate in school activities. However, their teachers and classmates, who came to understand their circumstances found inventive ways to meet their needs:

So, I was homeless and I didn't have money for lunch... So once in a while my friends would buy me lunch, or I would let them because I would never ask, and they knew that I would never ask. And so they'd be like, "hey, Pilar we got you this". Or "hey you want some of this?" And then my teacher started seeing that I wasn't eating, that I didn't have money. Her and her husband owned a 7/11, and she was selling doughnuts to make up for our Disneyland trip at the end of the year. And that was how she made money for the orchestra and she let me sell the donuts so that I could have the profit for lunch every day.

And then she let me do the fundraisers before everybody else so that I could get a head start, so that I could go to school, and so that I could go to the school trip at the end of the year. (Pilar, 1:36:27- 1:37:38)

Through these small acts of care, both their peers and namely their teachers were able to offer Pilar access to resources so that they could eventually be the first in their family to graduate.

While schools often hold up graduation as the pinnacle of success, for Pilar “it was just the end of a safe haven, and then having to find a new one” (Pilar, 1:42:14-1:42:21). For students who do not have access to basic needs, teachers and schools are often a key point for gaining access to food, financial, and emotional support. This reiterates Valenzuela’s (1999) findings on the impact of authentic care and *cariño* on student success and engagement in school. Ultimately, when students feel cared for,

Cultural Ambassadors

Beyond the impact of teachers, peers often served an equally important role in supporting Latinx immigrant students in adjusting and navigating the U.S. education system. By seeing students who looked like and sounded like them, it enabled them to adopt the belief that they could also figure out how to get through. Francisco remembers what it was like when he first entered school in the U.S.:

So I started school, and I was totally lost, of course, right. But nonetheless, in my classroom there was a Venezolana, an Argentino, a Peruano, and a Mexicano, like, besides me, so I immediately like, you know, [hand expression] like, they were my cultural ambassadors, right? So yeah, I remember we all lived in the same apartment complex. Right? So that helped a lot too because I was just able to meet them. And they were the ones who like, you know, taught me the ropes, right? They taught me how to navigate the school system here. And like, you know, what school lunch was, what resources were like, how many we had in the us versus in Peru. They taught me how to navigate school and I'm forever grateful to them. (Francisco, 00:55:05- 00:56:02)

Through these exchanges, Francisco was able to attain a great deal of navigational capital from his peers which helped demystify the education system and teach him how to access resources.

At the same time, he also developed a sense of solidarity across immigrant communities, by establishing a mutual understanding and respect for his classmates who had similar statuses.

I remember attaching or being very drawn to like other immigrant students and that included like, you know from all over the US or all over like Latin America but also Asian students. So one of my good friends, an immigrant from Thailand who had also been undocumented, we became really close too because even though we didn't talk about our status, like I think we both knew. [Laughter] It was nice and to be able to communicate with them and, not having to voice that about you, but knowing that we were on the same page about immigration and, being undocumented in particular. (Francisco, 00:56:43-00:58:15)

What could have felt like an isolating experience, his peers transformed it into a point of connection. Supportive peer relationships ultimately enable immigrant students to be successful in school (Suárez-Orozco, Rhodes, & Milburn, 2009). While his classmates played an integral role, Francisco was also critical of the ways in which his immigrant and bilingual peers were often forced into these roles due to the linguistic and cultural limitations of their teachers.

Additionally, these cultural ambassadors not only represented a sense of belonging, but also critical sites of support as they were often the first to recognize the crises their peers were experiencing. For example, Pilar's peers were the first ones to notice when something was off and they were also the first to intervene when they dealt with bullying, homelessness, food insecurity, and even suicidal thoughts. In them they found community and protection, and a knowing that someone was looking out for them.

Seeing the signs. Kids wearing the same clothing multiple times, lunch, what their mood swings are like. Are they hungry? Like, how often can you reach their parents yourself. What they're writing? I was writing some pretty heavy like dark, dark stuff. And the only person I was talking to is the school counselor, and she still didn't flag that I was suicidal, or that I was harming myself because I was, I was cutting at that moment. And it was actually my peers, my friends who stopped me, like it was never an adult who intervened in these like life situations, it was always my peers who were there for me. (Pilar, 1:42:31- 1:42:31)

Beyond being classmates, they were attuned to the signs that Pilar was exhibiting and that were generally undetected by the rest of the adults in their life. Pilar attributes the critical intervention

and accountability of their peers as one of the reasons that they were able to make it, and which resulted in lifelong friendships.

Connecting to Curriculum

While their teachers and classmates acted as mirrors for testimonialistas in order to allow them to establish both a sense of community and belonging, an unsurprising finding was the impact that key texts had on enabling students to begin to see themselves in order to recognize their own full humanity. Nafta Azteca fondly recollected reading Sandra Cisneros (1991), *The House on Mango Street* in their middle school English class:

I remember that I got what she was talking about. But then I also identified with like, I think there's like a chapter called like on my hip or hips or something. And that chapter is like, about how women have hips to hold babies, and how women have like, hang babies off their hips. And my brother had just been born, the youngest one. And I was doing a lot of holding. And so like, it was like, the first time that I remembered seeing something about my life and a book that I understood. That felt like oh, yeah, this is me. And like, this says something about me. Yeah. And that was like, my eighth grade, gifted English class, great teacher, like, one of those teachers you remember your whole life. So, yeah, that was like the other big moment where I was like, Oh, so I could write about myself. Right. Like one, that's a possibility and two like other people experience the things that I experience. And I understand something deeply. So I'm capable of understanding, huh? (Nafta Azteca, 1:44:50- 1:46:43).

This text spoke to Nafta Azteca's specific experience of having been thrust into the role of caretaker and inculcated in them the sense that their story was deserving of being told. In the chapter that Nafta Azteca refers to, *Hips*, a group of adolescent girls contemplate on the purpose of hips and the many functions that they serve. From their observations of their families they deduce that hips are for holding babies, that "hips are scientific" and can be used for dancing (p. 50). The underlying tone however, is a larger conversation on the role of women and performing gendered expectations, which Nafta Azteca in many ways also felt confined by her family's expectations to serve the dutiful role of caretaker as the eldest daughter.

Likewise, Pilar connected deeply with J.K. Rowling's (2002) *Harry Potter* series, referencing Harry's struggles with a sense of place and belonging.

In fifth grade I started reading Harry Potter. And I'm like, he's living my life! Where's my Hogwarts letter? And I just think I went through a lot of the things he did growing up except I didn't have a Hermione or Ron to rely on, because I was always moving from school to school to school... I think the feeling of not belonging, of knowing that you're somewhere where you're supposed to be, but you don't belong... like you know you're supposed to be there, but you suck at it. You suck at being there. (Pilar, 00:44:45-00:46:39)

Other participants also indicated specific texts they connected with throughout their schooling in the U.S. Each made explicit connections between the plot and the characters of the text to their own lives as immigrants and children who had experienced separation. While some were texts that had cultural resemblances, others were mainstream texts that discussed similar themes. Likewise, others were particularly drawn to narratives of undocumented immigrants and connected deeply with seeing their own experiences, that were generally silenced, be reflected in a written text.

For some these texts also offered them language for articulating what they were experiencing and for understanding more complex identities like legality. This demonstrates the meaningful impact that culturally responsive texts have on supporting students and enabling them to connect during moments in which they might not find connection elsewhere (Gay, 2018). Contrary to skeptics who may discourage the use of texts that explore complex themes like immigration, gender, race, and class, the testimonialistas articulated the meaningful connections they were able to make to curriculum that they otherwise would not have had without the inclusion of these key texts. These connections would come to empower them, as immigrant students in their sense of self, their voices, and even teach them the value of their own stories.

Chapter Summary

The memories of Latinx immigrants who experienced being separated from their families are complex, multidimensional, and are deeply connected to their educational experiences. In this chapter I offered a thematic analysis of the testimonios and identified three significant findings: 1) Separation produces enduring vulnerabilities that have long-term impacts on Latinx immigrants education; 2) Latinx immigrant children who experience separation resist feeling fragmented by attempting to reconcile their families, and; 3) when students feel seen by their teachers and can see themselves in their classmates and curriculum they are able to make meaningful connections in school. This study found that testimonialistas had retained vivid memories tied to their tender-age separation experiences which have had long-term impacts on their lives and their education. Through these testimonios, testimonialistas were able to voice an otherwise invisibilized experience and disclose the nuanced dynamics that occur within families due to restrictive immigration policies that separate them. Chapter 5 will offer connections to the literature and interpretations of the implications of the findings.

Chapter 5: Implications

In Chapter 1, I discussed the sociopolitical context of family separation and the theoretical framework which informs the study. Chapter 2 grappled with the relevant literature related to family separation, immigration, and education. In Chapter 3, I outlined the research design including the chosen methodology, the participants, and the process of co-constructing testimonios. Chapter 4 identified the salient themes that arose from the testimonios including the vulnerabilities produced by separation, the ways in which Latinx immigrant families and children resist fragmentation, and finally the role of teachers and peers in creating sites for visibility. In this Chapter, I offer the implications of the research study to understand how it can inform education, research, and policy.

Research Questions

This study will explore the following questions:

1. What long-term effects does family separation have on the educational experiences and lives of Latinx immigrants?
2. Through their testimonios, how do Latinxs remember and reflect on their experiences?
3. To what extent can testimonios of Latinx survivors of family separation inform K-16 educators about how to develop a supportive school culture and climate for Latinx children?

Discussion

This research study demonstrates significant implications for our understanding of the long-term impacts of separation, its role in how Latinx immigrants conceptualize their families, and how educators can better support students who share this experience. Through their testimonios, testimonialistas began theorizing about the consequences of family separation on

their lives and trajectories. They sought out a sense of coherence by making connections between their memories and their critical consciousness (Hurtado, 2003). They also named the ways in which they used their agency as children to queer their families by challenging heteronormativity and gender in order to reimagine and normalize their new realities (Oswald, Blume, & Marks, 2011). From this they developed a radical *cariño* for deeply caring for their families despite the adversity they experienced as a consequence of the separation.

Figure 5

Overview of Findings



Building Theories in the Flesh

Traditional family separation scholarship identifies the psychosocial impacts of family separation on immigrant children and recognizes the trauma tied to the separation. For example, Dreby's (2012) *Pyramid of Deportability* identifies the impacts of deportation and the threat of separation on children, focusing on the harms and deficits that the experience can produce. Their model suggests that immigrant children become paralyzed in a cycle of emotional distress and fear leaving them unable to move beyond this event. However, this conceptualization does not interrogate the ways in which this experience causes a paradigm shift for the children who live it and does not explore how immigrant children incorporate this experience into their world view.

Unlike Dreby's assessment, the testimonialistas included in this study speak of their experiences with family separation as a pivotal event in their critical consciousness development. As adults who experienced being separated from their families while they were tender-age children, they articulated a theory in the flesh, which Moraga and Anzaldúa (2015) define as "a politic born out of necessity" (p. 15). Unlike previous research, rather than remorse and pity for the experience, testimonialistas instead centered this moment in their life histories as one that would later enable them to critically examine the intersecting systems of power at play through a transnational perspective. Almost all participants expressed gratitude for the experience as it became a central component of their identities that continues to inform the work they engage in now as adults, as scholars, activists, writers, artists, and within their own families. Rather than regret the separation, they are critical of the systems which produced vulnerabilities that did inevitably cause harm and instead they hold these very structures accountable for dehumanizing and devaluing the lives of immigrants, like those of their families. That is to say that family separation is a harmful tactic used within immigration policy, and this perspective instead forces

us to move away from arguments that simplify the harms of separation as static experiences and requires a re-evaluation of the role that families play within this process so that we can understand the profound impacts it has on immigrant children. Across their life histories, their memories of separation served as rupture points within their consciousness that created room for them to begin to notice the invisible structures at work that produced these realities, such as restrictive immigration policies, capitalism, colonialism, and white supremacy.

The testimonialistas actively chose to divest from discourses that would seek to position their family's as the arbitrators of trauma on children. Despite the significant hardships they experienced and while simultaneously recognizing the fallibility of their own family member's humanity, they nonetheless viewed the decisions their families' made as producing the best outcome given such limited options. While the media and the conservative-right regularly manipulate the innocence of children to further a xenophobic and restrictive immigration agenda, the families of children who are separated are merely actors surviving on a stage built by colonial imperialism and white nationalism. Likewise, the liberal left also borrows this same pathos to plead for the protection of children, while simultaneously being complicit in the expansion of the militarization of the border and criminalization of immigrants in the hopes of achieving access for the few. Chávez and Masri (2020) critique these logics through a queer migration approach which recognizes the ways in which heteronormative pro-family arguments for protecting migrant children invariably further criminalize their families.

Furthermore, they argue that rather than improve the realities of immigrant families, these rhetorics are used to weaponize immigrant childhoods while demonizing their families for the choices they make to survive impossible conditions. They pit immigrant communities against

one another to measure deservingness instead of addressing the systems which criminalize and produce immigration in the first place. Ramirez (2021) argues:

Immigrant narratives based on deservingness are part of an assimilationist strategy where the goal is to be accepted into the nationalist fabric by proving one's ability to integrate into capitalism. Such a course further perpetuates the exclusion of "undesirable" immigrants who are less economically productive, and therefore less desirable. (p. 149)

This results in half-hearted and exclusionary immigration policies like Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) and iterations of the Dream Act which measure immigrant deservingness on their criminality and productivity. A criminality which was specifically constructed and designed to actively target communities of color and immigrants, placing them outside of desirability from the outset simply for doing what is necessary to survive. As Francisco made clear in his testimonio, "we'd like to believe that immigration or documentation is our salvation-- and it's not" (1:49:25-1:50:00). Thus, meaningful policy reforms require that as a nation we interrogate our attachments to nationalism and borders, which pretend to protect us, and instead sanction violence against the most marginalized.

While children experience emotional distress and economic instability, the ultimate long-term impact of family separation for the testimonialistas in this study was that it developed in them a critical consciousness. Testimonialistas expressed that this experience interrupted their lives in a way that forced them to grapple with larger systems and become aware of the social injustices that persist in the world that they may have otherwise been entirely unaware of. On the one hand, the separation left them susceptible to abuse and harm, but on the other, it also facilitated in them the capacity to examine inequity and injustice, and to be able to see what most might consider the invisible underpinnings of these systems of oppression.

Despite mainstream concerns for protecting childhood innocence, these memories of separation demystified the American Dream for testimonialistas like Francisco, who otherwise believed that the U.S. was the land of opportunity, but who would come to find out the harsh realities of being undocumented and the sacrifices his mother had made to be reunited. Likewise, Marisol experienced disillusionment, in which she describes as a “juxtaposition of what I kind of imagined in my head and then what it was like, and then the reality of my dad not being the superhero that I kind of imagined him to be, that he was just human” (00:49:03-00:50:33). In grappling with these dueling realities which they came to realize were informed by these intersecting systems, they were able to reassert their families’ humanity, one which errs and which is just as equally deserving of dignity. As Acosta (2008) confirms, “the physical realities of our experiences politicize us” (p. 415). They enable us to build theories from our flesh and blood experiences that alter how we see and operate in the world. In effect, sparking the development of a critical consciousness that may have otherwise not been seeded.

Queered Families

Rather than be positioned as victims, these testimonialistas are witnesses and in their testimonios they name the inequities, the injustices, and the violence that racist, xenophobic, heteropatriarchal immigrant policies commit against immigrants and their families. This is not to say that Latinx communities exist outside of homophobia or transphobia, but rather that the integration of heteronormativity within the U.S. immigration system nonetheless, amplifies the separation immigrants are already subjected to. As is evident from the experiences of queer testimonialistas in this study and across fields, queer Latinx immigrants experience these systems within and outside of their communities. Regardless, by queering their families immigrant communities resist their fragmentation, and find coherence within a system that seeks to destroy

and deny their very humanity. Through their testimonios they speak back to scholars, policymakers, and educators who would try to render them powerless. Instead, they demonstrate the ways in which children enact their agency by imagining queered families that innovate and invent new ways to do, and be en familia (Foner & Derby, 2011; Lopez Pelaez, 2016). Separation caused testimonialistas to remember and imagine their families beyond a heteronormative familial structure since to survive their families were forced to do family and gender differently (Oswald, Blume, & Marks, 2011). Latin American immigrants construct their families in non-heteronormative ways in part due to immigration processes that disrupt families of origin, but also because of the process of demystifying borders, both physical, spatial, and social that cause once permanent and immovable objects to lose their rigidity. They demonstrate that not only can borders be moved, but they can be transformed. Furthermore, this reveals that heteronormativity is a mirage rather than the monument that society asserts it to be.

Testimonialistas took up new roles within their families to fill in gaps that were created from immigration, such as becoming caretakers or acting as parental figures for their younger siblings. Other family members became responsible for duties that previously may have been gendered as overly feminine or masculine, such as cooking and caring for children performed by fathers and older men in their families. In addition, some family members shared roles otherwise traditionally designated for specific members, such as grandparents sharing parenting duties, or mothers and grandmothers co-parenting children. Likewise, immigrant children also enacted their agency by entirely redefining their relationships, including normalizing behaviors for the sake of maintaining respeto. In each instance, testimonialistas demonstrated that as children they had the capacity to renegotiate these social contracts and reconfigure their families to fill the gaps restrictive immigration policies may have produced.

Perez (2003) argues “for decolonial queer interpretations that obligate us to see and hear beyond a heteronormative imaginary” (p. 129). This normativity and perpetuation of a white middle-class heterosexual Christian nuclear familial structure is the very mechanism by which immigrant families are othered and made to feel incomplete, despite wholly resisting and persisting in exceptionally hostile conditions. From this frame, moving beyond heteronormativity as an assumed state and standard for child well being, participants in this study recovered salient memories of separation that reveal the complex ways in which they have constructed family by destabilizing heteronormative gender roles, reimagining normative familial structures, and expanding family and moving towards community care. More importantly, they demonstrate that it is not queered immigrant families that harm children, but rather the structures that seek to exclude them, invisibilize them, silence them, and disregard them that ultimately harms them.

Unfortunately in education, family engagement continues to be wholly tied to white, middle-class, cisheteronormative and citizenist ideas of a nuclear family (Marrun, Clark, & Cadney, 2020). This results in schools excluding the vast networks that support immigrant children in schools. Disrupting heteronormative and U.S. based family practices would enable educators to tap into additional familial and social capital for supporting immigrant children in school (Yosso, 2005). For example, some testimonialistas demonstrated the critical role that extended family, siblings, and peers played in supporting them, but current educational practices do not invite any of these stakeholders into conversations on how to support students. Rather, they are completely disregarded as a consequence of individualistic and nuclear ideas of family.

Radical Cariño

In education, care has consistently been identified as a key factor for enabling the success of Latinx and Black students. For example, Delpit (2012) determined that a single caring

educator drastically impacted the educational trajectory of Black youth. She calls these educators who establish caring relationships with students warm demanders by both caring about students and holding them accountable to high expectations. This ultimately enabled their success in school and had long lasting effects on their educational experiences. Similarly, Valenzuela (1999) argues that authentic care “nurtures and values relationships” beyond the classroom and honors the cultural educational practices of Latinx communities. Bartolomé (2008) suggests that educators do not need to be of the same cultural group in order to demonstrate authentic care or *cariño* by recognizing the economic and racialized realities of their students and transforming their classrooms to respond to these specific needs.

Testimonialistas build on this scholarship by demonstrating what I would call a *radical cariño*, which involves authentic care and accountability, but also maintains a sense of duty to their communities. Although some experienced harm from their families, they nonetheless were committed to honoring this duty as a result of their awareness of the ways in which larger structural inequalities produced these impossible conditions for their families to navigate. A duty, which in some instances, they recognized as being tied to the obligations they carried with their families as a consequence of having been immigrant children. While under less adverse conditions others may have likely walked away or denounced these connections, immigrant children model a radical *cariño* in the ways they reconfigured their families, took on additional roles, and recognized the humanity in their families. Especially as the rest of the world attempted to criminalize and dehumanize their families, they nonetheless honored the humanity of their families with empathy and love. Informed by a critical consciousness sparked by their experiences of separation and immigration, radical *cariño* moves beyond authentic care and *cariño* in that testimonialistas were and are able to enact an ethic of care that is cognizant of the

interlocking systems of oppression that exist. They are able to see the underpinnings of these systems from inside and outside, and respond to their families informed by this knowledge.

This radical *cariño* is one which educators could aspire to mimic in their classrooms, as the systems of power attempt to dehumanize and harm the children in their classrooms because of their status, or race, or class. Instead, educators can choose to commit to honoring the sacred duty of uplifting and affirming the lives of the students they teach, even when, and especially when systems seek to destroy them. Radical *cariño* demands that we place the humanity of our students over our attachments to power and authority. Testimonialistas showed that educators who demonstrated a radical *cariño* had the greatest impact on them. That included educators who recognized the perverse nature of standardized tests that were designed to assert the inferiority of communities of color and instead acted directly against these mechanisms. It also included educators that blurred any rule or policy on professionalism by stepping in as family members might and ensuring the safety and care of their students as Marisol's teacher did. This requires that educators learn about the complex histories that inform the experiences of the students they teach and that they are trained to critically examine these systems so that they can identify the ways in which they continue to produce and exacerbate inequitable outcomes.

Education in itself is not apolitical, and in fact is perhaps one of the most contested and political acts which any person can invest their life into. To operate from a position of neutrality is to reaffirm the status quo, and that is to reproduce violently harmful narratives and realities for students from historically marginalized communities. It requires a radical *cariño* which actively and consistently works to disrupt the barriers which would prevent immigrant children from attaining the full scope of the promises that education claims. Education can be a liberatory

practice, however, within our current educational system it requires a radical *cariño* to transform classrooms into empowering spaces.

Limitations

Testimonialistas were recruited through social media and community networks, and while efforts were made to include a wide range of Latinx identities this could have produced some sampling bias. This study used a small sample size, which is quite common for narrative inquiry and qualitative research, however, this means that it only captures a very small portion of this experience. Efforts were made to include participants from a variety of countries including Colombia, Ecuador, Mexico, and Peru, however many countries were still excluded and the scope of Latinx identities was not fully included either as racially mixed Latinxes were primarily represented. This study did however, de-center Mexican and Chicanx experiences as a significant amount of scholarship largely already focuses on that experience. The testimonios included here are not generalizable and do not pretend to be representative of Latinx immigrant experiences with family separation. These testimonios are also based on childhood memories and share one individual's perspective on a collective experience. This means that there may be discrepancies and ambiguities between how testimonialistas remembered their separation. Also, these experiences are often not spoken about within and amongst those who shared the experience, so opportunities to membercheck with their family's was not always a possibility. Testimonio offers room for this ambiguity by capturing a specific experience about a collective memory, rather than claiming to be a representation of the facts.

Another limitation was that it is possible that those who chose not to participate did not feel compelled to speak because perhaps their experience with separation was not a salient memory or perhaps because they were not comfortable disclosing this experience due to a

number of factors including safety, status, and familial obligations. It could also be the case that some may have chosen not to participate because they have not critically examined their separation experiences to the same degree as those that participated. In addition, an overwhelming number of interested participants identified as queer, which could be indicative of the impact that Chicana Latina feminist methodologies like testimonio can have on encouraging communities that are often pushed to the margins to feel empowered to share their experiences. Many Chicana Latina feminist scholars have also written about homophobia in the Latinx community which could have also encouraged queer Latinxes to feel compelled to participate, as was the case for several testimonialistas who shared their experiences in this study.

Researching Separation While Separated

At the beginning of 2020, the world was hit with a global health crisis: the Covid-19 pandemic. At the time of submitting this dissertation, globally over 123 million people have been infected and there have been over 2.7 million confirmed deaths (*COVID-19 Dashboard*, 2021; WHO, 2020). In the U.S. almost 29.8 million people have been infected, over 542,246 people have lost their lives, and communities of color have been impacted at disparate rates due to pervasive historical and systemic inequities in healthcare, wealth, and access (*COVID-19 Dashboard*, 2021). A few weeks after beginning recruitment for this dissertation, Nevada issued a stay at home order to help reduce the spread of the coronavirus that resulted in the closure of schools, universities turning to remote instruction, and businesses shutting down (Andrews, 2020). More than six months after the beginning of the pandemic, many businesses remain closed, social distancing and facemasks are still enforced in public spaces, remote and hybrid instruction continues Valley wide, and infections are beginning to increase once again with over 100,000 new positive cases being reported per day (Olvera, 2020).

While recruitment resulted in fifteen potential participants reaching out, it also resulted in a smaller sample due to health concerns and cancellations. Some participants cancelled their interviews reporting health concerns, related to their physical and mental health. Other participants no-showed to their scheduled interviews or shared that they did not find themselves in the best mental space to complete their interview given the current circumstances. The reality is, that despite taking such caution in the design of this study, no one could have predicted the impacts of the coronavirus. Additionally, there is no denying that inviting others to sit in their childhood traumas while experiencing an active global trauma felt nonetheless cruel and at times, selfish. Our current circumstances remind us that as the world experiences this global trauma, communities of color, namely Black and Latinx communities are experiencing this not as a singular event, but as a compounding moment. A moment amplified by police brutality through the merciless murder of Breonna Taylor, George Floyd, and many others. Poet Dionne Brand said it clearly: “I know, as many do, that I’ve been living a pandemic all my life; it is structural rather than viral; it is the global state of emergency of antiblackness” (Brand, 2020). According to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (2021) Latinxes were at a 3.1 times the rate for hospitalizations and 2.3 times the rate for death compared to white non-Hispanic persons. Likewise, this moment has further pushed families at the margin of the margin to near bankruptcy and even more instability, my family included. Add to these challenges the ways in which the pandemic exacerbated the isolation, separation, and difficulty dissertating already involves. Herein, you will find my best effort at accomplishing the goals I had set within the conditions that existed, that at times felt impossible and that others felt existentially insignificant.

Recommendations

Family separation is a far more common experience than most data suggests as immigrant families must regularly reconfigure their families in order to survive the demands of harsh and restrictive immigration policies. Nonetheless, this experience is often undetected in schools and unspoken about within communities, leaving immigrant children to negotiate these challenges alone. This study demonstrates that family separation produces significant vulnerabilities for immigrant children as the adults that are expected to care for them navigate immigration processes. Despite these vulnerabilities, children resist being fragmented by reimagining how they do family and expanding understandings of family in order to normalize their new realities. Additionally, schools continue to play a significant role in the integration of immigrant children and have the potential to serve as spaces for immigrant children to connect with peers that can share resources with them and educators who can support them in reestablishing their sense of trust and belonging.

For Educators

Testimonialistas who experienced separation during tender ages were able to look back on their educational experiences and make important recommendations for how schools and educators could better support immigrant children who are experiencing this. I share some of their recommendations here:

Don't ignore kids that you think are okay. Pay attention to the ordinary average child who may not be telling you something because I think at the core of my educational experience was just people didn't notice. You know, I really was struggling, but no one took the time to ask me, okay, what's wrong? You know, or to not even ask me what's wrong because maybe they couldn't figure that out, but even just ask me, what did I want? What were my goals? What was getting in the way of that? I don't remember having experiences of people asking me those questions. And I wasn't going to seek that out. You have some kids that are just amazing. And they will go out and they will look for resources and they will ask questions, and they will get the help that they need. I wasn't that child. I was too afraid to ask adults for anything... (Marisol, 1:14:28-1:15:41)

Check in with students and pay attention to the signs. I think it manifests itself physically first. I always say that so there's so many signs we can think of when it comes to family separation because it usually involves some sort of loss of income, and so those are the very first signs. Then the next sign is withdrawal-- and it's not just withdrawal from a class, but withdrawal from their friendships. You can tell when a kid is no longer chilling with their friends or is no longer answering questions in class. Just talking to you, you can tell that it went from one thing to being a whole other thing within like a matter of a year or two, so it's a quick transition. I think checking in with students not just with their homework, but really listening. You'll hear things, kids that need help will scream for help. They'll say things, little things to their friends, "Oh, that looks good!", when they're eating something. And I know that to some folks that's cool, but you can tell when somebody's hungry. There's a variable when somebody is hungry...When it comes to family separation loss of income is the first thing, then it's just emotional, mental withdrawal because things get harder from there. There has to be intervention, there are points that people could intervene and help. And that starts all the way from anti-deportation campaign work to simple food banks and pantries, and to getting rid of the free lunch and just giving everybody lunch. God damn it, like fucking pay for our lunch! Like what's so hard about paying for kids' food? Take these companies that make food for prisons and get them out of the schools because all they're doing is training us to eat the same damn crap in prison. There's all these small nuances, you can always tell when a kid's in crisis because they'll let you know. And I think being able to--when kids are having problems-- to understand that it's something outside of them having, just a moment with you, or thinking that they're automatically a bad person or whatever. First, stop and think about what could this kid be going through right now, because you don't know. You don't know anything. I didn't say shit to anybody. Not one person... Allow kids to make mistakes. That's not what this education system does like there's no room for mistakes here, especially for kids at risk. (Pilar, 1:45:52-1:49:52)

Be kind. Don't teach the students you want to have, teach the students that you have, so you can get the students you want to have...I think as a person who was brought up in an immigrant household and who had very high expectations of me. I think one, I always wanted to be perfect, even if it was just like "appeared" perfection. But also, criticism was very hard to take, because it just felt like failure. So I wish teachers could understand that you can tell students how to do better, but you also have to tell them what they're doing really good too. (Nafta Azteca, 2:08:21- 2:10:03)

If they could go back in time and speak to their younger selves the testimonialistas echoed a similar sentiment, they would give their younger selves a big hug and say: "You matter and you will be okay". In the chaos of moving through immigration processes, immigrant children often desire a sense of assurance that what they are experiencing while difficult, they

can and will overcome. While we may not always know fully what immigrant children may be experiencing, that small reminder for each of them could have reduced the weight of uncertainty they were experiencing.

For Scholars

Testimonialistas urged scholars to consider their positioning on these issues, including their mindfulness with whose voices they were centering and amplifying. One such call to scholars was made by Francisco, who contested the citation politics of conducting research with immigrant and undocumented communities, including the importance of reading, citing, engaging with and centering undocumented and Black, Indigenous, and People of Color (BIPOC) in our work:

Read the work of undocumented immigrants and cite them. I think that's really important because one of the things that I've been saying lately, I really believe in es que documentation is not our liberation. And a lot of times when we talk about migration and immigration patterns and all of these things, we'd like to believe that immigration or the documentation is our salvation-- and it's not. Like I mentioned earlier these issues are so much more than that, they are so massive and there's so much undoing that we need to do that we cannot afford to simply condense it to "documentation will save us". It *will* not. Liberation should be our goal and liberation is different for many people, but for our community, specifically, it should be grounded in all these ideas of undoing whiteness and then undoing patriarchy and undoing all these, like cisheteronormativity. But what I do want to say is when engaging in this type of research, for you and for others, is read the work of fellow undocumented immigrants and cite them rightly and use it as your primary source of knowledge too because I feel undocumented immigrants who write about their own stories and narratives have so much to say, and they're often not listened to. I see all these texts that only cite scholars who are US citizens, and maybe a few immigrants who are now US citizens, but rarely do they cite an undocumented person. There is incredible people like Yosimar Reyes and formerly undocumented folk as well, like Alan Pelaez-Lopez, and local folk like Mariela Mendoza, who are undocumented and have written about their struggles and about their critiques of the US. And I think that's beautiful and powerful and important. And I feel that, again, when we try to uplift these stories, we often forget to accredit those who have been really brave to put themselves out there, without the filter of a researcher who must. (Francisco, 1:49:25-1:53:39).

Francisco's call reaffirms the critical need to de-center traditionally hegemonic forms of knowledge and knowledge production because it does not just matter that we do this work, but

how we do it as well. Testimonio as a methodology demonstrates continued promise in disrupting these approaches and offering new ways for our communities' voices to be amplified through scholarship by challenging the process and the dynamics that exist within research. As a formerly undocumented immigrant, these same questions and concerns guided the design of this work, and even so there is still more to be done with grappling with how we include, protect, and represent undocumented people's experiences in research.

It would be my recommendation that even scholars who share identities with the communities they work with do the work of critical self-reflection, healing, and testimonio prior to inviting others to engage in it with them. As Covarrubias, Nava, Lara, Burciaga, Vélez, and Solórzano (2018) challenge us in their conception of critical race quantitative intersections through testimonio (CRQI+T), how are we to invite others to take the risk if we have not done so ourselves? Prior to taking up this dissertation work and throughout the process that meant engaging in talk therapy for over two years to unpack my own family separation experiences and trauma, in order to understand how my own experiences have threaded themselves across my research and identities. This also meant writing my own testimonio of my experience— excerpts of which I share throughout this dissertation, and disclosing that *papelito guardado* to understand the process of creating an intimate reconstruction of childhood memories. As a consequence, this produced unexpected conversations within my family of origin that forced us to confront our collective shame, hurt, and guilt. The result has been a deeper understanding of the complex dynamics of families, a heightened empathy and care of the testimonios that were shared, and a deeper analysis of the threads that arose across the testimonios. We owe it to ourselves and to those who take up this work with us to do the work first.

Furthermore, I would also add that scholars, educators, and policy makers continue the work of queering family engagement and scholarship in order to create more inclusive and expansive understandings of family (Acosta, 2018). Immigrants demonstrate the ability to innovate their constructions of family and as such, white middle-class U.S.-based heteronormative views of family limit the ways in which immigrant families are able to engage with schools (Marrun, Clark, & Cadney, 2020). This expansive approach would enable intergenerational and transnational families to more meaningfully access educational spaces and resources for supporting their children, and allow for a more nuanced understanding of students realities (Foner & Derby, 2011). In research, this would also give participants the space to tell the story they want (and perhaps need) to tell about how they experience family, rather than repositioning families as fragmented or as singular. The more we complicate how we do family, the more we will be able to more fully support the children in our schools and create truly inclusive environments.

For Policymakers

These testimonios demonstrate the realities produced by restrictive immigration policies that continue to criminalize and dehumanize immigrant communities. In order to fully address the impacts that family separation has we must first and foremost, recognize the ways in which policy continues to reproduce this experience within communities. Policymakers should take more care to consider the needs of families and children, with regard to an expansive understanding of family that recognizes the critical role that extended family and fictive kin play in the lives of children.

An overhaul of the U.S. immigration system is long overdue as well as a recognition of the U.S. role in impacting global economies in ways that further migration. Policies that seek to

grant protection or a pathway to citizenship to only segments of undocumented people in the U.S. do not critically examine how these same policies dehumanize the families of those it claims to protect, such as DACA. Although the executive order offered work permits and protection to undocumented immigrants, it disregarded the families of DACA recipients and in effect further criminalized them by placing them even more removed from a legal status (Ramirez, 2021). Rather, in order for immigration reform to be truly transformative, it must holistically address the physical realities of undocumented people living in the U.S. and reconsider how the U.S. constructs legality in the first place. Then, and only then, will family separation experiences be adequately addressed and eliminated. Otherwise, any attempt to offer protection to immigrants who are identified as deserving will continue to perpetuate family separations.

Suggestions for Further Research

In this research study I worked with Latinx immigrant adults who experienced family separation during a tender-age in recovering their memories in order to understand its long-term impacts. As a result of the challenges presented throughout 2020 and the Covid-19 pandemic, testimonialistas were not able to participate in the full scope of this study's original design, namely the focus groups. Future research could take up this work to explore how testimonialistas engage with one another's testimonios and make new meanings of their experiences by bearing witness to others' experiences. Additionally, there is much to be explored in understanding how the process of testimonio impacted testimonialistas and their families. While through our pláticas, some participants made mention of the ways in which they brought their testimonios to their families or returned to their families with questions, it would be worthwhile to explore the

types of follow-up conversations these testimonios may have started or how their relationships with their families may have changed, if at all, from having these conversations.

Although this study attempts to center queer undocumented immigrant testimonios, I would urge other scholars to critically examine how they may be reproducing heteronormative and citizenist perspectives that can be harmful. Despite this study grounding itself in Chicana Latina feminisms and vis a vis queer intersectionality through the scholarship of queer women of color like Anzaldúa, Moraga, and Lorde it was not until the majority of interested testimonialistas disclosed queer identities that I had to more meaningfully grapple with the ways in which I could be complicit in reproducing these same harmful narratives through my own positionalities as a U.S. Citizen, heterosexual ciswoman, and the heteronormative understandings of family I grew up with. Through reflexive work and pláticas with the testimonialistas, I was compelled to entirely reimagine the patterns I was seeing and ultimately the findings I offer here. I have such deep gratitude to have learned alongside them and I urge future scholars to create space for the communities they work with to shape the work they do.

Scholars like Gonzalez (2021), Luibhéid and Chávez (2020), Abrego and Negrón-Gonzales (2020), Revilla and Santillana (2014), Quesada, Gomez, and Vidal-Ortiz (2015) and Acosta (2018) just to name a few, who have been building and producing Latinx, undocumented, queer, and jotería scholarship to explore family, belonging, and migration experiences and the ways in which they intersect with race, class, gender, immigration, and sexuality. This work is the consequence of a legacy of undocumented, queer, and feminist activists, scholars and artists who have fought for and continue to fight for more humanizing transformative practices. Future research would benefit from intentionally taking up this work at

its outset in order to produce affirming and empowering scholarship for their participants and communities.

Chapter Summary

In Chapter 1, I discussed the sociopolitical context of family separations in the U.S. In Chapter 2, I discussed the relevant literature on family separation, immigration, and education that reveal the existing gaps in the scholarship. Chapter 3 outlined the research design by conceptualizing testimonio as a method and methodology for conducting Chicana/Latina feminist research. In Chapter 4, I identified the significant themes that arose throughout the study, including identifying the vulnerabilities that separation produces, the ways in which families resist fragmentation, and finally the roles of schools and teachers in the lives of children who have been separated as sites of visibility. Within Chapter 5, I offer an overview of the implications for this research study and its significance for education, scholarship, and policy.

A letter from nos/otrxs

this country is losing
the gift of our resilience

A poem so that the weight of this country does not crush you

Yosimar Reyes

My own parents chose the youngest children to leave behind because they believed that we would not remember. What they could have never foreseen was that in the memories of my childhood in Colombia all that I do remember has been saturated by the separation. I visualize my memories as black and white photographs, the silence in them is palpable, yet in the details I have been able to decipher important meanings. I can picture a pair of neatly folded socks on my pillow, the first signal that my mother left, and the symbol which would reverberate across time

and space as decades later my brother would compulsively maintain clean socks in his room. I can see a white dove flying across a cobblestone plaza in Cali, only to perch itself atop my brother's head, a sign of good fortune in my country. In this case, an omen which would plant a tiny seed of hope in my even tinier heart as I clasped my grandmother's hand, returning to a place that was not home.

I can feel my legs heavy on a kitchen table chair, feet kicking back and forth, childlike--yet shrouded in the fear that my grandmother's temper would be dissatisfied at my full plate and even emptier belly. I was convinced then that her wrath would always find me, a sense of dread that returns at the smell of mangoes and bananas. What I did not know then that I understand now, was that I had stopped eating and had gone mute because I was processing my grief. I had only ever known two parents who had cared for me deeply and who unexpectedly disappeared, and at five-years-old I was negotiating what my purpose in the world might be now if I was not a daughter.

I return to a polaroid, the photograph I shared at the beginning of this dissertation of a small girl with big brown eyes and even bigger brown dreams a year after arriving in the U.S. holding up a principal's award certificate. *How did she still manage to learn?* I think about the students that have walked into my classrooms, who lived similar lives, and have seen similar things, how did they manage to learn? Perhaps they learned because within them, greater than the fear and the hurt, was the love they and we held for our families. Our families who had been separated, and fragmented, and forced into impossible situations by systems that seek to swallow us whole. Our families where at times grandparents became parents, and siblings became caretakers, and mothers became all things, and where families are families not because it is easy, but because they chose each other. We managed to do then, what most adults might never

understand, and that is to love the imperfect yet “ineradicable humanity” of our families. Nos/otrxs, the immigrant children who were separated, who look onto the world “from the cracks” of la rajadura (Anzaldúa, 2015, p. 79). Nos/otrxs escapamos jaulas because we reject discourses that would render our families, in all their nuance and complexity, as anything other than family (p. 81). We, who were separated, remember and we are not victims— we are witnesses.

Conclusion

“What could they be but stardust, these people who refused to die, who refused to accept the idea that their lives did not matter, that their children's lives did not matter?”

Patrisse Khan-Cullors (2018)

Black Lives Matter Co-Founder

Communities of color in the United States share a collective wound of systematic separation of our families. Whether through immigration policy, through schooling, or through incarceration, communities of color have historically and systematically been fragmented. Yet, what the scholarship shows us is that despite the cruelty and inhumanity of this weapon, it has not and will not eradicate us, despite those who aim to accomplish this very goal. Our communities have proved it to be an ineffective weapon that cannot measure up to our capacity to resist, to rebuild, and to thrive. Despite the most hostile of conditions, we build family for ourselves. Even when the oppressor convinces themselves that they have blocked every path, we find a way, we overcome.

Through our testimonios, we recognize the absurdity of the xenophobic and racist underpinnings which legitimizes and allow for the continuation of such violence, but we know that it does not have to be this way. Our current moment was designed *this* way. The U.S. has a

long history of systematically separating and de-culturalizing communities of color under the guise of nationalism when in reality it is reserving the privilege of full humanity to white people only while wholly denying it to all others by stunting our joy, our health, our families, and our communities at the outset. In effect, reproducing and producing intergenerational trauma that leads to self-defeating and harmful outcomes. And when they attempt to wash their hands of their culpability by pathologizing these harms and naturalizing them as inherent conditions of our lives, these testimonios will serve as proof that what happened here was no accident.

The testimonios I have shared with you here are not accounts of victims, they are witnesses. We are the omnipresent seeing eye of the third world, and in our testimonios we are shouting back to every attempt at dehumanizing us, our communities, and our families. The desire to render us silent and defenseless is an attempt to obfuscate culpability from the real arbitrators of injustice: the United States government and its complicity in producing anti-immigrant policies that forcibly separate children from those who care for them against their will or by offering no other choice. Our bodies, our spirits, and our minds are evidence of the ways in which immigration processes dehumanize immigrants by fragmenting our families. And while we will not grant them the satisfaction of destroying us, we will speak truth to power through our testimonios.

Appendix A: Individual Interview Protocol

Family & Immigration

1. Tell me about yourself and why you decided to participate in this study?
 2. Tell me about your family (parents or parental/guardian figures).
 3. Where is home for you? Has your definition of home changed for you, if so how and why?
 4. What childhood memories do you have of your family and home? (Favorite foods, toys, games, friends, family gatherings, environment, school).
 5. What did you aspire to be when you were a child? **(if applicable)**
 6. What hopes, dreams, and aspirations did your family have for you? Did you have?
 7. What is your favorite childhood memory?
 8. If you feel comfortable, describe your most painful childhood memory?
 9. What influenced your family's decision to immigrate to the United States?
 10. What was the process like for your family to get to the U.S.? What do you remember feeling during this process?
 11. How did your family get separated?
 12. How old were you when you were separated? What do you remember feeling during this process?
 13. Did you get to see your family again? How long did it take for you to get to see your family again? **(if applicable)** What was it like? How did you respond?
 14. How did being separated from your family affect you?
 15. Did you talk about it with anyone? If so, who and what do you remember talking about? If not, why not?
 16. What is your first memory of arriving in the U.S.? How did you *know* that you were in the U.S.?
 17. What did life look like for your family when you arrived?
-

Education

1. What is your first memory of school in the U.S.? How did you feel when you first started school?
 1. Did you feel comfortable talking about your family separation experience at school? Why or why not?
 1. Did you ever share your experience of being separated from your family at school?
 1. What were your classmates and teachers like? How did you feel in school?
 1. What was your favorite (or least favorite) subject/ activity in school?
 1. Who was your favorite (or least favorite) teacher in school?
 1. Did you have the same hopes, dreams, and aspirations? **(if applicable)** How did they change? Why?
 1. How did your family support your education?
 1. What advice would you give educators about addressing the needs of children who have experienced family separation?
-

Adulthood

1. What does your life look like now?
1. What is life like for your family now?

1. Did you ever share your experience of being separated from your family with others?
Why or why not?

1. How do you think being separated from your family as a child impacted your life?

1. What support do you think could have helped you through that experience?

1. How do you think we could prevent the separation of immigrant families?

1. I'm sure you have heard of the family separations happening at the border, what has been your reaction to the media? What have you heard? How does it affect you?

1. What are your hopes, dreams, and aspirations for the future?

Appendix B: Focus Group Protocol

1. Tell us about yourself and why you chose to participate in this study?
2. How do you think being separated from your family as a child impacted your life?
3. What was it like to share your family separation testimonio?
4. What is it like to hear about other people's family separation experiences?
5. What strategies have you used to cope with your experiences?
6. Have you shared your experiences with your family or community prior to or since your interview? How was it? How did they react?
7. What recommendations would you make to educators, parents, and policymakers about family separation?

Appendix C: Full Board IRB Approval



UNLV Social/Behavioral IRB - Full Committee Review Approval Notice

DATE: February 18, 2020

TO: Norma Marrun, PhD
FROM: UNLV Social/Behavioral IRB

PROTOCOL TITLE: [1477231-5] Recovering Testimonios of Family Separation, Reunification, and Resilience

SUBMISSION TYPE: Revision

ACTION: APPROVED

APPROVAL DATE: February 18, 2020

EXPIRATION DATE: February 17, 2021

REVIEW TYPE: Full Committee Review

Thank you for submission of Revision materials for this protocol. The UNLV Social/Behavioral IRB has APPROVED your submission. This approval is based on an appropriate risk/benefit ratio and a protocol design wherein the risks have been minimized. All research must be conducted in accordance with this approved submission.

PLEASE NOTE:

Upon approval, the research team is responsible for conducting the research as stated in the protocol most recently reviewed and approved by the IRB, which shall include using the most recently submitted Informed Consent/Assent forms and recruitment materials. The official versions of these forms are indicated by footer which contains approval and expiration dates.

Should there be *any* change to the protocol, it will be necessary to submit a **Modification Form** through ORI - Human Subjects. No changes may be made to the existing protocol until modifications have been approved.

ALL UNANTICIPATED PROBLEMS involving risk to subjects or others and SERIOUS and UNEXPECTED adverse events must be reported promptly to this office. Please use the appropriate reporting forms for this procedure. All FDA and sponsor reporting requirements should also be followed.

All NONCOMPLIANCE issues or COMPLAINTS regarding this protocol must be reported promptly to this office.

This protocol has been determined to be a MINIMAL RISK protocol. Based on the risks, this protocol requires continuing review by this committee on an annual basis. Submission of the **Continuing Review Request Form** must be received with sufficient time for review and continued approval before the expiration date of February 17, 2021.

All approvals from appropriate UNLV offices regarding this research must be obtained prior to initiation of this study (e.g., IBC, COI, Export Control, OSP, Radiation Safety, Clinical Trials Office, etc.).

If you have questions, please contact the Office of Research Integrity - Human Subjects at IRB@unlv.edu or call 702-895-2794. Please include your protocol title and IRBNet ID in all correspondence.

Office of Research Integrity - Human Subjects
4505 Maryland Parkway . Box 451047 . Las Vegas, Nevada 89154-1047
(702) 895-2794 . FAX: (702) 895-0805 . IRB@unlv.edu

Appendix D: NIH Certificate of Confidentiality

CERTIFICATE OF CONFIDENTIALITY

Number:
CC-OD-20-223

Issued to

University of Nevada, Las Vegas

conducting research known as

Recovering Testimonios of Family Separation and Resilience: The Impacts of Family Separation on Latinx Educational Trajectories [1477231-4]


In accordance with the provisions of section 301(d) of the Public Health Service Act, 42 U.S.C. 241(d), this Certificate is issued to the Principal Investigator, *Dr. Norma A. Marrun* and *University of Nevada, Las Vegas* to protect the privacy of subjects in the above named *single-site/single-protocol* research study, which is collecting or using identifiable, sensitive information. If there is a discrepancy between the terms used in this Certificate and section 301(d), the statutory language will control.

Research data containing identifiable, sensitive information collected during this study initiated on 02/25/2020 (and concluding on 05/15/2023) is covered by the Certificate. Identifiable, sensitive information protected by the Certificate and all copies thereof are protected for perpetuity.

The recipient of this Certificate shall comply with all requirements of subsection 301(d) of the Public Health Service Act.

This Certificate does not represent an endorsement of the research project by the Department of Health and Human Services. Information collected during the term of the Certificate is protected in perpetuity. However, this Certificate does not protect information collected from participants enrolled after the term of the Certificate.

2/25/2020
Date



NIH Certificates of Confidentiality Coordinator
Office of Extramural Research
National Institutes of Health

Appendix E: Informed Consent Forms INFORMED CONSENT



**INFORMED CONSENT
Department of Teaching & Learning**

TITLE OF STUDY: Recovering Testimonios of Family Separation and Resilience: The Impacts of Family Separation on Latinx Educational Trajectories [1477231-4]
INVESTIGATOR(S): Marcela Rodriguez-Campo & Norma A. Marrun
CONTACT PHONE NUMBER: (702)895-4217

Purpose of the Study

You are invited to participate in this research study. The purpose of this study is to learn about your experiences with family separation in order to understand its impacts on the well-being and development of children, their families, and the educational trajectories of Latinx students. The study examines testimonios, which are first person narratives of experiences that one has witnessed, about family separation experiences caused by or through immigration.

Participants

You are being asked to participate in the study because you fit all of these criteria: (1) you self-identify as Latinx/a/o, Afro-Latinx/a/o, Chicanx/a/o, Mexican, Latin American, or Hispanic; (2) over the age of 18 (3) you experienced being separated from your family as a child (below the age of 12) because of immigrating into the U.S.

Procedures

If you volunteer to participate in this study, you will be asked to do the following:

1. Review the informed consent documents with the researcher in order to ensure that you understand the process and potential risks of participating in the project.
2. Participate in a face-to-face or virtual individual interview (90-120-minute); the interview will take place in a private/ semi-private room at UNLV, a public library, office or via Zoom video conferencing. Interviews will be audio-recorded.
3. You will have the opportunity to make edits and revisions to your transcribed interview. Once the changes are made to the transcript, the participant will return the edited transcript
4. After all initial interviews have been conducted, you will be invited to participate in a focus group to share and debrief their experience with sharing their testimonio. Focus groups will be audio-recorded. The number and length of focus groups will be determined by the group.

Time Commitment

Total participation time estimate for participants: Up to 5.5 hours

- One interview (90-120 minutes)
- Follow-up interview (60-90 minutes)
- One focus group session, may vary dependent on participant needs (60-90 minutes)

Benefits of Participation

There are no direct benefits in participating in the interview or focus group. However, I hope to learn more about how the experience of family separation impacted on your life and how schools, educators, and policymakers can best support children who experience separation. While it may be difficult to share, the benefit of sharing in community with others that have similar experiences will help participants process and reflect on their experiences. Research suggests that the act of sharing testimonio about traumatic and difficult experiences enables the speaker to make sense of their experiences and make sense of its significance in their lives. Additionally, participants may build close relationships and solidarity with individuals who have similar experiences.

There may not be direct benefits to you as a participant in this study. However, we hope to learn the implications of family separation policies on the life trajectories of children and their families in order to better inform future policy decisions. Additionally, it will help us understand the long-term impacts of such policies in order to understand the full weight of family separation.

Risks of Participation

There are risks involved in all research studies. This study may include only minimal risks. Although the risks are minimal, participants may experience discomfort in responding to interview questions. Some questions may feel invasive or personal, however participants can choose to not answer questions. Some questions may ask participants to recall painful memories and speak on lived experiences. It is difficult to determine the severity of discomfort participants may experience, however, they can stop participating in the study at any time if they so choose. Due to the focus of the study, participants may also experience psychological or emotional distress when recounting their experiences which may be related to trauma, loss, and immigration.

There is also a small risk that a participant's involvement in this study could become known by others outside of the research. This is especially significant for undocumented participants, participants with varied statuses, or participants from mixed-status families as the current sociopolitical climate could place participants at a higher risk than others if they disclose their status or immigration journey in their testimonio. While anonymity cannot be guaranteed, rigorous steps will be taken to protect participant privacy and confidentiality along with obtaining a Certificate of Confidentiality to protect participants. Due to the involvement of other participants in focus groups, privacy cannot be maintained in a group setting, however, participants will be advised to respect the privacy of participants and an announcement will be

made at the outset of each focus group to remind participants not to disclose information shared within the group or the identities of those that are participating. Community organizations can provide participants recommendations for resources available in the community to support their needs related to mental health and legal support beyond the study as needs arise, such as the UNLV Immigration Clinic, etc.

Cost /Compensation

There is no financial cost to you to participate in this study. The study will take up to 10 hours of your time. You will not be compensated for your time.

Confidentiality

All information gathered in this study will be kept as confidential as possible. No reference will be made in written or oral materials that could link you to this study unless explicit consent is provided by the participant. All records will be stored in a locked facility at UNLV for 5 years after completion of the study. After the storage time the information gathered will be shredded and recycled. In the case of focus groups, some participants may know one another and might accidentally use first names during the audio-recorded focus group. At the beginning of each focus group, participants will be reminded of the importance of respecting the anonymity of other participants and will be encouraged to use the pseudonyms participants selected. As such, confidentiality cannot be guaranteed in a focus group setting. However, pseudonyms will be used during the transcription of the audio to protect confidentiality.

This research is covered by a Certificate of Confidentiality from the National Institutes of Health. This means that the researchers cannot release or use information, documents, or samples that may identify you in any action or suit unless you say it is okay. They also cannot provide them as evidence unless you have agreed. This protection includes federal, state, or local civil, criminal, administrative, legislative, or other proceedings. An example would be a court subpoena.

There are some important things that you need to know. The Certificate DOES NOT stop reporting that federal, state or local laws require. Some examples are laws that require reporting of child or elder abuse, some communicable diseases, and threats to harm yourself or others. The Certificate CANNOT BE USED to stop a sponsoring United States federal or state government agency from checking records or evaluating programs. The Certificate DOES NOT stop disclosures required by the federal Food and Drug Administration (FDA). The Certificate also DOES NOT prevent your information from being used for other research if allowed by federal regulations.

Researchers may release information about you when you say it is okay. For example, you may give them permission to release information to insurers, medical providers or any other persons not connected with the research. The Certificate of Confidentiality does not stop you from willingly releasing information about your involvement in this research. It also does not prevent you from having access to your own information.

Voluntary Participation

Your participation in this study is voluntary. You may refuse to participate in this study or in any part of this study. You may withdraw at any time without prejudice to your relations with UNLV. You are encouraged to ask questions about this study at the beginning or any time during the research study.

Participant Consent:

I have read the above information and agree to participate in this study. I have been able to ask questions about the research study. I am at least 18 years of age. A copy of this form has been given to me.

Signature of Person Obtaining Consent

Date

Name (Please Print)

Audio:

I agree to be audio-recorded for the purpose of this research study.

Signature of Person Obtaining Consent

Date

Name (Please Print)



CONSENTIMIENTO INFORMADO
Department of Teaching & Learning

TITULO DEL ESTUDIO: Recuperando testimonios de separación familiar: Los impactos de la separación familiar en las trayectorias educativas de estudiantes Latinxes
INVESTIGADORES(S): Marcela Rodriguez-Campo & Norma A. Marrun
CONTACT PHONE NUMBER: (702)895-4217

Propósito del Estudio

Usted está invitado a participar en esta investigación de estudio. El propósito de este estudio es para aprender sobre sus experiencias con la separación familiar para entender sus impactos en el buen estar y desarrolló de niños, sus familias, y la trayectoria educacional de estudiantes Latinoamericanos. El estudio examina testimonios, que son narraciones en primera persona de experiencias que uno ha vivido por o a través de inmigración.

Participantes

Se le ha preguntado para participar en este estudio porque cumple con todos estos criterios: (1) Usted se identifica como Latinx/a/o, Afro-Latinx/a/o, Chicanx/a/o, mexicano, Latinoamericano, o Hispano: (2) usted es mayor de 18 años de edad (3) Usted alguna vez fue separado de su familia cuando era niño o niña (menos de 12 años de edad) por el proceso migratorio a los Estados Unidos

Procedimientos

Si usted es voluntario para participar en este estudio, se le pedirá que haga lo siguiente:

1. Revisar los informes de consentimiento informado con el investigador en orden de asegurarse que usted entiende el proceso y los riesgos de participación en el proyecto.
2. Participar en una entrevista individual de cara a cara o virtual (90-120 minutos); la entrevista ocurrirá en una sala privada/semi-privada en UNLV, una biblioteca pública, oficina o vía zoom video conferencia. Entrevistas serán grabadas por audio.
3. Usted tendrá la oportunidad de hacer ediciones y revisiones a su entrevista transcrita, tendrá que devolver la edición transcrita.
4. Después de haber realizado todas las entrevistas iniciales, se le invitará a participar en un grupo de enfoque para compartir y desafiar sus experiencias al compartir su testimonio. El número y la duración de grupos enfocados será determinado por el grupo. (Opcional)

Compromiso de Tiempo

Tiempo total de participación estimado para participantes: 5.5 horas máximo

- Una entrevista (90-120 minutos)
- Segunda entrevista (60-90 minutos)
- Una sesión en grupo de enfoque, depende en los horarios y necesidades de los participantes (60-90 minutos) (Opcional)

Beneficios de Participación

No hay beneficios directos en participar en la entrevista o grupo de enfoque. Sin embargo, espero aprender más sobre como la experiencia de la separación familiar impacto su vida para identificar como escuelas, educadores, y políticos pueden apoyar a niños quienes han sido separados de sus familias. Aunque pueda ser difícil compartir, el beneficio de compartiendo en comunidad con otras personas que tienen experiencias similares ayudará a los participantes procesar y reflexionar sobre sus experiencias. Investigaciones previas sugieren que el acto de compartir testimonio sobre experiencias traumáticas y difíciles permite al que habla hacer sentido a sus vivencias y su significado en sus vidas. Adicionalmente, los participantes pueden construir relaciones cercanas y solidaridad con las personas que tienen experiencias similares.

Puede que no haya beneficios directos para usted como participante en este estudio. Sin embargo, esperamos conocer la implicación de las políticas de separación familiar en las trayectorias de vida de los niños y sus familias para informar mejor las futuras decisiones políticas. Adicionalmente, nos ayudará a comprender el peso total de la separación familiar.

Riesgos de Participación

Existen riesgos en todos los estudios de investigación. Este estudio puede incluir solo riesgos mínimos. Aunque los riesgos son mínimos, los participantes pueden experimentar molestias al responder las preguntas de la entrevista. Algunas preguntas pueden sentirse invasivas o personales, sin embargo, los participantes pueden optar por no responder preguntas. Algunas preguntas pueden pedirles a los participantes de recordar dolorosas memorias y hablar sobre experiencias vividas. Es difícil determinar la gravedad del malestar que los participantes pueden experimentar. Sin embargo, pueden dejar de participar en el estudio en cualquier momento si así lo desean. Por el enfoque del estudio, los participantes pueden experimentar angustia psicológica o emocional al relatar sus experiencias que pueden estar relacionadas con el trauma, pérdida, e inmigración.

También existe un pequeño riesgo de que la participación de un participante en este estudio pueda ser conocida por otros fuera de la investigación. Esto es especialmente significativo para los participantes indocumentados, los participantes con estados variados o los participantes de familias de estatus mixto, ya que el clima sociopolítico actual podría colocar a los participantes en un riesgo más alto que otros si revelan su estado o viaje de inmigración en su testimonio. Aunque la anonimidad no se puede garantizar, se tomarán medidas rigurosas para proteger la privacidad y confidencialidad de los participantes incluyendo obteniendo un certificado de confidencialidad como protección adicional. Debido a la participación de otros participantes en grupos focales, la privacidad no se puede mantener en un entorno grupal, sin embargo, se les recomendará a los participantes que respeten la privacidad de los participantes y se hará un anuncio al comienzo de cada grupo focal para recordarles a los participantes que no deben

divulgar información compartida dentro del grupo o las identidades de los que participan. Las organizaciones comunitarias pueden proporcionar a las participantes recomendaciones para los recursos disponibles en la comunidad para respaldar sus necesidades relacionadas con la salud mental y apoyo legal más allá del estudio cuando sea necesario, como la Clínica de inmigración de UNLV, etc.

Costo /Compensación

No hay ningún costo financiero para participar en este estudio. El estudio tomará hasta 11 horas de su tiempo. No será compensado por su tiempo.

Confidencialidad

Toda la información reunida en este estudio se mantendrá lo más confidencial posible. No se hará referencia en materiales escritos u orales que puedan vincularlo a este estudio a menos que un consentimiento explícito otorgue el participante. Todos los registros se almacenarán en una instalación cerrada en UNLV durante 5 años después de la finalización del estudio. Después del tiempo de almacenamiento, la información reunida será triturada y reciclada. En el caso de los grupos focales, algunos de los participantes pueden conocerse entre sí y usar los nombres de los demás durante el grupo focal (que se grabará). En el comienzo de cada grupo de enfoque de les recordara a participantes la importancia de respetar la anonimidad de otros participantes y serán alentados a usar los seudónimos seleccionados. Por lo tanto, confidencialidad no se puede garantizar en la configuración del grupo de enfoque. Sin embargo, se aplicarán seudónimo durante la transcripción para proteger la confidencialidad.

Esta investigación está cubierta por un certificado de confidencialidad del Instituto Nacional de Salud. Esto significa que las investigaciones no se pueden divulgar o usar información, documentos o muestras que puedan identificarlo en cualquier acción o demanda a menos que usted diga que está bien. Ellos tampoco pueden proporcionarlos como evidencia a menos que usted haya acordado. Esta protección incluye procedimientos civiles, penales, administrativos, legislativos u otros procedimientos federales, estatales o focales, un ejemplo sería una cúpula judicial.

Hay algunas cosas importantes que debe saber. El certificado no deja de informar lo que requieren las leyes federales, estatales o locales. Algunos ejemplos son leyes que requieren la denuncia de abuso de niños o ancianos, algunas enfermedades contagiosas y tratar de hacerse daño a usted mismo u otros. El certificado no se puede usar para evitar que una agencia patrocinadora federal o estatal de Estados Unidos revise los informes o evalúe programas. El certificado no detiene las divulgaciones requeridas por la administración federal de comidas y Drogas. El certificado tampoco impide que su información sea utilizada para otras investigaciones si lo permiten las regulaciones federales.

Investigadores pueden divulgar información acerca de usted si usted dice que está bien. Por ejemplo, usted puede darles permiso para divulgar información a las aseguradoras, proveedores médicos o cualquier otra persona no relacionada con la investigación. El certificado de

RECUPERANDO TESTIMONIOS DE SEPARACIÓN FAMILIAR

confidencialidad no le impide voluntariamente liberar información sobre su participación en esta investigación. Tampoco le impide tener acceso a su propia información.

Participación Voluntaria

Su participación en este estudio es voluntaria. Usted puede negarse a participar en este estudio o en cualquier parte de este estudio. Usted puede retirarse en cualquier momento sin perjuicio de sus relaciones con UNLV. Le animamos a hacer preguntas sobre este estudio al principio o en cualquier momento durante el estudio de investigación.

Consentimiento del participante:

He leído la información anterior y acepto participar en este estudio. He podido hacer preguntas sobre el estudio de investigación. Tengo al menos 18 años de edad. Una copia de esta forma se me ha dado.

Firma de la persona que obtiene el consentimiento

Fecha

Nombre (Por favor imprimir)

Audio:

Acepto ser grabado en audio para el propósito de esta investigación.

Firma de la persona que obtiene el consentimiento

Fecha

Nombre (Por favor imprimir)



INFORMED CONSENT (IDENTIFIABLE)
Department of Teaching & Learning

TITLE OF STUDY: Recovering Testimonios of Family Separation and Resilience: The Impacts of Family Separation on Latinx Educational Trajectories [1477231-4]
INVESTIGATOR(S): Marcela Rodriguez-Campo & Norma A. Marrun
CONTACT PHONE NUMBER: (702)895-4217

Purpose of the Study

You are invited to participate in this research study. The purpose of this study is to learn about your experiences with family separation in order to understand its impacts on the well-being and development of children, their families, and the educational trajectories of Latinx students. The study examines testimonios, which are first person narratives of experiences that one has witnessed, about family separation experiences caused by or through immigration.

Participants

You are being asked to participate in the study because you fit all of these criteria: (1) you self-identify as Latinx/a/o, Afro-Latinx/a/o, Chicanx/a/o, Mexican, Latin American, or Hispanic; (2) over the age of 18 (3) you experienced being separated from your family as a child (below the age of 12) because of immigrating into the U.S.

Procedures

If you volunteer to participate in this study, you will be asked to do the following:

1. Review the informed consent documents with the researcher in order to ensure that you understand the process and potential risks of participating in the project.
2. Participate in a face-to-face or virtual individual interview (90-120-minute); the interview will take place in a private/ semi-private room at UNLV, a public library, office or via Zoom video conferencing. Interviews will be audio-recorded.
3. You will have the opportunity to make edits and revisions to your transcribed interview. Once the changes are made to the transcript, the participant will return the edited transcript
4. After all initial interviews have been conducted, you will be invited to participate in a focus group to share and debrief your experience with sharing your testimonio. Focus groups will be audio-recorded. The number and length of focus groups will be determined by the group.

Time Commitment

Total participation time estimate for participants: Up to 5.5 hours

- One interview (90-120 minutes)
- Follow-up interview (60-90 minutes)
- One focus group session, may vary dependent on participant needs (60-90 minutes)

Benefits of Participation

There are no direct benefits in participating in the interview or focus group. However, I hope to learn more about how the experience of family separation impacted your life and how schools, educators, and policymakers can best support children who experience separation. While it may be difficult to share, the benefit of sharing in community with others that have similar experiences will help participants process and reflect on their experiences. Research suggests that the act of sharing testimonio about traumatic and difficult experiences enables the speaker to make sense of their experiences and make sense of its significance in their lives. Additionally, participants may build close relationships and solidarity with individuals who have similar experiences.

There may not be direct benefits to you as a participant in this study. However, we hope to learn the implications of family separation policies on the life trajectories of children and their families in order to better inform future policy decisions. Additionally, it will help us understand the long-term impacts of such policies in order to understand the full weight of family separation.

Risks of Participation

There are risks involved in all research studies. This study may include only minimal risks. Although the risks are minimal, participants may experience discomfort in responding to interview questions. Some questions may feel invasive or personal, however participants can choose to not answer questions. Some questions may ask participants to recall painful memories and speak on lived experiences. It is difficult to determine the severity of discomfort participants may experience, however, they can stop participating in the study at any time if they so choose. Due to the focus of the study, participants may also experience psychological or emotional distress when recounting their experiences which may be related to trauma, loss, and immigration.

Since you are choosing to not use a pseudonym you may be taking on additional risks. This means that you have said it is okay for the researchers to use your real name, chosen name, or otherwise identifiable information in this research study in post-publication, presentations, etc. This means that you may be identified by others outside of the research through your participation in this study. This is especially significant for undocumented participants, participants with varied statuses, or participants from mixed-status families as the current sociopolitical climate could place participants at a higher risk than others if they disclose their status or immigration journey in their testimonio. Disclosing your identity could present a risk to your employability, legal status, or have other unknown consequences beyond the scope of this research.

You have the right to opt out of participating in this study at any time, however, once you choose to be identified it is possible that it cannot be undone. For example, if you choose to use your real name and the findings for the study are published, the researcher may not be able to de-identify you. However, because this research is covered by a Certificate of Confidentiality, you will still retain the rights outlined below to the extent that the researchers may honor your requests.

Due to the involvement of other participants in focus groups, participants will be advised to respect the privacy of other participants. An announcement will be made at the outset of each focus group to remind participants not to disclose information shared within the group or the identities of those that are participating. Community organizations can provide participants recommendations for resources available in the community to support their needs related to mental health and legal support beyond the study as needs arise, such as the UNLV Immigration Clinic, etc.

Cost /Compensation

There is no financial cost to you to participate in this study. The study will take up to 10 hours of your time. You will not be compensated for your time.

Confidentiality

All information gathered in this study will be kept as confidential as possible. No reference will be made in written or oral materials that could link you to this study unless explicit consent is provided by the participant. All records will be stored in a locked facility at UNLV for 5 years after completion of the study. After the storage time the information gathered will be shredded and recycled. In the case of focus groups, some participants may know one another and might accidentally use first names during the audio-recorded focus group. At the beginning of each focus group, participants will be reminded of the importance of respecting the anonymity of other participants and will be encouraged to use the pseudonyms participants selected. As such, confidentiality cannot be guaranteed in a focus group setting. However, pseudonyms will be used during the transcription of the audio to protect confidentiality.

This research is covered by a Certificate of Confidentiality from the National Institutes of Health. This means that the researchers cannot release or use information, documents, or samples that may identify you in any action or suit unless you say it is okay. They also cannot provide them as evidence unless you have agreed. This protection includes federal, state, or local civil, criminal, administrative, legislative, or other proceedings. An example would be a court subpoena.

There are some important things that you need to know. The Certificate DOES NOT stop reporting that federal, state or local laws require. Some examples are laws that require reporting of child or elder abuse, some communicable diseases, and threats to harm yourself or others. The Certificate CANNOT BE USED to stop a sponsoring United States federal or state government agency from checking records or evaluating programs. The Certificate DOES NOT stop disclosures required by the federal Food and Drug Administration (FDA). The Certificate

also DOES NOT prevent your information from being used for other research if allowed by federal regulations.

Researchers may release information about you when you say it is okay. For example, you may give them permission to release information to insurers, medical providers or any other persons not connected with the research. The Certificate of Confidentiality does not stop you from willingly releasing information about your involvement in this research. It also does not prevent you from having access to your own information.

Voluntary Participation

Your participation in this study is voluntary. You may refuse to participate in this study or in any part of this study. You may withdraw at any time without prejudice to your relations with UNLV. You are encouraged to ask questions about this study at the beginning or any time during the research study.

Participant Consent:

I have read the above information and agree to participate in this study. I have been able to ask questions about the research study. I am at least 18 years of age. A copy of this form has been given to me. I give my informed and voluntary consent to be identified in post-publications, presentations, etc. related to this research study. Therefore, by signing this **form**, I give my authorization (**consent**) to participate in this study.

Print Name of Participant

Signature of Research Participant (18 and over)

Date

Audio:

I agree to be audio-recorded for the purpose of this research study.

Signature of Research Participant (18 and over)

Date



CONSENTIMIENTO INFORMADO (IDENTIFICABLE)
Department of Teaching & Learning

TITULO DEL ESTUDIO: Recuperando testimonios de separación familiar: Los impactos de la separación familiar en las trayectorias educativas de estudiantes Latinxes
INVESTIGADORES(S): Marcela Rodriguez-Campo & Norma A. Marrun
CONTACT PHONE NUMBER: (702)895-4217

Propósito del Estudio

Usted está invitado a participar en esta investigación de estudio. El propósito de este estudio es para aprender sobre sus experiencias con la separación familiar para entender sus impactos en el buen estar y desarrolló de niños, sus familias, y la trayectoria educativa de estudiantes Latinoamericanos. El estudio examina testimonios, que son narraciones en primera persona de experiencias que uno ha vivido por o a través de inmigración.

Participantes

Se le ha preguntado para participar en este estudio porque cumple con todos estos criterios: (1) Usted se identifica como Latinx/a/o, Afro-Latinx/a/o, Chicanx/a/o, mexicano, Latinoamericano, o Hispano: (2) usted es mayor de 18 años de edad (3) Usted alguna vez fue separado de su familia cuando era niño o niña (menos de 12 años de edad) por el proceso migratorio a los Estados Unidos

Procedimientos

Si usted es voluntario para participar en este estudio, se le pedirá que haga lo siguiente:

1. Revisar los informes de consentimiento informado con el investigador en orden de asegurarse que usted entiende el proceso y los riesgos de participación en el proyecto.
2. Participar en una entrevista individual de cara a cara o virtual (90-120 minutos); la entrevista ocurrirá en una sala privada/semi-privada en UNLV, una biblioteca pública, oficina o vía zoom video conferencia. Entrevistas serán grabadas por audio.
3. Usted tendrá la oportunidad de hacer ediciones y revisiones a su entrevista transcrita, tendrá que devolver la edición transcrita.
4. Después de haber realizado todas las entrevistas iniciales, se le invitará a participar en un grupo de enfoque para compartir y desafiar sus experiencias al compartir su testimonio. El número y la duración de grupos enfocados será determinado por el grupo. (Opcional)

Compromiso de Tiempo

Tiempo total de participación estimado para participantes: 5.5 horas máximo

- Una entrevista (90-120 minutos)
- Segunda entrevista (60-90 minutos)

- Una sesión en grupo de enfoque, depende las necesidades de participantes (60-90 minutos)

Beneficios de Participación

No hay beneficios directos en participar en la entrevista o grupo de enfoque. Sin embargo, espero aprender más sobre como la experiencia de la separación familiar impacto su vida para identificar como escuelas, educadores, y políticos pueden apoyar a niños quienes han sido separados de sus familias. Aunque pueda ser difícil compartir, el beneficio de compartiendo en comunidad con otras personas que tienen experiencias similares ayudará a los participantes procesar y reflexionar sobre sus experiencias. Investigaciones previas sugieren que el acto de compartir testimonio sobre experiencias traumáticas y difíciles permite al que habla hacer sentido a sus vivencias y su significado en sus vidas. Adicionalmente, los participantes pueden construir relaciones cercanas y solidaridad con las personas que tienen experiencias similares.

Puede que no haya beneficios directos para usted como participante en este estudio. Sin embargo, esperamos conocer la implicación de las políticas de separación familiar en las trayectorias de vida de los niños y sus familias para informar mejor las futuras decisiones políticas. Adicionalmente, nos ayudará a comprender el peso total de la separación familiar.

Riesgos de Participación

Existen riesgos en todos los estudios de investigación. Este estudio puede incluir solo riesgos mínimos. Aunque los riesgos son mínimos, los participantes pueden experimentar molestias al responder las preguntas de la entrevista. Algunas preguntas pueden sentirse invasivas o personales, sin embargo, los participantes pueden optar por no responder preguntas. Algunas preguntas pueden pedirles a los participantes de recordar dolorosas memorias y hablar sobre experiencias vividas. Es difícil determinar la gravedad del malestar que los participantes pueden experimentar. Sin embargo, pueden dejar de participar en el estudio en cualquier momento si así lo desean. Por el enfoque del estudio, los participantes pueden experimentar angustia psicológica o emocional al relatar sus experiencias que pueden estar relacionadas con el trauma, pérdida, e inmigración.

Dado que usted eligió no utilizar un seudónimo, usted puede estar asumiendo riesgos adicionales. Esto significa que usted ha dicho que está bien que los investigadores usen su nombre real, nombre elegido o información identificable en este estudio de investigación en publicaciones posteriores, presentaciones, etc. Esto significa que puede ser identificado por otros fuera de la investigación a través de su participación en este estudio. Esto es especialmente significativo para los participantes indocumentados, los participantes con estados variados o los participantes de familias de estatus mixto, ya que el clima sociopolítico actual podría colocar a los participantes en un riesgo más alto que otros si revelan su estatus legal o viaje de inmigración en su testimonio. Revelar su identidad podría presentar un riesgo para su empleabilidad, estado legal o tener otras consecuencias desconocidas más allá del alcance de esta investigación.

Usted tiene el derecho a optar por no participar en este estudio en cualquier momento, sin embargo, una vez que usted elija a ser identificado, es posible que no se pueda deshacer. Por

ejemplo, si elige usar su nombre real y se publican los resultados del estudio, es posible que el investigador no pueda des-identificarlo. Sin embargo, debido a que esta investigación está cubierta por un Certificado de confidencialidad, aún conservará los derechos descritos a continuación en la medida en que los investigadores puedan cumplir con sus solicitudes.

Debido a la participación de otros participantes en grupos focales, la privacidad no se puede mantener en un entorno grupal, sin embargo, se les recomendará a los participantes que respeten la privacidad de los participantes y se hará un anuncio al comienzo de cada grupo focal para recordarles a los participantes que no deben divulgar información compartida dentro del grupo o las identidades de los que participan. Las organizaciones comunitarias pueden proporcionar a las participantes recomendaciones para los recursos disponibles en la comunidad para respaldar sus necesidades relacionadas con la salud mental y apoyo legal más allá del estudio cuando sea necesario, como la Clínica de inmigración de UNLV, etc.

Costo /Compensación

No hay ningún costo financiero para participar en este estudio. El estudio tomará hasta 11 horas de su tiempo. No será compensado por su tiempo.

Confidencialidad

Toda la información reunida en este estudio se mantendrá lo más confidencial posible. No se hará referencia en materiales escritos u orales que puedan vincularlo a este estudio a menos que un consentimiento explícito otorgue el participante. Todos los registros se almacenarán en una instalación cerrada en UNLV durante 5 años después de la finalización del estudio. Después del tiempo de almacenamiento, la información reunida será triturada y reciclada. En el caso de los grupos focales, algunos de los participantes pueden conocerse entre sí y usar los nombres de los demás durante el grupo focal (que se grabará). En el comienzo de cada grupo de enfoque de los recordara a participantes la importancia de respetar la anonimidad de otros participantes y serán alentados a usar los seudónimos seleccionados. Por lo tanto, confidencialidad no se puede garantizar en la configuración del grupo de enfoque. Sin embargo, se aplicarán seudónimo durante la transcripción para proteger la confidencialidad.

Esta investigación está cubierta por un certificado de confidencialidad del Instituto Nacional de Salud. Esto significa que las investigaciones no se pueden divulgar o usar información, documentos o muestras que puedan identificarlo en cualquier acción o demanda a menos que usted diga que está bien. Ellos tampoco pueden proporcionarlos como evidencia a menos que usted haya acordado. Esta protección incluye procedimientos civiles, penales, administrativos, legislativos u otros procedimientos federales, estatales o focales, un ejemplo sería una cúpula judicial.

Hay algunas cosas importantes que debe saber. El certificado no deja de informar lo que requieren las leyes federales, estatales o locales. Algunos ejemplos son leyes que requieren la denuncia de abuso de niños o ancianos, algunas enfermedades contagiosas y tratar de hacerse daño a usted mismo u otros. El certificado no se puede usar para evitar que una agencia patrocinadora federal o estatal de Estados Unidos revise los informes o evalúe programas. El

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Investigadores pueden divulgar información acerca de usted si usted dice que está bien. Por ejemplo, usted puede darles permiso para divulgar información a las aseguradoras, proveedores médicos o cualquier otra persona no relacionada con la investigación. El certificado de confidencialidad no le impide voluntariamente liberar información sobre su participación en esta investigación. Tampoco le impide tener acceso a su propia información.

Participación Voluntaria

Su participación en este estudio es voluntaria. Usted puede negarse a participar en este estudio o en cualquier parte de este estudio. Usted puede retirarse en cualquier momento sin perjuicio de sus relaciones con UNLV. Le animamos a hacer preguntas sobre este estudio al principio o en cualquier momento durante el estudio de investigación.

Consentimiento del participante:

He leído la información anterior y acepto participar en este estudio. He podido hacer preguntas sobre el estudio de investigación. Tengo al menos 18 años de edad. Me han entregado una copia de este formulario. Doy mi consentimiento informado y voluntario para ser identificado en publicaciones posteriores, presentaciones, etc. relacionadas con este estudio de investigación. Por lo tanto, al firmar este formulario, doy mi autorización (consentimiento) para participar en este estudio.

Nombre (Por favor imprimir)

Fecha

Firma del participante (18 años ó más)

Audio:

Acepto ser grabado en audio para el propósito de esta investigación.

Firma del participante

Fecha

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Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'A. Jimenez', enclosed within a large, loopy oval scribble.

Aaron F. Jimenez, Latinx Spaces

Editor-in-Chief

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EDUCATION

- Ph.D., University of Nevada, Las Vegas** 2017-2021
Curriculum & Instruction, Cultural Studies, International Education, and Multicultural Education
Committee: Norma A. Marrun (chair), Christine Clark, Iesha Jackson, Anita Revilla Tijerina, Victor Villanueva Jr.
Expected Graduation: Spring 2021
- Certificate, University of Nevada, Las Vegas** 2017-2021
Social Justice Studies
- M.Ed., University of Nevada, Las Vegas** 2014-2016
Curriculum & Instruction, Secondary Education
Culminating Experience: “Teaching Rigorous Texts to English Learners”
Advisor: Jori Beck
- B.A., Washington State University** 2011-2014
English & Spanish, Rhetoric and Professional Writing
Honors Thesis: “The Marked Narrative: The Latina Immigrant Experience in Post-Racial America”
Advisor: Victor Villanueva Jr.
-

RESEARCH AND TEACHING SPECIALIZATIONS

Multicultural Education: Critically responsive pedagogy, critical pedagogy, inclusive curriculums, representation in the classroom, critical literacies, testimonio.

English Composition & Latinx Discourses: Rhetoric and race, systemic and institutionalized forms of oppression, power dynamics, representations of marginalized populations.

Social Justice Education: Critical consciousness, student movements, dialogue facilitation, abolitionist teaching.

PUBLICATIONS

Peer Reviewed Journals

- Marrun, N. A., **Rodriguez-Campo**, M., Plachowski, T., & Clark, C. (Revise & Resubmit). *Demanding Critical Love: A Family Critical Race Theory Analysis About Families of Color and Their Perceptions of the Teaching Profession*. New York, NY: Teachers College Record.
- Rodriguez-Campo, M. (Revise & Resubmit). *Burnt Offerings: A Testimonio of Family Separation, Immigration, and Reunification*. Chicana/Latina Studies: The Journal of MALCS, Spring 2021. San Antonio, TX.

Rodriguez-Campo, M. (2014). *The Marked Narrative: The Latina Immigrant Experience in Post-Racial America*. Art, Science, Knowledge (ASK), Vol. 2. Pullman, WA.
<https://cas.wsu.edu/ask/volume-ii-spring-2014/humanities-volume-ii/marcela-rodriguez/>

Encyclopedia Entries

Rodriguez-Campo, M. (2021, February 23). *Testimonio in education*. In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Education*. Oxford University Press.
doi: <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190264093.013.1346>

Book Reviews

Rodriguez-Campo, M. (2020). Review of *Queen Mothers: Articulating the Spirit of Black Women Teacher-Leaders*, edited by Rhonda Baynes-Jeffries. Teachers College Record. New York, NY.: Teachers College, Columbia University. <https://www-tcrecord-org.ezproxy.library.unlv.edu/Content.asp?ContentID=23425>

Media Engagement

Rodriguez-Campo, M (2021). *Beginning Again, and Again*. Nevada Humanities Heart-to-Heart. Las Vegas, NV. <https://www.nevahumanities.org/heart-to-heart/2021/1/11/beginning-again-and-again>

Rodriguez-Campo, M. (2020). *Social distancing while Latinx*. Latinx Talk. Columbus, OH.
<https://latinxtalk.org/2020/06/22/social-distancing-while-brown/>

Beltran, Y. (2019). Featured in *Oral history project will preserve stories of Latinos who shaped Southern Nevada*. Nevada Independent. Las Vegas, NV.
<https://thenevadaindependent.com/article/oral-history-project-will-preserve-stories-of-latinos-who-shaped-southern-nevada>

Rodriguez-Campo, M (2018). *Latinx Voices: Marcela Rodriguez-Campo*. UNLV University Libraries. Las Vegas, NV.
https://www.library.unlv.edu/whats_new_in_special_collections/2018/11/latinx-voices-marcela-rodriguez-campo.html

Rodriguez-Campo, M. (2018). *We were the ones left behind: A testimonio of family separation*. Latinx Spaces. Austin, TX. <https://www.latinxspaces.com/latinx-voices/we-were-the-ones-left-behind-a-testimonio-of-family-separation>

Poetry

Rodriguez-Campo, M. (2021, Forthcoming). *Brown Laughter*. The Latino Book Review, 3. Lubbock, TX.

Rodriguez-Campo, M. (2021, Forthcoming). *Scared of the Dentist*. The Journal of Latina Critical Feminism, Vol. 4. San Antonio, TX.

Rodriguez-Campo, M. (2019). *What if I'm the thunder*. Latino Book Review, 1. Lubbock, TX.

Rodriguez-Campo, M. (2019). *An ode to anxiety*. Latino Book Review, 1. Lubbock, TX.

Rodriguez-Campo, M (2019). *Suburbia*. The Journal of Latina Critical Feminism, Vol. 2.1. San Antonio, TX.

Rodriguez-Campo, M. (2018). *Mujer de Oro*. Huizache, 8. Victoria, TX: Centro Victoria, University of Houston.

Rodriguez-Campo, M. (2018). *Little bird*. Awakenings and Awakened Voices, 7. Chicago, IL.

Articles in Preparation & In Progress

- Marrun, N. A., **Rodriguez-Campo, M.**, (In Progress). Critical Childhood Geographies: Latinx Memories *Entre La casa y La calle*. [Target Journal: Ethnic and Racial Studies].
- Rodriguez-Campo, M. (In Preparation). *Wolves in sheep's clothing: A testimonio on the perils of outsider-insider partnerships in community-based research*. Intended to submit to the Journal of Chicana and Latina Studies in Fall of 2021.
- Rodriguez-Campo, M & Estrada Calderón, M. (In Preparation). *Searching for Sanctuary in Research: An interdisciplinary guide to engaging undocumented participants*. Intended to submit to the American Historical Association Journal come May 2021.
-

PRESENTATIONS, PANELS, & KEYNOTES

Refereed Presentations

- Rodriguez-Campo, M. (2021, Accepted) *Recovering testimonios of separation and resilience: The impacts of family separation on Latinx educational trajectories*. American Educational Research Association. Orland, FL (Virtual).
- Rodriguez-Campo, M. (2020, Accepted, Not presented) *Hijos de Separación: Latinx experiences of family separation, resilience, and education*. National Association of Multicultural Education. Montgomery, AL.
- Rodriguez-Campo, M. (2020, March) *Recovering Testimonios of Family Separation and Resilience: The Impacts of Family Separation on Latinx Educational Trajectories*. American Association of Hispanics in Higher Education. Costa Mesa, CA.
- Batista-Morales, N, Salmerón, C, Omogun, L, **Rodriguez-Campo, M**, Landeros, J, LaFuente, C, Flores, T. T, & Gonzalez, P.A. (2019, November). *Testimonios of Doctoral Students of Color: Grounding Ourselves Alongside our Practice*. National Council of Teachers of English. Baltimore, MD. (Forthcoming)
- Rodriguez-Campo, M, Estrada Calderón, M, & Vazquez, R. (2019, October). *Searching for Sanctuary in Research: An interdisciplinary guide to engaging undocumented participants*. Western History Association. Las Vegas, NV.
- Rodriguez-Campo, M, Estrada Calderón, M, & Vazquez, R. (2019, Accepted, Not presented). *Searching for Sanctuary in Research: An interdisciplinary guide to engaging undocumented participants*. Oral History Association. Las Vegas, NV.
- Rivera, C, Carmona, J, Galvez, E, Hinojosa, J. K, **Rodriguez-Campo, M.** (2019, July). *Intergenerational Mujeres Platicando and Apoyando Each Other: A case for how technology fuels connections and diminishes barreras*. Mujeres Activas en Letras y Cambio Social. Amherst, MA.
- Rodriguez-Campo, M. (2019, April). *Burnt Offerings: A Testimonio of Family Separation*. American Educational Research Association. Toronto, CA.
- Rodriguez-Campo, M. (2019, February, Accepted, Not Presented). Building borderlands: A case study on gentrification and belonging in Downtown Las Vegas. Ethnographic and Qualitative Research Conference. Las Vegas, NV.
- Rodriguez-Campo, M., Limbrick, L., & Jover, S. (2019, February). *Coping with Racial Battle Fatigue: A Critical Dialogue on "Agitating" Historically White Spaces*. Graduate and Professional Student Forum (GPSA). Las Vegas, NV.
- Rodriguez-Campo, M., Limbrick, L., & Jover, S. (2018, November). *Coping with Racial Battle Fatigue: A Critical Dialogue on "Agitating" Historically White Spaces*. National Association for Multicultural Education (NAME). Memphis, TN.

Revilla-Tijerina, A., **Rodriguez-Campo, M.**, Abad, E.G., & Espinosa, N. (2018, August) *Across Rivers, Oceans and Seas: Womxn of Color Pedagogy at a Minority Serving Institution*. Mujeres Activas en Letras y Cambio Social (MALCS). El Paso, TX.

University

Rodriguez-Campo, M (2020). *Contested Subjects: Immigration processes & citizenship*. University of Nevada, Las Vegas. Las Vegas, NV.

Alvizzo, V., **Rodriguez-Campo, M.**, Estrada Calderón, M, Ibarra, A., & Zarate, J (2019, August). *Café y Conchas: College Preparation Workshop*. Movimiento Estudiantil Chicana/o de Aztlan (MEChA). Las Vegas, NV.

Rodriguez-Campo, M. (2014, April). *The Marked Narrative: The Latina Immigrant Experience in Post-Racial America*. Showcase for Undergraduate Research and Creative Activities (SURCA). Pullman, WA.

Rodriguez-Campo, M. (2012, April). *A Mile in Bound Feet: An Analysis Of the Road to Concubinage*. Showcase for Undergraduate Research and Creative Activities (SURCA). Pullman, WA.

Community Engagement

Rodriguez-Campo, M. (2019, October). *Venezuela Reclama su Libertad: A community panel on the political crisis in Venezuela*. Hispanic Heritage Month, Office of Student Diversity and Social Justice, UNLV. Las Vegas, NV.

Rodriguez-Campo, M. (2019, April). *The Latinx Voices of Southern Nevada*. Latino Leaders Network Luncheon. Las Vegas, NV.

Rodriguez-Campo, M. (2019, April). *Bagels & Business with the Las Vegas Latin Chamber of Commerce*. The Latinx Voices of Southern Nevada. Las Vegas, NV.

Rodriguez-Campo, M. (2019, March). *Libertad Pa' Venezuela: A Community Dialogue*. Latinx Activism Week, Office of Student Diversity and Social Justice, UNLV. Las Vegas, NV.

Workshops

Rodriguez-Campo, M., Carrizal-Dukes, E., Villarreal, C., Hernandez, M., & Ayala, C. (2020, September). *From Surviving to Thriving in Graduate School*. Mujeres Activas en Letras y Cambio Social (MALCS). Virtual.

Rodriguez-Campo, M., Ortega, M., Muñoz, S., Castro, E., Ramiz-Hall, B., & Sendejo, B (2020, July). *Leading Change: Latinx Leadership in our Communities and the Academy*. Mujeres Activas en Letras y Cambio Social (MALCS). Virtual.

Rodriguez-Campo, M., Jasso, J., Marrun, N.A., Cuevas, J., & Talaavera, J. (2019, August). *College Preparation Workshop for Parents*. Las Vegas, NV.

Rodriguez-Campo, M., Centeno-Monroy, N. (2016, August). *Supporting Undocumented Students: Part 1 & 2*. Teach For America All Corps Conference. Las Vegas, NV.

Rodriguez-Campo, M. (2016, July). *Building Empathy: Combating Bullying and Building Community Within the Classroom*. Teach For America Phoenix Institute. Phoenix, AZ.

Rodriguez-Campo, M., Lobb, B. (2015, August). *Tech in the Classroom*. Desert Pines High School Induction. Las Vegas, NV.

Rodriguez-Campo, M. (2015, June). *Create Your Own JARVIS: Just a Rather Very Intelligent System, For Writing*. Southern Nevada Writing Project. Las Vegas, NV.

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

Instructor

2017- Present

Department of Teaching and Learning, University of Nevada, Las Vegas

- Facilitated discussions related to the intersections of race, gender, class, and sexuality as it relates to education and educational achievement for historically marginalized communities.
- Trained pre-service teachers on multicultural education and developing inclusive classrooms.

Adjunct Instructor

2017- Present

Department of Interdisciplinary, Gender and Ethnic Studies, University of Nevada, Las Vegas

- Facilitated discussions related to race, gender, class, and sexuality for undergraduate students.
- Supported students in developing critical thinking skills and social consciousness.

Secondary English Teacher

2014- 2017

Desert Pines High School & Canyon Springs High School, Clark County School District

- Maintained a positive classroom culture and environment (92% felt respected and accepted).
- Supported diverse learners in the classroom and achieved 70% proficiency on content mastery assessments.
- Founded a student-led Writing Club that promotes inclusion and the empowerment of diverse voices.
- Facilitated 15 community leader speaking engagements of diverse career backgrounds for interviews with 850 students.
- Mentored first-year teachers and provided useful classroom strategies and resources.
- Lead the English 9 Professional Learning Community in planning and instruction.
- Coached students in forensics and lead them to place in the top six of their Speech and Debate categories.
- Served a high population (33% of students) with special needs and disabilities.

RESEARCH EXPERIENCE

Research Assistant, Abriendo Caminos/Opening Pathways

2019- Present

Multicultural Educational Services Alliance, University of Nevada, Las Vegas

- Analyzed and coded participant interview data to determine significant patterns and themes.
- Collaborated with faculty to develop publications related to study data.

Graduate Assistant, Latinx Voices of Southern Nevada

2018- 2019

Oral History Research Center, University of Nevada, Las Vegas

- Collected oral histories of Latinx leaders in the Las Vegas Valley.
- Conducted interviews, organized leads, researched, transcribed, translated, edited, and processed oral histories.
- Built partnerships with leaders, scholars, and community members.

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Diversity, Equity, and Inclusiveness Facilitator

Phoenix Institute, Teach For America

2015-2016

- Facilitated Culturally Responsive Pedagogy trainings for incoming Corps Members.
- Consulted and collaborated with school site teams to design facilitations and maintain cultural consciousness lens as a focal point in instructional practices.

Culturally Responsive Pedagogy Facilitator

2015- 2016

Las Vegas Valley Region, Teach for America

- Hosted professional developments on diversity, equity, and inclusivity to help support undocumented students and creating safe environments in the classroom.
- Facilitated discussions related to race, class, citizenship, and culturally responsive teaching.

Staff Assistant

2011- 2014

Holland and Terrell Libraries, Washington State University

- Helped patrons find materials and navigate Library systems.
- Organized materials, shelved books, completed clerical tasks, and maintained library catalog.
- Supported library personnel by providing training and supervisory support.

SERVICE

- UnidosUS Annual Conference, Host Committee Member, 2020
- Latinx Activism Committee, University of Nevada Las Vegas, 2019.
- Graduate Student Caucus Representative, Coordinating Committee, Mujeres Activas en Letras y Cambio Social, 2018- Present.
- Proposal Reviewer, American Educational Research Association, 2018.

HONORS & AWARDS

Honorable Mention, GPSA Student Researcher Award, University of Nevada, Las Vegas	2021
Summer Session Scholarship, University of Nevada, Las Vegas	2020
Honorable Mention, GPSA Forum, University of Nevada Las Vegas	2020
Graduate Fellow, American Association of Hispanics in Higher Education	2020
Student Award, Las Vegas Historic Preservation Commission, City of Las Vegas	2019
General Scholarship, Southwest Oral History Association	2019
Honorable Mention, GPSA Forum, University of Nevada Las Vegas	2019
Conference Sponsorship Funding (Fall & Spring), GPSA, Univ. of Nevada Las Vegas	2018
Graduate Student Presenter Scholarship, Mujeres Activas, en Letras y Cambio Social	2018
Rose Duhon-Sells Graduate Student Scholarship, NAME	2017
Graduate College Recruitment Scholarship, University of Nevada Las Vegas	2017
Top Ten Teachers Award, Desert Pines High School	2015
Magna Cum Laude, Washington State University	2014
Dean's Award, Honors College, Washington State University	2014
College of Arts and Sciences Outstanding Senior Award, Washington State Uni.	2014
Honors Thesis Nominated for Pass with Distinction, Washington State University	2014
Crimson Humanities Award, SURCA, Washington State Univ.	2014

Writing Portfolio Pass with Distinction, Washington State University	2013
Hispanic Scholarship Fund, Scholarship Recipient	2011
Golden Desert District Student of the Year, National Forensics League	2011

PROFESSIONAL AFFILIATIONS

American Association of Hispanics in Higher Education (AAHHE), Graduate Fellow & Member
 Western History Association (WHA), Member
 National Council of Teachers of English (NCTE), Member
 Movimiento Estudiantil Chicana/o de Aztlan (M.E.Ch.A), Member
 Mujeres Activas en Letras y Cambio Social (MALCS), Graduate Student Caucus Representative
 American Educational Research Association (AERA), Member
 Southern Nevada Writing Project (SNWP)
 National Association of Multicultural Education (NAME), Member
 National Speech and Debate Association (NSDA), Member

LANGUAGES

English and Spanish fluency; Native Spanish speaker.
