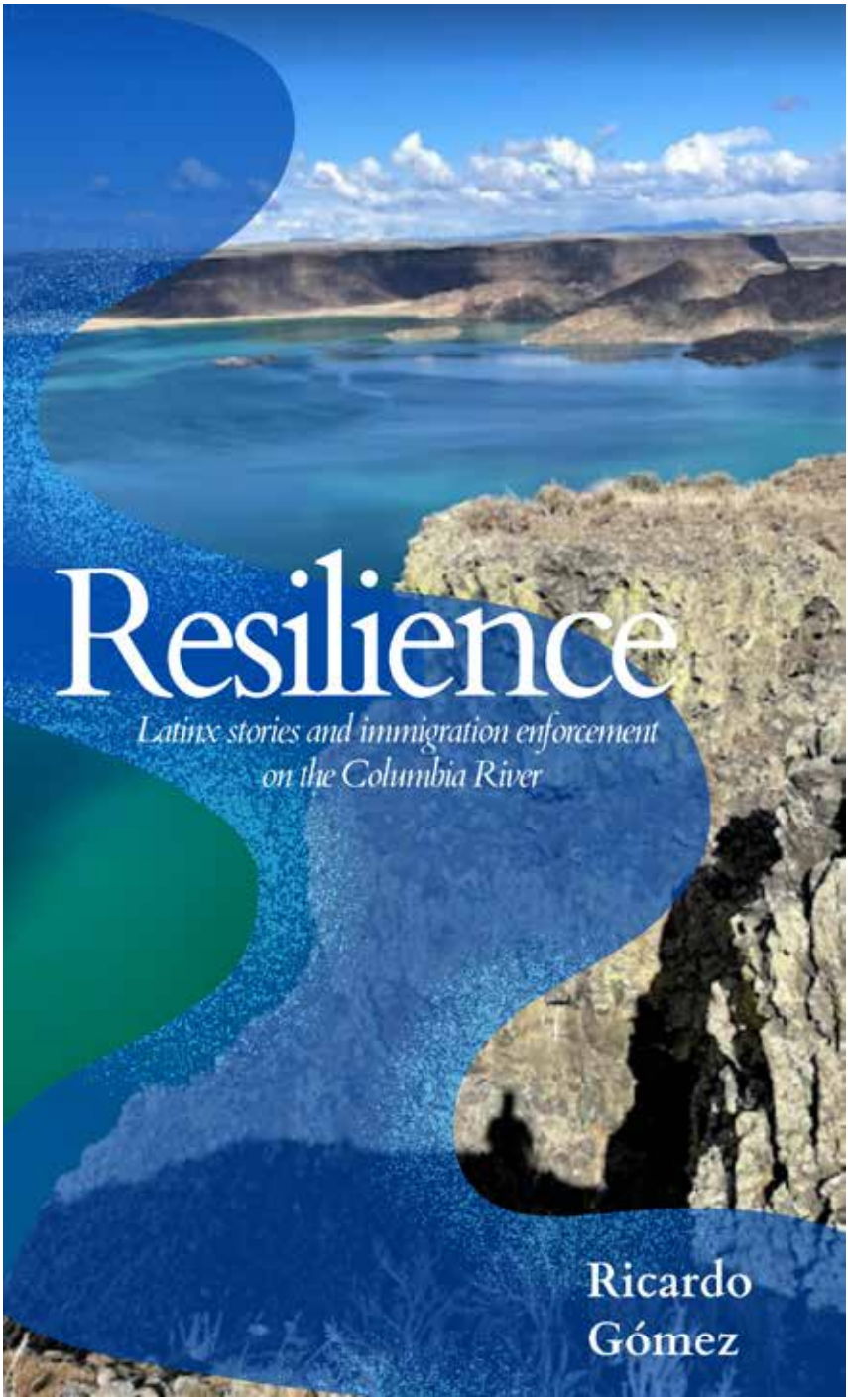
Resilience
Latinx stories and immigration enforcement on the Columbia River
Ricardo Gómez

To Mary

You are my Washington anchor.

Resilience: Latinx Stories and Immigration Enforcement in Washington State

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Introduction

This book is about the experiences of Latinx students in Washington state, told through the geography of the Columbia River and combined with an analysis of immigration enforcement practices that run against the Sanctuary provisions of Washington state laws. I researched and wrote this book during the pandemic crisis of 2021, at a time when I could not meet anybody in person, as a way to better understand and document the realities of being Latinx in the regions of Eastern Washington, where immigration enforcement frequently runs against the legal protections known as "sanctuary" that are afforded to immigrants in the state.

Washington state, in the Pacific Northwest, has a rich and varied history and geography. Within a short drive of Seattle there are mountains, forests, lakes, beaches, islands, glaciers, and the Puget Sound, which make Seattle an attractive city for outdoor and nature enthusiasts. Just a couple of hours to the east, on the other side of the Cascade Mountains, is Eastern Washington, a remarkably beautiful region of high desert and agricultural farmland. The landscape of Eastern Washington is defined by the meandering curves and canyons of the magnificent Columbia River—a river shaped by cataclysmic floods at the end of the Ice Age 12,000 years ago and then reshaped by the building of hydroelectric dams and reservoirs during the last 100 years, as part of the Columbia basin irrigation project. Irrigation from the Columbia and its tributaries expanded agricultural production in Eastern Washington to over a million acres of desert, in addition to managing water levels to allow more plentiful fruit orchards along the river. The economic bonanza benefited some growers and a handful of agribusiness companies at the expense of further impoverishing Native American populations, exploiting vulnerable immigrant farmworkers, and forever transforming the natural habitat of the historically abundant Columbia River salmon, now gone forever from the Upper Columbia and endangered as a species in the rest of the river basin.

Eastern Washington is predominantly rural, and unlike the more urban region of Seattle, people in Eastern Washington tend to be politically conservative, as evidenced by the nature of the political ads displayed on the side of the roads during

the electoral year 2020. The political divide between Eastern Washington and the predominantly liberal legislature is also evidenced in attitudes and behaviors toward immigrants and minorities in Washington state.

Washington is known to be an immigrant-friendly state, one that, unlike other states, issues driver licenses to residents independent of legal immigration status and offers in-state tuition to undocumented students. Washington state is also known as a sanctuary state, just like King County, City of Seattle, and the University of Washington, are known to be sanctuaries for immigrants. Eastern Washington, on the other hand, tends to side with pro-Trump and anti-immigrant rhetoric, all while taking advantage of the cheap labor of migrant farmworkers that sustain the agricultural economy. The notion of Washington as a sanctuary state does not have much resonance in Eastern Washington.

The "sanctuary" label has no specific legal meaning, but it generally prohibits collaboration and information-sharing with federal immigration agencies, and prohibits the use of campus, city, county, or state resources to ask, collect information, deny services, or detain persons for their immigration status. The church and other religious institutions have been spaces of sanctuary in Europe since as early as 600 CE, when English law recognized the asylum offered by the church system to individuals fleeing persecution.

Today, most governments seek to avoid direct confrontation with religious organizations offering sanctuary to refugees, immigrants and others seeking protection from unfair persecution. In the US, the sanctuary movement emerged during the 1980s, as a response to thousands of Central Americans fleeing violence in their countries, particularly El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras, where the US supported repressive regimes as part of the anticommunist crusade spearheaded by President Reagan. The sanctuary movement in the US began mostly a faith-based service of hospitality to provide for the humanitarian needs of vulnerable refugees, but it quickly grew into a political movement that fought to end the oppression of the US-sponsored war in Central America. Contemporary expressions of sanctuary are not limited to faith-based organizations, as many secular organizations express moral outrage at injustices against vulnerable populations and seek to offer sanctuary protections to immigrants. There are also creative expressions of

sanctuary as resistance in the use of art, music, and stories. The anti-immigrant policies and actions enacted by President Trump galvanized protests and a spirit of resistance beyond church basements offering food and shelter for immigrants, with numerous states, counties, cities, and university campuses proclaiming sanctuary protections for immigrants. In Washington state there are laws that protect immigrants, and monitoring compliance with these laws has become one of the pillars of the University of Washington Center for Human Rights (UWCHR) work on immigrants' rights in Washington state.

Starting 2019, I collaborated with UWCHR and its Immigrant Rights Observatory, studying the implementation and compliance with Washington laws that offer protections to immigrant communities, particularly in Eastern Washington. To complement this work, and as part of my exploration of oral histories of Latinx communities in the US, I interviewed 25 Latinx students and alumni from Eastern Washington. At the same time, during 2020 and 2021, within the constraints of COVID precautions and without talking or interacting in person, I visited different regions of Eastern Washington. I walked around the places that students talked about in the interviews, and I admired the stunningly beautiful geographic features of Eastern Washington. Even though what I really wanted was to meet the students I had talked to over Zoom, to meet their families and share meals and stories, I had to observe from a distance, anonymously, in silence. The places I was visiting were generally closed, deserted, and empty due to COVID-19. The result is this book that combines three disparate threads: Latinx life histories, immigration enforcement, and the geography and history of Eastern Washington, all centered along the Columbia River valley and its tributaries.

This book explores the work of the UWCHR, particularly its work to defend and promote immigrants' rights in Washington state. Through public records requests, the Center documents the collaboration and information sharing of local and state law enforcement with federal immigration enforcement agencies, which predominantly target Latinx communities in Eastern Washington. Since such collaboration and information sharing is now illegal under Washington state laws, the findings of the work of UWCHR can be used by frontline human rights organizations in Washington state to advocate for stronger compliance by local and state law enforcement, and stronger protection of immigrants' rights. In addition to docu-

menting the work of UWCHR, this book offers a collection of oral histories from UW students or alumni from Eastern Washington who self-identify as Latinx. I use the term Latinx as a gender-neutral term for individuals who descend from Latin American ancestry and culture.

These Latinx stories, which I have edited for brevity and clarity, offer a glimpse of the rich lived experiences in some of the communities that suffer the racial profiling and abuses of immigration enforcement. These are the communities of migrant farmworkers that tend and harvest the fruits and agricultural produce of Washington, the communities of origin of many of the students at the University of Washington.

The Columbia River basin is the lifeblood of Eastern Washington, and the backbone of the story I share with you in this book. The analysis of immigration enforcement done with the Center for Human Rights, and the stories of resilience of Latinx students at UW, are woven around the geography and history of the Columbia River and some of its tributaries. The map on the next page offers a visual representation of the salient places in Eastern Washington that I mention in this book.

Figure 2: Map of Washington state and key locations mentioned in this book along the Columbia River and its tributaries (map by Andrew Weymouth)

Figure 3: Dry Falls State Park, site of the Ice Age catastrophic flooding and drainage that formed the Columbia River Basin

Chapter 1: Columbia River

The Columbia River has a section in Eastern Washington where the water no longer flows. It is called Dry Falls, and I here I start my journey to explore the stories of resilience of the immigrant farmworking communities in Eastern Washington. Standing in front of the cliffs of Dry Falls feels like traveling in time, which helps one understand how the region came to be what it is today. Dry Falls are the remnants of a long-gone waterfall, a horseshoe 3.5 miles long and 350 feet high that makes Niagara Falls look tiny. Surrounded by the high desert of the Grand Coulee, it is hard to imagine these falls once channeled ten times the combined flow of all the current rivers in the world. During the last Ice Age, more than 12,000 years ago, ice sheets dammed the Columbia River and the Clark Fork River, flooding the enormous Lake Missoula, a glacial lake with a surface of over 3,000 square miles that covered parts of present-day Montana, Idaho, and Washington. At the end of the Ice Age, Lake Missoula experienced around 40 cataclysmic floods known as jokalaups, glacial outbursts of ice, rocks and water breaking the glacial dam and causing torrential floods. These periodic cataclysmic floods carved the rocky gorges known as coulees—from the French-Canadian word coulee, meaning "to flow"—and created the Eastern Washington geographic features known as the Scablands.

Cataclysmic Floods of the Ice Age

The cataclysmic, glacial formation of the Washington Scablands was first identified by Harlen Bretz, a son of German immigrant farmers. Bretz was a Seattle high school biology teacher who took an interest in the geology of Eastern Washington. He went on to earn a PhD in Geology at tUniversity of Chicago in 1913, and became an assistant professor of geology, first at the University of Washington and then at the University of Chicago. In 1923, Bretz published the paper "Channeled Scablands in Eastern Washington," in which he suggested what was then an outrageous hypothesis: The Scablands were formed by massive, cataclysmic flooding in the distant past. He did not know the source of the water that caused the floods, yet he insisted that the geological evidence was clear: he was "convinced that the rela-

tions outlined in this paper do exist and that no alternatives yet proposed by others or devised by himself can explain them." Bretz's theory was discredited because it went against the prevailing Doctrine of Uniformity or Uniformitarian Principle, the foregrounding theory of geology prevalent in the 19th century which assumed that the same natural laws and processes that operate today have always operated in the past and everywhere in the universe. After decades of dispute, Bretz and others identified Lake Missoula as the source of the water for the cataclysmic floods. In the 1970s, satellite images further vindicated Bretz's theories. In 1979, when he was 96 years old, Bretz was awarded the highest honor of the field of geology, the Penrose Medal, in recognition of his work on the Dry Falls and understanding of the Eastern Washington Channeled Scablands.

I stand at a viewpoint overlooking the Dry Falls, a massive cliff surrounding the place where the immense falls flowed at the end of the Ice Age. The interpretive center has been closed for months due to COVID-19, but the view is breathtaking. It is hard to imagine the massive flows of water, rocks, and ice coming from the Upper Coulee, North of Dry Falls, and dropping into the Dry Falls at 65 miles per hour to form the valley of Lower Coulee, heading South. Along the Lower Coulee valley there are a series of small lakes. Park Lake, Blue Lake, Alkali Lake, Lenore Lake, and Soap Lake are all pretty and popular today with jet skiers during summer months when the desert is hot, and the water is refreshing. Along the valley are also the Lenore Caves, part of the glacial formations carved out of the rocks. Some of the caves have petroglyphs drawn by the earliest inhabitants of the land, most likely around the end of the Ice Age, approximately 12,000 years ago.

There are several theories about how the early inhabitants of North America arrived to the continent. According to some archaeologists, early arrivers crossed the Bering Strait from Eastern Asia more than 30,000 years ago. Others suggest that late arrivers crossed along the same path about 12,000 years ago. The earliest archaeological remains in the Pacific Northwest are from present-day British Columbia, Canada, and from The Dalles, Oregon, on the Columbia River. The 1996 discovery of the remains of the so-called Kennewick Man near the Columbia River in Kennewick, Washington, helped establish early habitation theories in this region that begin around 9,300 years ago. The manipulation and study of the remains of the Kennewick Man have caused much controversy with Northwest

Indian tribes, who claim common ancestry with the remains and want to bury them according to tribal customs. DNA testing has confirmed shared common ancestry with today's Native Americans, particularly the Confederated Tribes of the Colville Reservation. Nonetheless, the remains of Kennewick Man continue to be stored at the University of Washington Burke Museum of Natural History and Culture and remain legally the property of the US Army Corps of Engineers, who found them while building the McNary Dam on the Columbia River.

Indigenous People and American Settlers

The region surrounding Dry Falls and the Grand Coulee gorges was the ancestral territory of the Colville Tribes, known today as the Confederated Tribes of the Colville Reservation, and their people are presumed to be the descendants of the Kennewick Man. The Colville Tribes bring together twelve distinct tribes across a broad sector of Eastern Washington and into portions of British Columbia to the North, Idaho to the East, and Oregon to the South, in 39 million acres of the ancestral homeland of the Lakes, Colville, Okanogan, Moses-Columbia, Wenatchi, Entiat, Chelan, Methow, Nespelem, Sanpoil, Chief Joseph Band of Nez Perce, and Palus Indians. Each tribe is culturally distinct, though they share some similarities in language and culture, as well as shared cultural practices and teachings. The Sanpoil (sn̓pʔawílx) and Nespelem (nspiləm) Tribes used to live on either side of the Upper Coulee, above Dry Falls, and the Moses-Columbia (škwáxčənəxʷ) Tribe used to live in the region south and southwest of the Lower Coulee, below Dry Falls. The ancestors of the current tribes lived and moved following seasonal cycles to gather food, living on salmon and other fish from the rivers, berries, deer and elk from the mountain meadows, and roots from the plateaus. The tribes were grouped around the rivers, notably the Columbia River, and had salmon at the center of their physical and spiritual lives. Salmon fishing was central to the culture and sustenance of the Native population. One of the creation legends shows the importance of salmon for the original inhabitants of the land:

> *When the Creator was preparing to bring humans onto the earth, He called a grand council of all the animal people, plant people, and everything else. In those days, the animals and plants were more like people because they could talk. He asked each one to give a gift to*

the humans—a gift to help them survive, since humans were pitiful and would die without help. The first to come forward was Salmon. He gave the humans his body for food. The second to give a gift was Water. She promised to be the home to the salmon. After that, everyone else gave the humans a gift, but it was special that the first to give their gifts were Salmon and Water. When the humans finally arrived, the Creator took away the animals' power of speech and gave it to the humans. He told the humans that since the animals could no longer speak for themselves, it was a human responsibility to speak for the animals. To this day, Salmon and Water are always served first at tribal feasts to remember the story and honor the First Foods.

Columbia River Inter-Tribal Fish Commission, Creation Story.

European settlers arrived in the region of what is now Eastern Washington during the early 19th century, although the Pacific Coast had been explored in the late 18th century by the British sea captain and fur trader Charles Barkley. Barkley named the Strait of Juan de Fuca, the Salish Sea's outlet to the Pacific Ocean, after Juan de Fuca. de Fuca was a Spanish (or Greek) maritime pilot who claimed to have explored the region in 1596 while in the service of the King of Spain. Other Spanish, British, and Russian explorers, pirates, and adventurers visited the coast of the Pacific Northwest during the 1600s and early 1700s. In 1792, the Spanish Lieutenant Salvador Fidalgo established the first permanent European settlement in present-day Neah Bay, home to the Makah Nation, on the Northwestern tip of the Olympic Peninsula. Perhaps the most significant European explorer was George Vancouver, a British traveler who had sailed with James Cook in search of the Northwest Passage. In 1792, George Vancouver led an expedition along the coasts of present-day Oregon and Washington, including some 100 miles up the Columbia River. Vancouver's team surveyed and named islands (including Vancouver Island), inlets and outlets along the coast, and named features such as Mount Baker, Mount Rainier, and the Puget Sound, all of them visible from Seattle on a clear day.

The Lewis and Clark expedition of 1803-1806 reached the Columbia River from the east, arriving at the mouth of the river on the Pacific Ocean, near present-day Astoria, in November 1805. The Lewis and Clark expedition was commissioned by President Jefferson at the time of the Louisiana purchase, which had doubled

the size of the United States. The mission of the expedition was to explore and map the newly acquired territory, to find a viable route across the western portion of the continent, and to establish American sovereignty and presence in the territory before other Europeans did. Secondary objectives of the expedition included the scientific study of the area's geography, plants, and animals as well as the establishment of trade relationships with local Native American tribes. The Lewis and Clark expedition marked the beginning of the devastation of the Native American tribes. As eastern populations moved west, British and American settlers seeking furs and gold disputed over the territory of the Native American tribes. British and Americans settled their dispute over territories in the Pacific Northwest called the Oregon Country with the Oregon Treaty of 1846. At that time, and until the end of the Mexican American War of 1848, the border with Mexico was just South of Ashland, Oregon. The Oregon Treaty made Oregonians (and Washingtonians) south of the 49th Parallel citizens of the United States, and eventually, the 49th Parallel became the US-Canada border. Nonetheless, the Oregon Treaty never consulted the opinion of the Indigenous peoples living there. Furthermore, the treaty did not consider Native Americans US citizens, and did not deem them to be entitled to their ancestral lands, even though they had been living there for more than 10,000 years.

Figure 4: Colville Confederated Tribes Headquarters in Nespelem, WA

The Native American tribes that lived in what was called the Oregon Country were quickly displaced by American settlers. 39 million acres of ancestral lands were taken away, and people were relocated to Indian reservations. To relocate people of the twelve original tribes that lived in the region, the Colville Reservation was established by US Presidential Executive Order on April 9, 1872, with an area of about 2.8 million acres. Three months later, in July 1872, a new Executive Order cut the size of the reservation in half, excluding the tribes from their lands on the Okanogan River and Pend Oreille River, both tributaries of the Columbia River, and the Methow and the Colville Valleys. Twenty years later, in 1892, the US Government changed its policy again and sought to dissolve Indian reservations by making allotments to individual families for subsistence farming. Congress took away control of the northern half of the Colville Reservation, opening it to settlement by non-Indians, and left the reservation with 1.4 million acres of land, a mere 3.5% of the original ancestral territory of the tribes. To add insult to injury, American settlers brought with them new illnesses that decimated the native population and established infamous boarding schools that forcibly separated children from their families and their culture to teach them English and convert them to Christianity. Only the incredible resilience of the people of the Confederated Tribes of the Colville Reservation has allowed them to survive, and to maintain some of their identity, culture, and traditions.

I stand in front of the administrative headquarters of the Confederated Tribes of the Colville Reservation in Nespelem. It is a large, modern building where the Colville Business Council oversees a multi-million dollar administration governed as a sovereign nation. Everything is closed and empty due to COVID-19. I wish I could learn more about this vibrant community that has around 9,500 enrolled tribal members, and a population of 7,500 living on the reservation. I admire the work of my Native American colleagues at the University of Washington, and the work of the Native North American Indigenous Knowledge group at the Information School, where I am a faculty member. Perhaps one day I will be able to get closer to understanding the lives of the Colville Tribes, or to any of the 29 federally recognized tribes—or the 11 unrecognized tribes—in Washington state.

Figure 5: Grand Coulee Dam on the Columbia River

Grand Coulee Dam

Between Dry Falls and the administrative headquarters of the Colville Reservation lies the Grand Coulee Dam. Built in the 1930s under President Roosevelt, it was hailed as one of the greatest marvels of engineering, the largest structure built in the United States at the time, and the source of electric power and water for irrigation in the Columbia River basin. At the same time, the Grand Coulee Dam caused irreparable harm to the people and the environment of the region. The dam flooded vast areas of Native ancestral territory, forced the displacement and relocation of numerous towns and native sacred grounds, and forever blocked the flow of salmon and other fish species from the upper Columbia River. The Grand Coulee Dam was so transformative to the region that it is reminiscent of the jokalaups, the glacial dams and torrential floods of the Ice Age that created the canyons and scablands of the Columbia River.

The idea of building a dam in one of the narrow gorges of the Columbia River goes back to 1892, but it was not until 1917 that a viable plan was developed to

dam the river just below the Grand Coulee and flood the plateau above it, just like nature had done at the end of the Ice Age. William Clapp, a lawyer from Ephrata, and Rufus Woods, publisher of the newspaper The Wenatchee Republic, promoted the idea of the dam using the newspaper. The positive media coverage about the dam prompted the visit of General George Goethals, who was one of the main builders of the Panama Canal. In 1922, Goethals made the case for a dam design for the Grand Coulee. Goethals's designs were followed by other designs by the US Army Corps of Engineers in 1926 to build the Grand Coulee Dam and nine other dams along the Columbia River and Snake River. The plan was deemed too expensive and unnecessary, as there was little use for all the energy, and no apparent need for additional agricultural production to warrant the massive construction project. A few years later during the Great Depression of 1929-1933, the idea of the Grand Coulee Damn became viable once again as part of the New Deal programs launched by President Roosevelt to reinvigorate the American economy. Not only would construction of the dam create immediate work for the unemployed, but it could rekindle the American myth of the yeoman farmer: the small family farm that embodied the ideal of a simple, honest, independent, and happy human being.

Construction of the Grand Coulee Dam broke ground in 1933, and quickly became the largest construction project ever undertaken. Following several modifications and expansions to the original plan, construction was completed in 1942, a few years after the smaller – but nonetheless massive – Hoover Dam on the Colorado River between Nevada and Arizona. The original Grand Coulee Dam cost $163 million in 1943 (the equivalent of $1.96 billion U.S. dollars in 2019). Its 1973 expansion, with the addition of a third power plant, added $730 million (equivalent to $3.27 billion U.S. dollars in 2019) to the total cost of the dam's construction. Around 8,000 people worked on the construction of the dam; 77 workers died on the job. The dam is 550 feet high and 5,223 feet long. The Grand Coulee Dam now has four power stations with a capacity of 6,809 megawatts and the dam's reservoir supplies water for 671,000 acres of farmland as part of the Columbia River Irrigation Project.

Mason City

The views of the Grand Coulee Dam are striking. The visitor center in Mason City is closed due to COVID-19, but the evidence of the transformation brought about by the engineering project is unmistakable. Upstream, to the East, is the flooded Columbia River, and downstream, first North and then to the West, are the managed waters that gently flow toward Lake Pateros, where the Okanogan River coming from Canada meets the Columbia. Hidden in plain view right next to the dam is Banks Lake, an artificial lake on what used to be the bed of the 12,000-year-old Upper Coulee Valley. Banks Lake is filled with water pumped from the Columbia as a reservoir for irrigation. Halfway down the flooded valley of Banks Lake is Steamboat Rock, a beautiful island of basalt rock cliffs that rise 800 feet to a 600-acre plateau of sagebrush meadows that were once used by nomadic Native American tribes and early settlers. The landscape around Steamboat Rock is an impressive display of basalt cliffs from the Upper Coulee, the longest and deepest of Eastern Washington canyons. At the south end of Bank Lake is Dry Falls, the place where it all began. Dry Falls was the belly button of the Columbia in the Ice Age and the driving force behind the current shape of the landscape in Eastern Washington.

Mayra

Mayra grew up in Mason City, after having lived in Mexico for a few years. Her parents decided to return to the US, where Mayra was born, in order to give her a better education. "They believed that that was going to be difficult to do in Mexico," she tells Geno, a Mexican colleague who helped me with some of the interviews for this project.

> *The town of Mason City is very small, and there was little diversity. Most individuals were either Latino or White. There were a lot of other Latinos in the community because there's agricultural work, so a lot of Latinos settled in that region because of job opportunities. Most of my classmates were Latinos. When I went to high school, there was a little bit more diversity, but most people were still primarily Latino or White.*

Mayra wanted to get away from the small-town life, and go to a bigger place with more opportunities, so she applied to the UW when she was finishing high school. "I wanted to get out and explore a big city and see what doors would open up for me," she said. The fact that she grew up by the Grand Coulee Dam, one of the engineering marvels of the US as well as one of its environmental and social catastrophes, did not come up. She experienced Mason City only as a small agricultural town with little diversity. Applying to college was not easy, since her parents could not really help her much:

> *I am Latina, and it was difficult because neither of my parents has an education. I didn't know what steps to take to apply to a university or what resources were available for me. I really had to put a lot of effort into looking into programs and the resources available. I was fortunate enough that the high school I went to had a program for minority students who were seeking higher education. The program is Upward Bound, and that was really my first step through the door to apply to a university. I had good counselors who helped me understand what the process would look like and how I needed to apply for financial aid. They also helped with the deadlines for applying to college and what those various steps looked like. I also did Running Start as a high school student, so that opened the door to college completely.*
>
> *I was a part of the CAMP program at the community college, and I was guided by a counselor who helped me every step of the way. He let me know that once I got into college I also had to apply to the degree that I wanted, which I was completely unaware of before going to the university. He led me through all of the steps that I needed to take to complete the applications. He also helped me with financial aid and scholarships. Scholarships were what helped me pay for my university degree.*

I will discuss the CAMP program, and other such programs that help minority students get to and succeed in college in a later chapter. For now, let me get back to the Grand Coulee Dam and its implications for the Columbia River and the region of Eastern Washington.

The Grand Coulee Dam started producing energy in 1942, when it was needed for

aluminum smelters for contructing airplanes during World War II. The dam was also used to power the nuclear enrichment plant at Hanford Reach, downstream on the Columbia River. The sparsely populated community of Hanford was selected just a year after the Grand Coulee Dam was operational, a decision that took advantage Hanford's proximity to electric power, the possibility of using water from the Columbia to cool down the reactors, and the availability of an "isolated expanse of uninhabited land," which ignored the fact that it was the ancestral territory of Yakama Nation and the Wanapum Tribe, who lost access to the area that was for many generations their fishing and hunting lifeline along the Columbia River. Hanford Reach houses nine nuclear reactors including Reactor B, the reactor that enriched plutonium for the first nuclear explosion in New Mexico on July 16, 1945, and for the atomic bomb dropped on Nagasaki, Japan less than a month later, on August 9, 1945. The bomb in Nagasaki killed approximately 40,000 people, three days after another nuclear bomb over Hiroshima had killed an estimated 80,000 more people. Tens of thousands later died of radiation exposure. Today nicknamed an "involuntary park," Hanford Reach was made into a National Monument as a security buffer surrounding the Hanford Site. The area is a radioactive burial ground half the size of Rhode Island.

In addition to electricity, the Grand Coulee Dam expanded irrigation to over 670,000 acres of farmland on the Columbia River basin. While initially intended to attract unemployed people to become small family farmers, over one quarter of the initial farming settlers dropped out withing the first three years of the program, frustrated by the meager income and isolated lives of those accustomed to urban living. Large-scale irrigation and agribusiness were the primary beneficiaries of the Columbia Basin Irrigation Project. They obtained water and power at subsidized prices and fueled the growth of agriculture and food-processing industries. Downstream residents benefited from flood protection, and recreation-related commerce grew thanks to increased boating, fishing, and hunting in the region.

Native Americans, on the other hand, bore most of the cost and damage caused by the Grand Coulee Dam. The dam raised the level of the Columbia and Spokane Rivers by around 70 feet, flooding 21,000 acres of prime land where around 2,000 people of the Colville Tribes and around 200 of the Spokane Tribe lived, hunted, and fished. The loss of their traditional fishing sites, burial grounds, and sacred cultural gathering places was exacerbated by the loss of salmon on the Columbia

River upstream from Grand Coulee Dam. Built without fish ladders, the dam blocked all salmon and other anadromous fish (i.e., fish that are born in freshwater, spend most of their lives in salt water, and then return to freshwater to spawn) from the Upper Columbia River. The engineers who designed and built the largest and most complex engineering project of the time briefly explored the idea of a flume and elevator to collect and carry fish over Grand Coulee Dam, or band-aid solutions such as trapping adult fish and hauling them in trucks to a release point above the dam, and trapping juvenile fish above the dam and hauling below the dam. In the end, the engineers decided that solving the problem of fish migration was too complex to warrant a solution, and they changed the ecosystem forever. Ivan Donaldson, the Corps of Engineers first biologist on the Columbia River, reported in 1942 that engineers working on the Grand Coulee Dam did not want to be bothered with the concerns of a scientist. Donaldson wrote in a memo that the attitude of engineers was "to hell with the fish, I'm here to build a dam." Despite failed attempts to recreate salmon populations through hatcheries, the damage was irreparably done. From a healthy watershed with the largest population of fish in the planet, the Columbia River lost its salmon population above the Grand Coulee Dam forever. In the words of a Spokane tribal elder,

> *Our ceremonies and spirituality were based on the rivers. When the dam went in it changed everything. It changed our way of life from hunters and gatherers to farming. It changed our spirituality and cultural realm . . . We hardly had time to relocate graves. Thousands of our ancestors went floating down the river and lots of historical sites were inundated. Farms and homes were destroyed. If they had done this to another groups of people, the mindset would have been different. The tribes were looked down upon and not given any consideration . . . Promises were made that everything would be taken care of for us . . . [but] we never received compensation for that dam.*

After years of lawsuits, promises, and negotiation, the Colville Tribes received some compensation from the US government in 1994: U.S. Congress approved a lump-sum payment of $53 million, and annual payments of at least $15.25 million in perpetuity for the Colville Tribes. This settlement was seen as a way to share the revenue of the energy produced by the dam, and in recognition of the harm caused to the Colville people with the dam's construction and the blocking of the salmon. In 2020, the Spokane Tribe finally received compensation as well. The Spokane

Tribe will receive roughly $6 million per year for the first ten years, and $8 million annually thereafter (exact amounts will be based on the revenues generated by the power plants). Despite this late compensation, the tribes are still suffering the consequences of the Grand Coulee Dam and the transformation of their ancestral land, without enjoying much of its benefits.

The Grand Coulee Dam was the first and the largest of the dams on the Columbia, but it is far from the only one. With 75 dams along its 1,243 miles, the Columbia River is the most dammed waterway on the planet. Even though Washington State mandated as early as 1890 that all dams "wherever food fish are wont to ascend" must include fish ladders, by 1922 this law was rescinded, and The Grand Coulee Dam was built from 1933-1942 without a fish ladder. Chief Joseph Dam, 51 miles downstream from Grand Coulee Dam, was also built without a fish ladder. All other government-owned dams on the Columbia River, apart from Chief Joseph and Grand Coulee, have some sort of fish ladder so that salmon can bypass the structures and continue upstream to spawn. To help the survival of juveniles swimming downstream, these other dams have installed sluiceways that take fish away from the turbines and deliver them further downstream, or they have redesigned the turbines to make them less hazardous to fish swimming through them. Nonetheless, the population of Salmon on the Columbia River has vanished above Chief Joseph Dam, and is endangered in the rest of the river, except for a small pocket of healthy salmon around Hanford, ironically protected by the radiation of the site which has kept people and industrial development away from that stretch of the river.

Figure 6: Fruit orchards by the Columbia River

Migrant Farm Workers on the Columbia River

Agricultural farms were the great winners of the Columbia River Irrigation Project. The Grand Coulee Dam was the first step of the Columbia Basin Irrigation Project, which included 300 miles of canals and irrigation water for more than 600,000 acres of farmland in the region. In the early 1900s, the Northern Pacific and Great Northern railways allowed faster and cheaper transportation of supplies and produce, and agricultural research and extension programs in colleges and universities further helped to boost agricultural production. Increased agribusiness was also accompanied by other unexpected changes such as depletion of public grasslands by intense cattle and sheep grazing, and the spread of sagebrush, which took over most areas where native bunchgrass used to grow. Sagebrush grows abundantly in areas damaged by overgrazing, and it is a hardy shrub that can live up to 100 years. The light grayish green of sagebrush now dominates the landscape of most uncultivated areas of the high desert. I associate its spicy, pungent, bitter smell with memories of irrigation projects that had started in Eastern Washington even before the Grand Coulee Dam. The US Congress Reclamation Act of 1902

funded irrigation projects in Yakima, Wenatchee, and Okanogan Valleys, all of which are tributaries to the Columbia River. These early irrigation projects allowed the introduction of fruit orchards. In 1904, the Wenatchee Development Company built a 16-mile canal to irrigate 9,000 acres of narrow farmland along the Wenatchee River, and turned the area into the "apple capital of the world." Wine-grape growers survived the alcohol prohibition, and after 1933 they increased their production: in 1938 there were 42 wineries in Washington. There are 900 today, making Washington the second-largest producer of wine in the U.S. after California. With the growth of agricultural production, more workers were needed. While farms relied on Native families for farm labor during the 1800s, immigrant farm workers started to replace Native farm workers in the 20th century. The first wave of immigrant farmworkers in Eastern Washington were Japanese contract laborers in the Yakima Valley. In 1915, 500 of the 650 people living in Wapato, a town in the Yakima Valley, were of Japanese descent. However, in 1921, the Washington State Legislature approved the Alien Land Bill prohibiting Japanese and other non-white immigrants from owning or leasing land. Some Japanese immigrants and their Japanese-American families continued farming in the region until they were evicted during World War II and sent to internment camps, one of the many infamous racist policies of the U.S. government during the 20th century.

During the 1940s and 1950s, farm production became increasingly mechanized, especially for wheat, requiring bigger and more expensive machinery, specialized seeds, and high investments in fertilizers and pesticides. Orchards and vineyards still needed large numbers of workers. World War II caused further labor shortages with men joining the army to serve in the war. The U.S. government response was the creation of the Bracero Program in 1942. The Bracero Program, from the Spanish word bracero — which means manual laborer or person who uses their arms — was supposed to guarantee decent living conditions and minimum wage to farm workers from Mexico, but it generally failed to meet those conditions. Labor organizing by the National Farm Laborers Union (NFLU) and the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee (AWOC) led to many strikes and demands for improvement of working conditions. At the same time, hiring of undocumented immigrants outside the Bracero Program undermined the already precarious work of immigrant farm workers. The Bracero Program was terminated in 1964, and in

its aftermath, workers continued to fight for unpaid wages and deductions owed to them. Erasmo Gamboa, a now-retired professor of History, American Ethnic Studies, and Latin American Studies at the University of Washington, studied the Bracero Program, documenting the "wretched living and working conditions, prejudice, ill treatment, and poor wages" experienced by braceros. According to Gamboa, even though braceros faced many legal and economic adversities, they profoundly influenced the Pacific Northwest and maintained the economic growth while the country was at war. I still regret that I was not able to interview Gamboa for my book Latinx@UW in 2017, when he retired after 33 years on the university faculty and in service of Latinx community in Washington and the U.S.

Gamboa was the first Latino professor to gain tenure at the University of Washington, and his relentless dedication to the Latinx community made an indelible mark in Washington. Shortly after his retirement, Gamboa and the Seattle community celebrated the opening of one of the projects he had been promoting for a long time: The Sea Mar Museum of Latinx Culture, near the King County Airport at Boeing Field. The museum tells the history of the Latinx community and culture through stories, artifacts and photos. One of the displays at the museum is a farm worker cabin with artifacts from the 1950s, during the heyday of the Bracero program, transported to the museum from Eastern Washington.

The end of the Bracero Program in 1964 coincided with the criminalization of migration from Mexico and Central America with the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965. Before 1965, Mexicans were generally excluded from immigration enforcement on the grounds that they were not immigrants but seasonal labor. The Immigration Act of 1907 applied only to immigrants arriving by sea, not to those arriving by land on the Southern border. The Immigration Act of 1924 placed specific restrictions on Eastern European immigrants, but not on Mexicans. This made Mexican and other Central American migration circular and mostly temporary, with workers entering the US and working for a few months, then returning to their home countries. With the Immigration Reform Act of 1965, Mexican and Central American migrants without proper documentation became "illegal" and therefore deportable. Nonetheless, the border remained porous, with the number of entries mostly offset by the number of departures, until the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 signed into law by President Reagan. With that legislation, some undocumented migrants were given legal status,

but crackdowns on illegal immigration were increased. It became illegal to hire workers without proper documents, and many sections of the US-Mexico Border were militarized. This ended the traditional circular patterns of workers returning home, and immigrant workers instead started to find ways to bring their families and settle in the U.S. The increased border security has also made immigrant workers more vulnerable to exploitation by traffickers and coyotes who handle the transport across the border, and by employers who prey on the vulnerability of workers and provide unsafe working conditions and reduced pay. Undocumented farm workers help keep costs of production low, at the expense of their lives and wellbeing as some of the most vulnerable people in society.

Immigrant farm workers continue to be the pillars of labor in the fruit orchards and vineyards, and to a lesser extent, in the large-scale mechanized agricultural farms of Eastern Washington. Today, more than half of Washington's farm labor jobs are concentrated along the Columbia Basin of Eastern Washington, with demand for workers doubling during the summer months. The University of Washington hosts the Seattle Civil Rights and Labor History Project, an initiative that documents the history of farm workers and other civil rights movements in Washington State. They describe how Asians and Latinos entered the fields after the 1930s, and the struggles to organize by Mexican Americans in the 1940s and 1950s. The labor organizing among farm workers in the 1960s drew from the example of farm workers in California and from the spread of the Chicano/a Student Movement, which resulted in strikes during the early 1970s and the widespread movement of farmworkers in the 1980s, led by the example of the iconic labor leader and organizer Cesar Chavez, among others. The struggle to organize farm laborers in Washington State continued into the 2000s. In 2006, for example, the "Day Without Immigrants" gathered the largest demonstrations in the history of Yakima, where there is the highest concentration of Latinx immigrants in Eastern Washington. In 2020, farmworkers fought for better protections against COVID-19, in addition to better pay and working conditions. One of the inequities highlighted by the COVID-19 pandemic is the irony of considering farmworkers to be essential workers, while denying them living wages and humane working conditions, and continuing to target undocumented immigrant farmworkers for detention and deportation. In 2021, the Washington State Legislature finally approved Senate Bill 5172, a bill that guarantees overtime pay for all farmworkers

who work more than 40 hours per week. Farmworkers had been excluded from overtime pay since the 1930s, but in February 2021 the Washington State Supreme Court ruled that the overtime exemption for dairy workers violated the State Constitution. Bill 5172 goes further to remove the exemption for all agricultural workers, not just dairy workers. This is another small step forward to recognize the rights of farm workers in Washington State.

The Work of the UW Center for Human Rights

Angelina Snodgrass Godoy is the Director of the UW Center for Human Rights (UWCHR), and she holds the Helen H. Jackson Chair in Human Rights at the Jackson School of International Studies. She has piercing brown eyes, blonde hair, and a generous smile. I first interviewed her in 2017 for a different project on the Latinx community at UW. At that time, I spoke to two dozen faculty, staff, and students who self-identified as Latinx and, with the help of photos and objects to stimulate the conversation, we talked about where they came from, how they got to the UW, where they feel a sense of belonging, and their understanding of success. I spoke to undocumented and first-generation students as well as US-born students with college-educated parents; I spoke to new faculty and tenured faculty in different fields, and even to the President of the university, who agreed to participate while acknowledging that the most difficult part may be scheduling her time. The result, published in the book "Latinx @ UW," presents a tapestry of images and stories of the Latinx experience at UW, with an emphasis on the importance of mentors and role models, and seeing and admiring "people who look like me," in the path to success at the university. My friendship with Angelina grew from that meeting, and years later, while having coffee and talking about the work for human rights in Washington State, she suggested I do something creative to help talk about the result of their work. That conversation eventually led to this book.

Angelina

I visited Angelina in June 2017 in her office, at a time when we did not think twice about meeting indoors or working on campus. Her office has walls painted bright yellow. It is tastefully decorated with Guatemalan weavings, family pictures, and live plants by the window, all under the watchful eye of Mons. Oscar Romero behind her desk. Mons. Romero was a progressive Catholic bishop from El Salvador who spoke out for human rights and against the violence and social injustice in the country. El Salvador is the smallest and most densely populated country in Central America, with one of the worst histories of violence. Archbishop Romero was murdered by a sniper while officiating mass in March 1980. A few days before, he had written a letter to then-US President Jimmy Carter, asking him not to send more military aid to El Salvador. In his letter, Mons. Romero argued that "the contribution of your government, instead of promoting greater justice and peace in El Salvador will without doubt sharpen the injustice and repression against the organizations of the people which repeatedly have been struggling to gain respect for their most fundamental human rights." Although no one was ever convicted for the assassination of Mons. Romero, the UN Truth Commission for El Salvador accused death squad leader Roberto D'Aubuisson of the murder. At that time, Napoleon Duarte had been the head of the military junta from 1980 to 1982, and with the support of President Reagan and the CIA, Duarte became President of El Salvador from 1984 to 1989, the worst period of the Salvadoran Civil War.

The Salvadoran Civil War characterized by forced displacements, political assassinations, and massacres of civilians, which resulted in more than 75,000 people killed between 1979 and 1992, according to UN reports. It prompted the forced migration of more than one million Salvadorans—about one-fifth of the population at the time—within the country, to neighboring countries, and, especially, to the US. The influx of immigrants from El Salvador and other Central American countries into the is, in part, caused by the human rights abuses of governments in those countries who were supported, trained, and financed by the US. Mons. Romero was declared a martyr in 2015, and then a saint in 2018. When I entered Angelina's office and saw the picture of Mons. Oscar Romero dominating the space with his gaze, I knew he had undoubtedly played an important role in her life.

I soon learned that Angelina is part Colombian, which gave us a special connection because I, too, am Colombian. I learned that her mom was Colombian, her dad was from Texas, and that she was born in England but grew up in Los Angeles. Growing up, she frequently visited Colombia with her mom, which helped strengthen her roots as a Latina. Since I was asking the interviewees to bring an object that represented their Latinx identity, she brought to the interview a bracelet given to her by her mother. It is a golden bracelet with pre-Columbian figures and emeralds, which reminded Angelina of her mom and of Colombia, but she did not wear it much because she felt it did not match her style. She then also showed me something she does wear often: a pendant with a pre-Columbian figure, but one made of white gold, rather than the yellow gold of traditional pre-Columbian figures. "I liked it a lot because it fits in with what I wear," she told me. "This is kind of my mom's gift to me, a pre-Colombian jewel, but it is something that I feel more directly represents my mezcla (mix). It is less overtly Colombian, but it is a little bit Colombian. I feel it's meaningful to me because it represents my mixings of cultures."

Figure 7: Angelina in her office, under the gaze of Mons. Romero

This mixing of cultures is important to understading the unique drive that Angelina brings to her work as Director of the Center for Human Rights. When we met in March 2021 to discuss her work, we did not meet in her office under the watchful eye of Mons. Romero. Instead, we did it over Zoom, like all other interviews for this book. One year before, in March 2020, the world had shut down due to COVID-19, and almost all personal interactions moved online. Our teaching and research, as well as our celebrations of graduations, birthdays, weddings, and funerals, all shifted online. By 2021, doing interviews over Zoom seemed natural, though we still missed sharing a tinto (Colombian small cup of black coffee) as part of the conversation.

Angelina reminded me that she is a professor at UW, who teaches regular classes like any other faculty member, but she also directs the Center for Human Rights. She coordinates the work of the Center, which frequently means encouraging others to get involved in human rights research, and to find ways to meet the needs of community-based activists and workers for human rights. According to its website, the UW Center for Human Rights is "committed to interdisciplinary excellence in the education of undergraduate and graduate students in the field of human rights; promoting human rights as a core area of faculty and graduate research; and engaging productively with local, regional, national, and international organizations and policymakers to advance respect for human rights." This broad mandate, established by the Washington State legislature in 2009, places the Center in the unique situation of focusing on real-world social change through partnerships with frontline organizations working for human rights, putting the resources of a public university at the service of social change in the real world. I asked Angelina what it was like to do this kind of work at a public university, and she smiled saying she could not compare because she has not done this type of work in a private university setting, and she added: "I guess I would say that I understand it to be part of our mission as a public research university, we're training ourselves and our students to do research. But that research should be put at the service of some broader public need. And that is exactly what we are trying to do here, by focusing not only on human rights as a subject area, but on specific needs articulated to us by people who are active in human rights outside the academy."

Public Records and Human Rights in El Salvador

When the Washington legislature created the UW Center for Human Rights, it gave it a mandate, but did not provide any resources to carry it out. What drew Angelina to this job, she told me in an earlier conversation in 2020 as part of a different project, was that the university was looking for a scholar of human rights who was involved in real-world human rights struggles. Even though she did not intend to be an academic, she applied in the spirit of trying it out, and found her calling. She was a natural choice to be the Center's director starting in 2009. Since there was no funding with the mandate to do real-world human rights research and education, she turned to her existing partnerships and relationships doing human rights research in El Salvador. Her Salvadoran collaborators asked her to help them gain access to documents that could shed light on crimes against humanity committed during the Civil War in El Salvador in the 1980s, most of which are still awaiting justice. Angelina describes the context in which they started this work:

> *And so, the folks that we were working with, and continue to work with them today, are people seeking justice, truth, and understanding of what happened during that armed conflict. And because their own government has denied their access to records of the armed conflict, they know that the United States government provided a lot, billions of dollars of assistance to the Salvadoran government and has very detailed records of day-by-day reports from the field of what was happening during the war. So, these folks in El Salvador need that information, in many cases to help families find the remains of lost loved ones, or to seek justice in the courts against those who are responsible for those crimes, and they do not have access to those records. And they know that through the Freedom of Information Act in the United States, researchers can obtain access to those records. So, they asked us to do that. And we decided to step up to that challenge. That led to many years of work, of learning how to use FOIA for human rights purposes, building a team that could do that, and continuing our partnership with folks in El Salvador who continue to use the information that we've been able to uncover through those processes.*

This was the beginning of the research using Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) for human rights research at UW. Journalists and other organizations such as the National Security Archive in Washington DC have also done this type of work, bringing to light records about government actions that would otherwise never have come to light. Over the past dozen years, the UW Center for Human Rights has filed hundreds of FOIA requests to different federal agencies that hold information related to the armed conflict in El Salvador. As a result of this work, the Center for Human Rights has received many documents that had never been seen before by the public, such as documents about military campaigns in which major massacres happened, including details of which units participated, the commanding officer of each military campaign, when and where they departed from, and how they advanced toward their targets. These documents help us understand the movement of troops and helicopters, and the military maneuvers that resulted in horrific massacres and abuses against the population. "Family members are in some cases still looking for the remains of their loved ones. In other cases, they seek just truth about who gave this order and why. In other cases, all they want is corroboration that what they recall is true, because it's been systematically denied in their own country." Angelina's focus on serving the needs of the most vulnerable, the families of the victims of the conflict, is an important engine behind the direction of the Center for Human Rights. So is the need for transparency, making the information publicly available. Through a partnership with UW Libraries, all documents that have been uncovered related to El Salvador human rights violations are publicly available, searchable in full text, without any kind of subscription or paywall. Angelina is very proud that this is the result of her work and her team of collaborators.

In one of my classes on information and social justice we explore the database of UWCHR El Salvador Freedom of Information Act Documents and contrast it with the powerful testimonials of the documentary "The Offended: The Legacy of the Internal Armed Conflict in El Salvador." The documentary is made by the daughter of a Salvadoran political leader who was detained and tortured at the time of the Civil War. The daughter-filmmaker asks the dad-political-prisoner about the experience of being tortured. She also interviews one of the torturers at the time, one who remembers her dad. In a moving scene, she asks the torturer to draw on the floor the size of the cells in which prisoners were held for days—many of them

died—and then asks him to stand in the small square he drew with chalk on the floor. The image of the torturer standing in the spot where his victims were held is most powerful. Many of the interviewees mention the name of an army officer

ordering or supervising the torture and assassinations, General Eugenio Vides Casanova. In class, we look up his name in the database of documents released through FOIA: it appears on 73 of them. The first one on the list describes Vides Casanova as one of the most powerful officers in El Salvador, with control "over the activities of the civilian politicians and government administrators. [redacted] no major policy decision can be made by those civilians without the approval of the High Command [redacted] Vides Casanova will play a key role in holding together the fragile political-military coalition that governs the country." Later in the document, the CIA brief mentions the General's attitude toward the US: "A friend of the United States, Vides Casanova welcomes this country's support for his government [redacted]. Like Garcia, he [redacted] takes into consideration US concerns about Salvadoran events. [redacted]." In other words, Vides Casanova was known by the CIA to control the reins of power, with the advantage of being a welcoming friend of the United States.

The forced release of US government documents pertaining to El Salvador has helped the human rights organizations that are still trying to bring army officers to justice in El Salvador. But this process has not always been easy, given that the US agencies that obtain the information about human rights abuses are not always eager to comply with the information requests. In fact, the Center for Human Rights, which really means the University of Washington–since the Center is not a separate entity—had to file several lawsuits against the CIA and Department of Defense in order to access the records. Suing the CIA was a new experience for Angelina. Suing the CIA was never the goal, and her intentions were never political against the CIA nor the federal government, quite the contrary. But the Center had filed a FOIA request seeking information about an officer in El Salvador, "a well-known colonel in the Salvadoran army who's still alive today. And the CIA had responded that they did not have any records about that man. They gave us what is called a Glomar response, in which they say we can neither confirm nor deny the existence of records about this person. So, it is basically a brick wall. But at the same time, on their own website, the CIA's own website, there were multiple documents pertaining to him, one of which even had the subject line of the document, the

title of it, was this guy's name. And so, it just seemed like an absurd failure to take seriously the principles of transparency that are encoded in FOIA."

When they first received this response, the brick wall, Angelina and her team thought it was ridiculous. They knew the CIA was not following the law, but they never thought of fighting the CIA in court. "But then I thought back to the family members that my students and I had met in El Salvador, who were seeking, like I said, just basic fairness in the case of horrific violence that transpired against their loved ones. And I thought, would I go back to them and say, well, yeah, we could not find the information, the CIA had it, but they did not want to give it to us, so we just gave up. And I thought, no. I mean, I owe it to those people to take this as far as I can take it. And so, I did. So, I said, okay, the next step then, the only step that remained after the CIA gave us that response, after we appealed one time and they maintained their intransigence, the only step that remained was for us to take them to court. And I thought, well, why wouldn't we do it? I know that we are right. And it turned out to be the right decision because we took them to court and wound up obtaining documents that had never before been seen, including documents that attribute specific deaths and disappearances to military campaigns headed by this man. So, we won!"

Despite obtaining the records they were seeking, the lawsuit against the CIA was not an easy task, and it took a huge toll on Angelina. She pointed out that the Center is a part of the University as a whole, not an independent legal unit, so she had to go up all the levels of the University hierarchy to ask the University to take this action on behalf of the Center. It went all the way up through the deans to the Provost, the President, and the Board of Regents. They were all behind it. \

> *So yes, the University of Washington writ large, sued the CIA. And I was very proud of that. I was telling you that I felt like I could not say to the family members of the disappeared: oh, well, we gave up because it was the CIA, because we were afraid, or because we did not think we would win. But I thought, well, that is my commitment, because I have sat down with these folks at the massacre sites, and I have seen their suffering in a very clear and palpable way. But I do not know that my dean is going to have the same reaction, or these other folks above me. But in fact, as I went through all those conversations and described the research need, it was not about the politics,*

it was not about national interests, it was just about the research need and about the government not following the law. Everybody agreed and said this is a clear case.

And so, the University of Washington sued the CIA. And when we sued, it turned out that we were the first university, not just the first public university, but the first university at all, to sue the CIA under FOIA. On the one hand, I felt proud of us. And then on the other hand, I thought, my God, what are the other universities doing? Like, this is basic, this is a branch of the US government. They are doing important and oftentimes hotly questioned work. And so, I think it is a core function of universities to be understanding what governments are involved in, in particular in places where abuses are being committed or suspected to be committed. And so, I think this is a core research function that all universities should be doing, but not all are. So, I'm proud to be part of one that is."

It makes me proud as well, to be part of a university that took on the CIA. And won, which is even better. Through UW Libraries, anybody in the world can now search and access 517 documents obtained through FOIA pertaining to US knowledge of military actions during the Salvadoran Civil War; they are being used to reaffirm that the massacres and other military actions did happen, and to bring those responsible to justice. The large portrait of Mons. Romero in Angelina's office is smiling a bit more.

Human Rights in Washington State

Phil

If Angelina is the brain behind UWCHR, Phil Neff is the first mate, making sure everything runs smoothly. He almost always wears a beanie, including during Zoom meetings, and when he really wants to think about what he will say he looks off to some magic spot off to the side, as if answers were waiting for him there. He has been interested in human rights advocacy since high school, when he witnessed important events in the world around him that shaped his world view. One of them was the WTO protests in Seattle in November 1999. Tens of thousands of demonstrators came together to protest the gathering of the World

Trade Organization (WTO), a body that regulates international trade for the benefit of large capital, with important implications for the environment, labor standards, and human rights. Massive amounts of tear gas and rubber bullets were used against demonstrators and nearly 600 people were arrested, though some had nothing to do with the protests. The riots shed light on the WTO and its machinations, and forced the organization to become slightly more transparent, open a dispute resolution process, release documents about its work, and initiate a regular forum for people to voice their concerns. James Gregory, a UW history professor, suggests that the most long-lasting effects of the WTO protests might be that they established connections between the labor movement and the environmental movement, and rekindled a progressive agenda of social change. Phil was not in Seattle at the time of the WTO protests, but he was in Washington State and knew friends who went to Seattle for the event, and he lived it through their experiences. Other events that helped shape Phil's world view included September 11, 2001, when al-Qaeda terrorists carried out suicide attacks against the US, including flying two planes against the Twin Towers of the World Trade Center in New York City. The terrorist attacks of 9/11 left over 3,000 people dead, and they triggered several major US initiatives to combat terrorism under President G. W. Bush, which resulted in the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, the beginning of the electronic surveillance overreach by the National Security Agency, the creation of black detention sites overseas where the CIA tortured prisoners under the guise of "enhanced interrogation techniques," and the detention of so-called "enemy combatants" in Guantanamo Bay, a prison that still today continues to hold 40 prisoners, most of whom have never been formally charged or gone to trial. These events made Phil become very aware of human rights issues globally during high school, and he got involved with Amnesty International student groups. In college, he went on a month-long human rights seminar with Angelina in Guatemala in 2005, which started a professional relationship that continues to this day.

Phil's awareness of global issues such as the WTO protests and the aftermath of the 9/11 strikes, and hearing directly from human rights defenders, survivors, and victims about the civil war in Guatemala–a war rooted in US foreign policy, anticommunism, and rampant US capitalism–were powerful experiences that made him commit to working for human rights. After returning from Guatemala,

he joined an organization called Network in Solidarity with the People of Guatemala—in which he now serves as a board member—with whom he worked as a volunteer human rights observer, and then, a coordinator of human rights observers. At the time, they were accompanying plaintiffs in the national genocide case against Efrain Rios Montt, an army officer and politician who became de facto President of Guatemala in 1982-83.

During his brief tenure, he oversaw one of the bloodiest periods of the Guatemalan Civil War, which led to the deaths or "forced disappearances" of over 200,000 people between 1960 and 1996. In 2013, Rios Montt was tried and convicted of genocide and crimes against humanity that included massacres, rapes, and torture, mostly against the Guatemalan indigenous population. He is the first former President convicted for crimes against humanity in his own country. The conviction was overturned, and a new trial ordered, but the court later decided he was too old to stand trial; nonetheless, the fact that he went to trial and was convicted was a huge victory for human rights in Guatemala and around the world.

Phil's experience in Guatemala prepared him well for the work with the UW Center for Human Rights, where he started working in 2015. At the time, the Center was working with groups of survivors and victims in El Salvador, seeking justice for crimes during the civil war. He worked on several projects, including a large oral history project and the nascent FOIA research that sought to obtain records from US federal agencies to support frontline human rights organizations in El Salvador. The most useful documents that came out of that effort, he recalls, revealed information about the chain of command in specific historic military campaigns associated with massacres, one of which was used as evidence in a ruling by the Salvadoran Supreme Court. El Salvador has a long history of massacres that go back to the 1932 massacre of peasants by the Salvadoran Army, where between 10,000 and 40,000 people were killed, and include a student massacre in 1975 in the National Hospital of Rosales (unknown deaths, over 100), and the massacre on the Cathedral slope in 1979, in which 24 people were killed.

During the time of the Civil War, 1979-1992, there were 27 documented massacres, the most infamous of them in 1980 in Chalatenango department, in which 300-600 refugees killed, many of them shot while trying to escape the killings by crossing the Sumpul River into Honduras. Another happened in 1981 in the village

of El Mozote in Morazan department, when 800 civilians were killed by soldiers of the Atlacatl Battalion, a rapid deployment infantry battalion created at the US Army School of the Americas and trained for counter-insurgency warfare. Most of the village men were tortured, and most women and girls were raped before being murdered.

The massacre that is documented in detail by the UW Center for Human Rights, thanks to FOIA-obtained documents and testimonies from witnesses and survivors, is the Santa Cruz massacre that occurred in Cabañas department in November 1981. The report offers a detailed account of the events as they were experienced by survivors and witnesses to the massacre, the one-sided reporting on the massacre in the Salvadoran media at the time, the reports of the events as presented by the UN Truth Commission, and finally, an account of those responsible, in part based on the evidence provided by records obtained by the UW Center for Human Rights through FOIA and ensuing litigation. There is overwhelming evidence that the Santa Cruz massacre was conducted under the command of Lt. Col. Sigifredo Ochoa Perez, with the full knowledge and support of the US. CIA refusal to disclose documents regarding Lt. Col. Ochoa after repeated FOIA requests are what led the University of Washington to file a lawsuit against the CIA in 2015.

According to Phil, one of the things they found doing the work with survivors of the massacres and families of the disappeared in El Salvador was "just a hunger for any form of documentation regarding their loved ones, even if it was not something with a material use for a specific justice process, just any document establishing that the disappearance had been reported." In the face of one-sided media accounts and official denials of any of the killings had ever taken place, just the confirmation that they did happen, and that the world knows about them, gave great solace to survivors and families of victims. The knowledge of what happened, its disclosure in all its gory details, is part of the healing.

Working with local partners to monitor compliance with laws that protect immigrants

As the Center for Human Rights conducted more research on immigrants' rights

in Washington State, more local frontline human rights organizations sought to partner with the Center and the University to help advance the cause of human rights in the state. Using the same work logic developed in El Salvador, and in the early human rights efforts in Washington, Angelina and the team at the Center for Human Rights worked on what "those in the trenches of human rights work are saying we need to support" with research. From Angelina's perspective, the work of the Center will be better if it actually serves those working for human rights on the ground; furthermore, it will help fulfil the mandate of the Center, which was created precisely to work on the front lines of human rights. "This unique model not only serves the wider human rights community with academic research needed to garner greater impact, but also ensures that scholarly research is deeply informed by frontline insights." The Center's local partners "from the trenches" include key players in immigration and human rights such as:

- The Washington branch of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) – one of the largest state affiliates of the nation's premier civil rights and civil liberties organization;
- OneAmerica – the largest immigrant and refugee advocacy organization in Washington State, founded immediately after 9/11 to address the backlash, hate crimes, and discrimination against immigrant communities;
- Northwest Immigrant Rights Project (NWIRP) – a nonprofit organization that promotes justice by defending and advancing the rights of immigrants through direct legal services, systemic advocacy, and community education;
- Columbia Legal Services – an organization that advocates for laws that advance social, economic, and racial equity for people living in poverty, and represents communities with limited access to legal services due to their immigration status;
- Washington Immigrant Solidarity Network (WAISN) – an immigrant-led coalition of immigrant and refugee-rights organizations that seeks to protect and advance the power of immigrant and refugee communities; and
- Washington Defender Association (WDA) – an organization that seeks to be the voice of the public defense community and supports zealous and high-

quality legal representation that promotes dignity and equity.

This set of heavy lifters in the field of human rights action in Washington State inform the direction and priorities for UWCHR. In recent years, they have been adamant about the need to better understand how communities across Washington State are affected by violations of immigrant rights and, in particular, the enforcement of laws pertaining to immigrant rights in the state. This has become especially salient after the passing of two laws intended to promote greater support for immigrant rights in Washington: Keep Washington Working (KWW) and Courts Open to All (COTA).

Keep Washington Working (KWW, SB 5497, 2019) protects privacy and civil rights of all by prohibiting state and local law enforcement from asking or collecting place of birth, immigration status, or nationality; stopping or detaining someone to determine immigration status; holding people for federal immigration officers or notifying them of when someone will be released from custody; and sharing information or collaborating with federal immigration officers to perform immigration enforcement duties, among other provisions. These measures prevent federal immigration officials from using scarce local public safety resources, and helps protect the state's economy by creating opportunities and safety measures for the state's agricultural labor workforce.

Courts Open to All (COTA, SB 6522, 2020) protects all people from warrantless civil immigration arrests at courthouses in Washington, and requires courts to collect information on immigration agents' surveillance activities at courthouses, among other provisions. These measures help build community trust in local courts, ensure access to courts for everyone, and prevent immigration agents from interfering with the functioning of local courts.

Civil rights advocates such as the ACLU have long advocated for the designation of courthouses as "sensitive locations" like schools and hospitals, where ICE and CBP generally refrain from immigration enforcement. Even Washington State Supreme Court Chief Justice Mary Fairhurst wrote a letter in 2017 to the Secretary of the Department of Homeland Security, which oversees ICE and CBP. In her letter, Justice Fairhurst expresses the concern of the court regarding immigration agents being increasingly present in and around Washington courthouses, which

impedes the fundamental mission of the courts: to ensure due process and access to justice for everyone, regardless of immigration status. Chief Justice Fairhurst explicitly asked the Department of Homeland Security to designate courthouses as "sensitive locations" in order to help maintain the trust in the court as a safe and neutral public forum, and to assure all Washingtonians that they can and should appear for court hearings without fear of detention for civil immigration violations. Nonetheless, the Department of Homeland Security not only denied this request, but in 2018 ICE prepared a four-page policy directive establishing procedures for courthouse arrests.

Protections for immigrant communities in Washington require some changes in the behaviors and practices of local and state law enforcement in order for these agencies to remain in compliance with the law. Such changes are hard and slow to implement, especially where there is little political will, and especially, when there is disagreement with the spirit of the law among law enforcement officers and staff. One of the limitations of the KWW and COTA laws that protect immigrants' rights in Washington is that they do not have any teeth: there are no clear consequences for noncompliance, which makes their oversight and enforcement hard. Since the resources of the Attorney General's office are limited, it is left to community and human rights organizations to monitor implementation and compliance with the laws. The UW Center for Human works with local human rights organizations, such as those mentioned above, to monitor the compliance of law enforcement with laws pertaining to immigrant rights to advance the protection and promotion of human rights in Washington State.

Human Rights Research and Latinx Student Experiences

When Phil participated in a human rights seminar as a college student with Angelina, he did not know that would eventually lead to the work he is doing now, more than fifteen years later. Phil is the Project Coordinator at the UW Center for Human Rights, which means he makes sure everything is working smoothly. Most importantly, perhaps, is that he manages how and where the information is stored, who has access to it, and how the work of all members of the research team comes together. These are by no means easy tasks given the nature of the work itself: it is all about information, and most of the information is sensitive. Phil does his work

with great care and attention to detail, while keeping an eye on the big picture. He feels his work is important because it supports the broad idea that human rights are for everyone:

> *"It supports an internationalist understanding of human rights and human dignity that all people have. All people should have rights and dignity, wherever they live and work, regardless of their national origin. That's something that I believe philosophically, and I think working to make sure that people's rights and dignity are respected, de jure under the law is important, and I think one of the most effective ways to do that, is to support the frontline groups working to uphold people's rights. And that includes both the legal advocacy that our partners on the Observatory work do, and also the grassroots organizing, that partners like La Resistencia do as well. And so, to be able to put the resources of the university at the service of those efforts, I think is important, and I think it has shown itself to be able to be effective as well, and so that feels really good."*

I asked Angelina, the Director of the Center for Human Rights, why she does the work she does. Like most of us, she had a personal story to share:

> *"I feel like there are so many motivations. I mean, many things that are built upon one another over the course of my whole career. You know, one thing that got me interested in human rights at a relatively young age, when I was in college, was that in Colombia, my uncle was killed under circumstances that were never clarified, but that had some sort of political tinge to them. I was in college, and that was such a shock to me, and in many ways, it also led me to become interested in human rights, to become interested in what is happening in Colombia, and how he could have been a victim of something like that. And then I saw human rights in general as a lens through which to understand human dignity and efforts to achieve greater human dignity. So that was a very profoundly personal motivation that started me on this path. But then, over the years of being on this path, which coincided with me going to get a PhD, and then eventually becoming a professor and focusing all of my work on human rights. That is where I do my research. That is what I teach. That's everything that I do."*

The focus on immigrants' rights in Washington State has opened more

opportunities for the Center for Human Rights to establish collaborations with university faculty in different departments and disciplines to work on human rights research. In 2020, the Center created the Immigrant Rights Observatory. The Observatory, which encompasses a loose coalition of researchers, explores the implementation and compliance with the new state laws related to immigrant rights: the Keep Washington Working (KWW) Act of 2019, and the Courts Open to All (COTA) act of 2020 discussed earlier. The Immigrant Rights Observatory is designed to monitor the compliance with these two laws, in order to inform the work of community groups in Washington. The Observatory includes faculty leaders from the UW programs of Law, Societies and Justice, Sociology, International Studies, Interdisciplinary Arts and Sciences, and myself, from the Information School. Each one of us has our own motivations to work in support of human rights and immigrant rights.

I do this work because I am an immigrant myself, and because I want to be part of making this a better world for all, not just for those with privilege and power. I see my academic work as part of a relentless pursuit of social justice and equity, although academia does not always lend itself for this type of work. Both Angelina and I have learned to be critical of university research that is just concerned with extracting information and publishing academic papers, with little regard for the people who are suffering and without giving anything back to them. In addition, we are both critical of how academia tends to privilege certain types of knowledge and certain people as knowledge producers, which is part of why I work to highlight the lives and experiences of people such as undocumented migrants, day laborers, domestic workers–people who are systematically excluded not only from mainstream society, but from the work of knowledge production in universities. Angelina insists that while there is a lot of knowledge and skills to do research in academia,

> *one of the areas where I think we need collectively to do better, is in putting those skills at the service of communities who have long been neglected, or excluded, or marginalized. And one of the reasons it is hard for academic institutions to do that, is because academic institutions privilege the knowledge of other people, not the marginalized or excluded. So that becomes a disturbing tendency for those of us in academic institutions who study human rights, to study it in a way that extracts lessons from people suffering, without actually*

giving much, if anything, back to those people. So, I'm trying to build the pathways to understand the ways in which humankind has developed tools to combat suffering and to make the world better. But I think that that understanding, those research questions, can only really be answered when they are answered in partnership with the people who are leading those struggles. And the attempts that some of us often make to study those things as academics from a distance, I think, contributes to the problem. So that is why I'm trying to think, in ever more self-critical ways, about ways that the tools that we marshal at the University, can be put at the service of social change, led by those who have never experienced the university or the law as being liberatory, but those to whom we owe that debt of working to bring about a better world.

I find Angelina's words, and her work, to be most inspiring. Before the launch of the Immigrant Rights Observatory, I was having coffee with her one morning, discussing ways in which I could get involved in a meaningful way with that work. We talked about how I like to do creative, unconventional, and artistic things, in addition to more traditional academic work. She wondered if there would be a way of using Photostories, a research method I developed that uses participatory photography to complement interviews, to present the work of the Observatory. In the course of that conversation, we gave birth to the idea of interviewing Latinx students from UW who come from the communities most affected by the immigration enforcement practices we were scrutinizing at the Center for Human Rights. In the past few years, I did two other books based on interviews with Latinx faculty, students, and staff, and Angelina was part of both. For this new project, we decided I could focus on the lived experiences of Latinx students from Eastern Washington, and somehow, weave their stories together with the results of the work of the Immigrant Rights Observatory. That morning conversation over coffee led to this book, which weaves together those two stories.

One of the challenges of weaving the stories of Latinx students together with the analysis of immigration enforcement is that they are not necessarily connected, and I don't want to reinforce the stereotype of immigrants as criminals. Latinx students, including those from Eastern Washington, are not necessarily the ones being directly victimized by the illegal practices of law enforcement. Nonetheless, Latinx students are part of the communities that suffer the consequences of

the immigration enforcement behaviors in the state. The official discourse of immigration enforcement agencies is that they are deporting criminals, even though the number of criminals that fall into the deportation machine is tiny: most immigrants do not have criminal records, and their only offense is being in the country without legal authorization, which is not a crime. By collecting and highlighting the lived experiences of Latinx students from Eastern Washington I'm trying to offer a more holistic picture of the lives, hopes, and aspirations of those in the communities impacted by deportations: everyday people living their everyday lives, and trying to make a better life for themselves, their families, and their communities.

At the end of 2020 and the beginning of 2021, I interviewed 25 Latinx students from UW who came mostly from Eastern Washington. Some were alumni, some were graduate students, but the majority were undergraduates pursuing studies in a variety of disciplines. Most were born in the U.S. from immigrant farmworker parents, though some were brought to the U.S. at a young age without immigration documents. We talked about growing up in Eastern Washington, and the paths that led each one of them to the UW.

As children of Latinx immigrant farmworkers, these college students represent a new generation of leaders and changemakers. I discussed with Phil the challenges of putting the stories of Latinx students side by side with stories of law enforcement, and he quickly grasped the value of human interest stories for policymaking, as well as the danger of limiting a person's life and identity to their immigration status:

> *I do think that there are folks in those communities, particularly in Latinx undocumented communities, who are also sort of resistant at times to being defined as solely by that aspect of their identity, by immigration status, and I think there are also questions about how much sharing those kinds of stories actually influences people's perceptions one way or another. So, I think it is important to be obviously responsible with any information that's gathered, but also, like is there a way to put the research in the stories in conversation that doesn't just involve like slotting in a paragraph, that's like someone telling about the terrible day on their life that a family member was picked up by ICE, or the fear that they live with. But that is showing the full portrait of a person who maybe has experienced those things,*

and these are the other areas of their life that they wanted to share, not to justify their goodness or deservingness to be members of the community, but to present them as a full person. I think that's sort of a complicated dance because I think the most common discourses in the media and society are that sort of thing, like, look how great these specific immigrant folks that we like are. Let's make sure that they're not unduly impacted, but maybe it's okay to keep shuffling people from jail into immigration detention, which I think is not the kind of narrative that our partners working on this, working with folks every day, want to put out there, because it normalizes and upholds the idea that some people should be detained by the government solely on the basis of their national origin, and expelled from communities and separated from their family for years, or decades, or forever.

More than focusing on the experience of immigration enforcement on the lives of Latinx students, I asked about their lives growing up, a childhood memory, a story about their parents. In addition, I wanted to hear about the path that brought them to the University of Washington, what helped and what got in the way, and about what makes them Latinx, how it is hard, and what makes them proud. Each conversation was a beautiful and moving testimony of perseverance and hard work. The conversations all took place over Zoom. All participants had a chance to review and edit their transcripts, and to review the manuscript of this book before it was published. Even though many people participated in creating this book, the responsibility for any errors or omissions is only mine.

Othello

I begin the stories of the Latinx students in Othello, a small agricultural town at the south end of the Lower Coulee Valley, below Dry Falls. These geological references are not commonly used for location today. Instead, Luis tells me Othello is about three and a half hours from Seattle, and an hour and a half from Yakima and Tri-Cities. Othello sits right next to the Columbia National Wildlife Refuge and the Drumheller Channels National Natural Landmark. I wonder if the name of Drumheller Channels has any relationship with the iconic Drumheller Fountain on the UW campus, just outside my office window. Standing on UW Red Square on a clear day, there is a spectacular vista of Drumheller Fountain and Mt Rainier in the background. While the fountain was named in 1963 after a former UW Board

of Regents, Joseph Drumheller, I cannot find any information as to the source of the Drumheller Channels name, other than a possible relationship with Daniel Drumheller, a mayor of Spokane in 1891. In any case, and regardless of the origin of the name, the Drumheller Channels are one of the most spectacular examples of the channeled scablands that resulted from the Ice Age floods of Lake Missoula, and the cataclysmic drainage of the floods through the Grand Coulee Valley and the Dry Falls that gave form to the Columbia River basin.

The Drumheller Channels, which connect the Othello Basin to the Quincy Basin and the Lower Coulee, offer a breathtaking landscape, with hundreds of steep walls of basalt surrounded by networks of dry channels, evidence of the power of erosion of the large floods of water, ice and rocks of the end of the Pleistocene, 12,000 years ago. Geologist Harlen Bretz, who first described the glacial flood origins of the Dry Falls in 1923, said of the Drumheller Channels: "Drumheller is the most spectacular tract of butte-and basin scabland on the plateau. It is an almost unbelievable labyrinth of anastomosing [braided] channels, rock basins, and small abandoned cataracts." Right around Othello, the channeled scablands turn into high desert plateau, a desert claimed for agriculture by irrigation off the Columbia River Basin project. The agricultural region surrounding Othello is dominated by large, mechanized farms with oversized tractors and combines, miles of artificial water channels, and precision irrigation systems, all of which transformed the sagebrush arid land into thousands of acres of productive farmland rich with wheat, potatoes, hops, vineyards, and fruit orchards.

Figure 8: Drumheller Channels National Natural Landmark near Othello, WA

One of the common threads among the Latinx students I talked with is their resilience. Resilience is the capacity to recover from difficult life events, and to carry on. Resilience takes time, strength, determination, and help from people around you. The Latinx students I interviewed all show different varieties of resilience, overcoming obstacles while growing up, going to college, and beyond. Some of the obstacles have to do with immigration enforcement, but most are the result of structural inequities of poverty, racism, and a lack of opportunities. Nonetheless, they represent a new generation of Americans who made their way into college, despite all odds, and who are transforming the world around them into a better place for all.

Luis

Luis is one of the few students I spoke to who was brought to the U.S. as a young child. He crossed the border illegally with his parents when he was three months old. Luis is thick-set like a football player, with black hair almost shaved on the sides

to complement a thin, padlock beard, and small, brown tortoiseshell eyeglasses. He grew up in Othello, which he describes as "a super small, politically red town." He points out that people in power are white and very conservative, even though most of the population is Hispanic or identifies as Latinx. His parents settled there when they first arrived from Mexico with him as a baby, and they have worked in agriculture ever since. Luis also worked in agriculture as he was growing up, from picking fruits to diving tractors. His most recent agricultural job was in hay production last summer, after graduating with his bachelor's degree and just before starting his master's in public health. Growing up in a small, rural community of trailer homes outside Othello, Luis was raised with very traditional values and an ethic of hard work instilled by his parents.

> *Growing up, there was not a lot of money to put food on the table. My first couple of years of life, we lived in a very small trailer. I remember we lived off a mobile home that you could literally back up a truck and hitchhike. So, my parents were always joking around that one day in the middle of the night, someone was going to hook it up with a truck and they are just going to drive off with their little trailer. A super small space. We lived there for a couple of years while we saved up. Then I later moved over to a trailer park called Sportsmen. I guess, the nonofficial term would be like "a very sketchy area." There was a lot of activity. And I remember my dad locking the doors every night, making sure we would watch out, like, oh, that car is a little suspicious and this and that. So, growing up, there was always that sense of security.*
>
> *And then my house at one point, it would leak. I remember I would always play little games. We would have to set up pots and pans because our ceiling was denting in and leaking, things like that. Eventually this company came by one day. I remember they offered to inspect the house for free. And then if you qualified, there was this grant with the city or something. People would get their homes remodeled, or like in our case, our little mobile trailer. And so, they actually installed brand new windows, and insulation. All that is just a little bit of a life's experience. Then growing up, we just hang out with our neighbors, whoever was in the area, play soccer, do little things like that, or help our parents out.*

When I was 8-10 years old, I remember that was when I first started going over to the farm where my dad used to work. He used to work at a dairy farm at the time. I would go and feed the little baby animals. And I would help him out a little bit. It was not like a paid job. It was more for the experience. And he would always engrave me with the knowledge, saying "si no quieres estar trabajando aquí en el campo, difícil, en el sol, échale ganas a la escuela y sigue adelante" [if you don't want to be working here in the fields, hard, under the sun, then work hard at school and move ahead].

And it really just engraved education into me, and wanting to pursue higher education. And from there forward he would just say, "vas a ir a la escuela" [you will go to school]. And the first school was high school. He's like "primero haz eso y ahí después vemos qué le hacemos" [first you do that, and then we see what we can do]. And obviously in the back of my mind, there was always this factor of being undocumented.

Having been brought into the country as a small child, Luis qualified for protections for young, undocumented immigrants under Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA). DACA was an executive order by President Obama signed on June 15, 2012, after the failure in Congress to pass the DREAM Act. DACA offered a two-year work permit and temporary protection from deportation to immigrants brought as minors into the country without legal authorization, as long as they were enrolled in school, had completed high school, or had served in the U.S. Armed Forces, and had not been convicted of a felony or serious misdemeanor, among other requirements. DACA does not offer a path to permanent residence or US citizenship, but it at least offers reprieve from the threat of deportation, and allows DACA recipients to legally work in the US for two years at a time. DACA has been repeatedly challenged in courts by Republicans, and President Trump unsuccessfully tried to repeal it. President Biden reinstated DACA on his first day in office as President on January 20, 2021.

Once he graduated from Othello High School, Luis qualified for DACA, and was able to work and study for his bachelor's degree at the University of Washington. His drive to pursue education was instilled by his parents, and he dedicated his undergraduate diploma, which he obtained in June 2020, to them. Luis points

out that "they have taught me the ways, they have paved the way for me, they've sacrificed so much from leaving their country for a better future for us...they've dedicated their whole life for me to find myself in a better future." His parents came to Seattle for the first time to celebrate his graduation. Even though it was online, in the middle of COVID-19 restrictions, they came to Seattle to celebrate with Luis: "I had a small gathering with 10 friends. And they came up to my house here in Seattle, because I was living with a couple of other guys and we were able to celebrate. We did a virtual graduation. So, it was a little different. But we made it happen. They looked like they were happy, and we all had a good time."

Figure 9: Trailer park where Luis grew up, near Othello, WA

After my conversation with Luis, I kept remembering his vivid description of where he grew up and the small trailer that leaked. Before one of my trips to Eastern Washington I asked him if he would tell me more details of where it was, so I could go see it. Even though what I really wanted to do was to meet his parents, share a meal, talk with them about their lives as immigrant farm workers and the success of their son, now in graduate school at UW, all I could do was silently walk around the place and imagine the stories in silence. Luis gave me directions to the trailer park and described where his family's trailer used to be. I walked around the trailer

park on a cold spring morning, as high school students lined up to board a school bus. The schools reopened for in-person instruction in Othello before they did in Seattle, so it was a strange sight to see students attending school in person. In my mind, each one of those students boarding the bus was Luis, and each one of the dilapidated trailers in the trailer park was his trailer.

My heart ached with the palpable poverty, and I had to re-read the transcript of his interview to remind myself that, despite all odds, Luis is now in a better place: he is a graduate student of public health at the University of Washington, where he is getting ready to change the world.

Ariana

My Mexican colleague Geno interviewed a few of the participants in this project, including Ariana. Ariana grew up in Connell, near Othello, where Luis grew up. Like Othello, Connell is surrounded by farms. Aerial pictures show a delicate pattern of green circles over brown background, evidence of the central pivot irrigation systems that turns the sagebrush desert of the scablands into fertile grounds for agriculture. Like Luis – though by sheer coincidence — Ariana also graduated with a degree in Public Health. She now works with the Washington Chapter of the American Academy of Pediatrics, where she strives to improve access and quality health care for children and families. She is thankful for her education at UW, which allowed her to live the life she has today. She describes her life a typical picture of a middle-class American:

> *"I am a homeowner, I have a car, and I have a stable job. I do not have to worry about how I am going to pay my rent because of all these little things that accumulated through the years that helped me be successful. And a great deal of this is because I was able to receive my education and where I received it. I am married, I have a two-year-old son, and we have a dog. I have picked up running lately, for fun. So, we get on our treadmill or, if it is a nice day, we go for a walk. I live in a lovely neighborhood. We live within walking distance to a park. Everything is accessible here. I live near my family, and I can't wait until COVID is over so I can see everybody again."*

This picture is a far cry from where Ariana started out, growing up in Connell. Ariana was born in the US, but her family traveled back and forth from Mexico for

many years. Her dad worked in agriculture with Lamb Weston, one of the world's leading suppliers of frozen potato products, mostly supplying the fast food industry. The Connell plant today processes 1,100 tons of potatoes a day. Growing up, Ariana spoke Spanish at home and went to a dual-language program in elementary school. All her classmates were Hispanic, Latinx students. She remembers there were no white [non-Latinx] students in her class until fourth grade, when her Spanish-speaking class was integrated with the white, English-speaking class. She still speaks Spanish at home with her family, and by speaking Spanish at work, she can offer more access to health services to families. Ariana is proud of being Latina, and of the path she has made for herself and her family through the education she received at UW.

Moses Lake

North of Othello and the Drumheller Channels, in the direction of Dry Falls,

is Moses Lake. The city of Moses Lake is a mix of a resort town and agricultural town. With a population of around 20,000 it is the largest city in Grant County. The city is right next to a lake with the same name, Moses Lake, which is an 18-mile-long lake with three main arms that is the largest body of fresh water in the county. Moses Lake used to be a small, shallow lake, surrounded by scablands and sagebrush known as Houaph, the ancestral territory of the Sinkiuse Tribe. The Sinkiuse were led by Chief Moses, Sulk-stalk-scosum or "The Sun Chief," during the second half of the 1800s, when American settlers had taken over the tribe's ancestral territory. To protect the white settlers, the U.S. government forced Chief Moses and his people to move into the Columbia Reservation, north of Lake Chelan, and then into the Colville Reservation, where their descendants are today part of the Confederated Tribes of the Colville Reservation. The small, shallow lake, renamed Moses Lake by settlers of German descent in memory of Chief Moses, remained scantly populated by settlers until the 1940s when the U.S. government opened an Air Force base to train pilots for World War II. The Air Force base would also protect the new Grand Coulee Dam to the north, as well as the nuclear fuel production at Hanford, to the south. As part of the Columbia Basin Irrigation Project, Moses Lake was flooded to its current size in the 1950s, opening the region up for industrial agriculture. The farmland in the Moses Lake region is fertile and rich, thanks to the Columbia Basin Irrigation

Project. Local crops include potatoes, apples, wheat, barley, carrots, corn, onions, peaches, cherries, and mint. Food processing in Grant County is a $364 million industry every year.

Three of the Latinx students I spoke with for this project were born in Moses Lake, but two of them moved and grew up in nearby Quincy, closer to the Columbia River. I drove around the fields and processing plants in Moses Lake, mesmerized by the enormous trucks hauling potatoes and other produce, the colossal tractors in the farm equipment dealerships, and the geometric lines of the enormous central pivot irrigation systems. I grew up in a family farm outside Bogota, Colombia, and I learned to drive a tractor before I could drive a car. But the farming infrastructure I grew up in was insignificant compared to the vast infrastructure of industrial agriculture in Eastern Washington. The wealth of the industry here is palpable. The poverty of the people is also palpable, in the trailer parks and derelict homes where most farm workers live. Farming is profitable not only because of the taxpayer-subsidized water and electricity, but also because of the "subsidized" cheap labor of farmworkers. I stand in front of the potato processing plants and think of Elias, who told me of his resilience growing up in Moses Lake.

Figure 10: Mechanized agriculture near Moses Lake, WA

Elias

Elias lived in the same house all his life. He was born in Moses Lake, the youngest and only one in his family born in the U.S. after they moved here from Mexico. His mom worked different jobs in agriculture, mostly sorting potatoes, while his dad, also in the potato industry, eventually made it as a mechanic with Simplot. Simplot's plant in Moses Lake, like the one in nearby Othello, processes potatoes for frozen French Fries for sale to fast food restaurants around the US. Simplot frequently advertises job openings in Moses Lake for General Laborers to work 12-hour shifts, working "in various areas and perform[ing] a variety of jobs and tasks required to maintain smooth operation and to assist when specific needs arise," according to a recent job ad. Elias feels that when he was younger, Moses Lake was "definitely a smaller town; it is now starting to get busy. Traffic is starting to get bad." Nevertheless, Moses Lake was a good place to grow up.

One of his earliest childhood memories is sitting under his bunk bed and watching his two older brothers argue over something, fighting over a new white shirt that had gotten dirty. "I was just sitting under the bed, and I was a kid, and they were arguing, and they were getting close to the door. And my mom wanted to walk into the door to see what was going on, and one of my brothers pushed the other brother up against the door so I could not get out, I was just stuck in there." Elias later tells me he also felt stuck in the small town of Moses Lake, and wanted to live and work somewhere bigger; he did not want the small size of Moses Lake to limit what he could do in life. He thought he could accomplish more if he were in Seattle or the Tri-Cities. He is now a first-year student at UW in Seattle. "At first, it was weird," he tells me. "I had to get used to the city, like it was obviously a lot bigger, but when I did get there, it was still during Covid. So, it was a little weird, like living on campus first quarter. I did not go out too much, but the area was interesting. I liked it overall." We talked about what had helped him get to UW from Moses Lake, and what had helped him during his first year at UW, an especially challenging year for all due to Covid. As with all the students I interviewed, we discussed the meaning of success, what makes him Latinx, and what makes him proud.

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Figure 11: Worker on a truck loaded with potatoes for the processing plant in Moses Lake, WA

For some reason, with Elias, I decided to go off script and ask about immigration. I think Elias reminded me of one of my sons, with his sparse teenager's beard, sleepy eyes, and generous smile, and over the course of our conversation we may have made a connection—or as much of a connection as can be established over Zoom, between professor and student, in the middle of a pandemic. Nonetheless, I asked him about his feelings about immigration enforcement in Moses Lake and Grant County. I explained I was doing a study about immigration and collaboration between local law enforcement and ICE, and I wanted to know how that activity affects his community. This is some of the conversation that followed:

> *Elias: I think I know some people that do have papers, some that do not. I do have papers, so I consider myself lucky. But when that stuff is happening around the community, it could be hard to see people that are like you, that have limited opportunities, because of how they are, they feel like they have a perceived threat with immigration and all that stuff. So, I feel like I do not necessarily support it. I do*

not think it should be as it is. I think there are a lot of things that could be fixed with it.

Ricardo: If you have the power of changing things, what would you change?

Elias: Maybe just letting more people have the opportunity here in the United States, not just Mexicans, but people overall. Because they say the United States is a, they call it, a salad bowl. We have a bunch of different races. And I feel like a lot of what has made the US is the diversity that it brings. Diversity, it brings different perspectives, innovation. And I feel like if we want to move towards that, then we need to open up and reevaluate how we bring diversity. And I feel like immigration is just one thing that kills that.

Ephrata

A couple of weeks before my conversation with Elias, on a cold December morning, I had visited the courthouse in Ephrata, the county seat for Grant County. The courthouse is a large, imposing building built in 1917 in the Classic Revival style, with brick exterior and ornate columns with cornices. The building was listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1975. There is a large, grassy area with pedestrian walkways in front of the courthouse, which allows you to stand and admire its imposing structure from a distance. There is bit of snow on the ground, and although the court is in session, the street is deserted.

The whole town seems deserted, not just because of the pandemic, even though it is before noon on a weekday. Inside the courthouse I see the court calendars posted on the wall. They are computer printouts listing the court hearings scheduled for the day. They list names, dates, times, and rooms for each court hearing. I imagine these are the files that are routinely sent in advance by court clerks to ICE, with additional personal information about "persons of interest" for immigration detention. The jail next to the courthouse is a semicircle of concrete with small, narrow windows behind a tall fence capped with concertina wire. I imagine the inside of the jail as a classic panopticon, with a central tower from where all cells around the semicircle can be seen but inmates cannot see into the tower. Outside the jail, the parking lot has thin remnants of snow. The signs

indicating designated spots for law enforcement vehicles are partly covered with snow, and I think of the snow cover as a metaphor for the experience of immigrants arrested in and around the courthouse.

On the main street there are many boarded up storefronts with signs offering them for rent. The old JC Penney building is for sale, the shapes of the letters still visible on the concrete wall above the main doors. A thrift store, with signs in both English and Spanish, and a Mexican store and food truck, Tienda Mexicana Veracruz: Dulcería y Abarrotes, seem to be the only open businesses. Even the bail bonds shop across from the jail is closed, its neon lights turned off. There is almost no traffic, and everything is eerily quiet. I stand in the place where immigration enforcement crosses the line, where lives of the community are torn apart, where people's dreams and aspirations are cut short because of something they did not choose: the place they were born. I am in the one-mile area surrounding the Ephrata courthouse, the area in which ICE is prohibited from arresting people for civil immigration violations.

Figure 12: Grant County Courthouse in Ephrata, WA

I tell Elias about visiting the courthouse in Ephrata and imagining what it would be like to live in that community, knowing that your friends or neighbors could be picked up by ICE outside the courthouse. He tells me he thinks it is not fair that this happens, and our conversations gets more personal:

> *Elias: I think it is not really fair, because a lot of people do not get to choose where they grew up, how they grew up. People say that your circumstances don't make you, but it almost feels like it does in the US, if that's what we're going with, like ICE and the sheriffs working together, it's almost like if you don't have papers, then it sucks, because let's say I was growing up without papers here in the US, and it's not fair for someone like the sheriff to take advantage and exploit those circumstances that you were placed upon, because no one gets to choose really the life that they get put into. So, I do not think that is fair at all. Especially when they have not done anything wrong.*
>
> *Ricardo: Yeah, that's part of what goes on in my mind, especially when people have not done anything wrong. I have my papers, I have documents here, but I know so many others who do not. And why would I be privileged by the fact of having a piece of paper? I just do not know. Something I am also wondering is how to tell these two stories, of what goes on in these communities, and how these communities are where our students come from. And yet, I am fearful of telling those two stories together, because, well, I do not want to victimize or criminalize the Latinx community in Eastern Washington or the Latinx students at UW. I am wondering, do you have any ideas of how those two stories come together, of the local law enforcement and immigration, and the life of our students at UW, who come from these communities?*
>
> *Elias: So, you're trying to piece both sides together, like one side, how the communities are affected and the law enforcement, is that it?*
>
> *Ricardo: Something like that. And I want to do it with care, with respect, so I want to pick your brain to see if you have any ideas on how to do it well.*
>
> *Elias: It is hard. But I mean, I think one thing that needs to be known is like... I don't know, it's just like, I feel with opportunity and the circumstances, like I was saying, it shouldn't depend on a piece of*

paper to like what you can bring in this country. If law enforcement's goal is to keep us safe, then going after people who are only here to live a better life, like... It is almost a waste of resources. It is a waste of time. It hurts people. I feel like it is less of a benefit then. But I don't really know how you piece that together, that is hard to say, especially to a big crowd.

Ricardo: And how do I tell the story of Latinx students like yourself, who come from Eastern Washington, and what you bring to the university?

Elias: I think it is just like, we need to realize that we all have potential, not just because a lot of us maybe are from lower income families. A lot of us are blessed with papers. But I think we need to know that we all have the potential to do great things, and that us united is just going to make a difference overall. That is going to be the biggest factor.

Figure 13: County jail resembling a panopticon in Ephrata, WA

Talking about immigration enforcement when you know some of your friends are undocumented is hard, even if you are safe. This conversation opened the door to something I had not planned to do: I could ask some of the students about their thoughts on immigration, and about how to weave the disparate threads of Latinx experiences and immigration enforcement. As I told Elias, I had been thinking about how to bring the two stories together without victimizing the participants, without reinforcing existing stereotypes that all Latinx are the same or that all immigrants are criminals, and without creating a narrative of two disjointed stories that do not speak to each other. For Elias, it is important to emphasize everyone's contribution, regardless of where they were born or how much income they have, and that immigration contributes to diversity of voices in the U.S. We all have potential to do great things, and we do not choose where we are born. The place we are born should not determine the outcome of how we live to our full potential. And yet that is what happens, with opportunities to go to college as with the threat of immigration enforcement. It is already hard for farm workers to make a living in the midst of the wealth of industrial agriculture, and if they are undocumented immigrants the challenge becomes even harder. In the same way, it is already hard for a child of immigrant farm workers to get to the UW, and to succeed once they get in. And yet, here I am talking to children of immigrant farm workers who are succeeding in college. They are living evidence that change may be slow, but it is certain: the fact that children of immigrant farm workers are going to college and getting ready to change the world is as transformative as the Dry Falls were in shaping the landscape of Eastern Washington at the end of the Ice Age.

Immigration Enforcement: Courthouse Arrests

Standing in front of the County Courthouse in Ephrata I imagined all the courthouse arrests that have been taking place there, and in other courthouses around Washington State. Immigration arrests around courthouses make immigrants fearful of going to the courthouse. This fear is partly behind the Washington State law Courts Open to All (COTA, SB6522), signed into law on March 18, 2020. COTA prohibits federal civil arrests at or in the vicinity of courthouses in Washington State and prohibits court staff and prosecutors from using state and local resources to report people to federal immigration

enforcement. Furthermore, the law requires courts to collect information about immigration agents' surveillance of courthouses in the state.

In the text of the law, RCW 2.28.30 states that:

> *(1) Judges, court staff, court security personnel, prosecutors, and personnel of the prosecutor's office: (a) Shall not inquire into or collect information about an individual's immigration or citizenship status, or place of birth, unless there is a connection between such information and an investigation into a violation of state or local criminal law; provided that a judge may make such inquiries as are necessary to adjudicate matters within their jurisdiction. The court may enter orders or conditions to maintain limited disclosure of any information regarding immigration status as it deems appropriate to protect the liberty interests of victims, the accused, civil litigants, witnesses, and those who have accompanied victims to a court facility; and (b) Shall not otherwise provide nonpublicly available personal information about an individual, including individuals subject to community custody pursuant to RCW 9.94A.701 and 9.94A.702, to federal immigration authorities for the purpose of civil immigration enforcement, nor notify federal immigration authorities of the presence of individuals attending proceedings or accessing court services in court facilities, unless required by federal law or court order.*

Non-publicly available personal information "includes one or more of the following, when the information is linked with or is reasonably linkable, including via analytic technology, to the person's first name or first initial and last name: Location, home address, work address, place of birth, telephone number, social security number, driver's license number or Washington identification card number, electronic mail address, social media handle or other identifying social media information, and any other means of contacting the person."

Furthermore, RCW 2.28.330 protects any person from civil arrest "while going to, remaining at, or returning from, a court facility" including the area within one mile of the courthouse, except under a court order or under certain specific security protection circumstances. The importance of COTA is that it ensures that everyone can get their day in court, regardless of immigration status, and helps build community trust in local courts. Otherwise, if immigrants are afraid of going

to court, they will not easily serve as witnesses, plaintiffs, or defendants. Moreover, immigrants afraid of going to court may be discouraged from paying fines, victims of domestic violence might not seek a protection order to protect them from their abuser, victims of wage theft or unsafe working conditions might not seek redress, or even couples wanting to get married may be afraid of going to the courthouse to get a marriage license. All these are important court services in the community.

Despite efforts by the Washington State Attorney General's office and civil rights advocates such as the ACLU, ICE continues to detain people at or near courthouses. ICE has resisted efforts by UWCHR to use FOIA to obtain public records regarding their arrests at courthouses. In October 2019, UWCHR had documented 51 cases of arrests at courthouses since 2016, 27 of which took place in Eastern Washington, with a special concentration in Grant County and its courthouse at the county seat, Ephrata. According to the UWCHR report "Justice Compromised: Immigration Arrests at Washington State Courthouses," immigration arrests at courthouses tend to follow a pattern of surveillance, identification, and detention:

Most eyewitness reports describe the presence of individuals in plainclothes later identified as immigration enforcement observing hearings in the courtroom and/or surveilling court attendees in waiting areas. To carry out the arrest, multiple agents, typically in plainclothes, surround the targeted person, arresting them quickly and placing them in a vehicle which is usually described as unmarked. A minority of accounts mention the use of force by arresting agents. Due to the use of plainclothes and unmarked vehicles, it is often difficult for eyewitnesses to know whether ICE or CBP is the agency performing the arrest. In multiple cases reported by lawyers and advocates, the arresting agents reportedly refused to give their names or show warrants, even when asked by the arrestee's attorney. In some cases, agents briefly flashed agency badges. [...]

Similarly, in an account shared with UWCHR researchers by a legal advocate, a witness described seeing multiple attempted arrests on September 26, 2019 at Grant County Courthouse in Ephrata, Washington. He reported that he entered the main entrance of the courthouse at approximately 9:55 a.m., noticing a light tan Tahoe was parked on the side of the courthouse with a man waiting in the driver's seat. As he approached the front main entrance, he saw a young Latinx man in handcuffs being forcefully and quickly escorted, almost dragged, to the light tan Tahoe by a man in plainclothes who put him in the back seat of the vehicle. When

he emerged from the courthouse later, the same ICE officer he had seen earlier was now chasing another young Latinx man around the grounds of the courthouse, with the Tahoe speeding around the corner toward them. At least one person, the client of the legal advocate who shared this account, was arrested by immigration authorities at the courthouse on that day.

These early accounts of courthouse arrests are complemented by documentation of collaboration and information-sharing between local law enforcement and immigration enforcement in Grant County. From 2019 to 2020, I conducted a study with colleagues and graduate students at the University of Washington, now published in the Journal of the Association for Information Science and Technology (JASIST) as "The information practices of law enforcement: passive and active collaboration and its implication for Sanctuary laws in Washington State." We analyzed over 8,000 pages of scanned documents including email correspondence and attachments, obtained from Grant County law enforcement through public records requests. These records document interactions with ICE between November 2017 and May 2019, before the passing of the COTA laws that prohibit ICE from arresting people in and around courthouses. The records were processed through optical recognition tools to make them machine-readable as text and coded using qualitative analysis software under five broad categories: information exchange, legal status of defendant, collaboration atmosphere, ICE custody or hold, and invitation to offline interaction.

The analysis reveals a pattern of passive and proactive information sharing between ICE and local government officials, including information about court appearances, court dates, and personal information about potential "persons of interest" to immigration officers. For example, we found evidence of regular emails sent by a legal assistant in the Grant County prosecutor office to a list of roughly 30 recipients from various federal offices to let them know of individuals held in custody, together with schedules for court hearings. In other cases, staff in the prosecutor's office asked ICE officers if they would have interest in particular individuals, under suspicion they may be undocumented based on the person's Hispanic name or physical appearance. What was surprising was not only the frequency and extent of these information-sharing practices, but the rapid response – sometimes under 5 minutes — and the friendly, informal tone of many of the messages that included jokes and mention of personal life events of the agents. Furthermore, our analysis reveals a pattern of collaboration in which prosecutors work together with ICE agents to determine which charges would be best suited to levy against defendants, with ICE agents frequently pushing for felony charges over misdemeanor charges, which help their claims that they focus on deporting

criminals.

The deportation machine that results from these interactions is geared against immigrants, but more explicitly against Latinx immigrants with brown skin and Hispanic names. The kinds of Latinx immigrants who have been working in agriculture in Eastern Washington, the cheap and disposable labor that keeps agribusiness costs low and profits high.

What makes Latinx identity?

I use the label Latinx rather than Hispanic, Latino or Latina. Itza, one of the doctoral students who helped analyze and code interviews for this project, pointed out the importance of the Latinx label:

> *The term "Latinx" has long been used in a variety of ways, often with conflicting spellings, definitions or understandings. The term Latinx first came into mainstream literature in the 2010s with many US-based scholars using the term when referring to communities with cultural roots in Latin America. Despite the appearance of the term being coined in academic circles, many accounts actually trace the term to online forums primarily occupied by LGBTQ users that also held cultural ties to the region of Latin America. The inclusion of the x in place of the "o" or "a" allowed users to avoid the gendered distinction of terms like Latino or Latina. Other variations of the term Latinx include Latin@ or the more traditional terms of Hispanic, Latin, or Chicano/Chicana, Hispano/Hispana, as well as individual demonyms of the person's country of origin or cultural root.*

I reflect on some of the stories I heard from participants, and about what makes their Latinx identity. I asked them all different versions of "what makes you Latinx" or "why are you Latinx." They almost always paused and reflected, surprised by the difficulty of the question. All participants self-identified as Latinx (or Latino, or Latina, I use whichever label participants used for themselves, and retain the gender-neutral Latinx label for general descriptions), but, what makes them Latinx? For some, their Latinx identity is shaped by location, parents, cultural traditions, language, and previous or continued relationships to the place of origin.

Others felt that their Latinx identity helps them relate to others or to themselves through shared experiences or differences, and how their physical appearances or value systems contribute to their understanding of their own Latinx identity.

Elias, for example, clearly ties his Latinx identity with having parents who come from a Hispanic background. He reflects on the difficulties of maintaining contact with his Mexican roots because of the border. Unable to fly, his family would drive to Mexico when he was a child ("that took a while," he says with a chuckle). But growing up among people like him, who shared the same immigrant background, is what makes him feel Latino.

Other students I interviewed, whose stories will be discussed in later chapters, addressed the question of what makes them Latinx in different ways. Ariana, for example, emphasizes that pride in the Latinx culture was instilled by her family from a young age through travels to Mexico and by speaking Spanish. For Ariana, it was all about knowing where her parents grew up, "growing up with the Spanish language, and being able to communicate with a lot of people knowing two languages." Myrella, on the other hand, succinctly describes the relationship between location and Latinx identity by saying: "Both my parents are from Mexico, and Mexico is part of Latin America, and so that's how I define my Latinidad." Here the direct connection to a physical place, meaning Mexico and Latin America, as well the relationship to her parents, allows Myrella to define her understanding of being Latinx, which she calls more broadly her Latinidad. Monserrat also defines her identity through location when saying: "I identify very strongly as a Latina because I was born in Mexico, I lived in Mexico, and my family is in Mexico... Part of my perspective stems from being in Latin America. When I moved here to the US, I found another type of Latinx identity. There are people here that have parents that are from Latin America, or they identify as Latinx. The people around me, my classmates, identify as Latinx too."

Luis acknowledges that being Latinx can apply to anyone who comes from Mexico or Central America, but for him it is all about the food, because Spanish language was imposed over the Native languages: "For me, what makes me Latino is the food I eat every day, and the way that I talk. Although our indigenous roots were ripped apart from us when the Spanish came over and colonized us and now, we are speaking Spanish all the time. And that became our native tongue when, in

reality, we were torn apart from our indigenous language. But all that taken into perspective is what makes me a Latino."

The relationships with others and the sharing of experiences also helps to build the sense of being Latinx. Nora confided she did not like identifying as Latina as a child. She did not see people of her skin color on TV and that was a source of insecurity for her, but now that she is grown, she realizes "how beautiful it is to be Latina, specifically Mexican." Nora has dual citizenship, so she feels she is both from Mexico and from the US, even though she has been to Mexico only once. "I think participating in the culture, like all the speaking Spanish, you know, making all those big dishes from home, and just realizing that there's other people who have the same experiences as me, I feel like that's why I identify as a Latina." Francisco, on the other hand, mentions how being Latino is partly literal and partly relational: "I think what makes me Latino would be that I'm literally Latino, but also like, I think just having some of your, how do you say it? Familiarity with the culture, music, the food, my family, just always being intact with that part of myself.."

This familiarity with culturally laden things such as food or music, or connecting with family members, all contribute to how participants develop a sense of self and belonging with others. Music is particularly salient for Natalia, among others. For Natalia, having a Mariachi program rather than a band program in school meant all the difference to bring her closer to her culture and family: "I think that's why I stuck more to the Mariachi, versus the orchestra, versus the band. It connected with me a lot more. It had songs that my grandparents could relate to..." Nonetheless, Natalia also experienced a sense of boundaries between her family life at home, and her life outside the home, each of which had different set of behaviors and expectations. "When I was growing up, I clearly knew the difference between how I behaved at home versus how I behaved at school," says Natalia, and then she adds:

> *"At home you kind of have to yell if you're going to be heard, and speak loudly, and talk fast. Whereas at school, you get disciplined for speaking your mind in the moment, you have to raise your hand, it has to be at the right moment, the right tone, the right noise level. Not that my family's loud and crazy, but sometimes we can be, and we get excited about things and we help each other. I think language is a big part of it. I think food is a big part of it. The fact that I speak Spanish, and the fact of what we do at my home is part of it."*

Physical appearance also played a part in how participants experienced being Latinx: being surrounded by people who "look like me." Adriana started in a school "surrounded by people who look like me," but then transferred to a different, more white school where she had a hard time feeling she belonged. Emely, on the other hand, was used to schools in Yakima surrounded by others who looked like her, and it was a shock when she got to the UW and found it "culturally shocking because there are not very many students that look like me. I know UW claims to be a very diverse campus, but that's not really what I see. It's so hard to find your own community."

When I asked him what made him Latino, Roberto paused and rubbed his chin, adjusted his glasses, and reflected out loud: "Well, that is always an interesting question. Both of my parents are from Mexico, but whenever I am asked where they are from in Mexico, I never really know what to answer. My mom was born in Mexicali, which is on the border of California. My grandparents are from Zacatecas, but when we go to Mexico, we go to Sonora. So, I just say Sonora all the time, but it's a mix. It is the same thing for my dad because his family is from Guanajuato, but they moved to Sonora. So that is my parents' background." We easily associate our place of belonging to where our parents come from. But Latinx identity is more complex than that. Roberto went on to try to put into words something bigger than the culture that makes him Latino:

> *I have always struggled with this. I am a Spanish minor as well, and listening to the whole Latinx conversation, it is interesting to hear the different perspectives. Technically, it is a heritage, but I think it goes further than that. It is the culture you grew up around and everyone has these similarities they can share within each ethnic group. I think Latinos have their own similarities, too, growing up with that culture. But it is not just the culture, it means a lot more. I think that being Latino represents resilience, perseverance; looking back at all the hardships our people from all over Latin America have faced and overcome, while still being able to shine within all the negativity that surrounds us at times.*

I have also wondered what makes me Latinx. I was born in Canada, but I grew up in Colombia. I am white, and I do not see myself as a person of color, based on the

color of my skin. Nonetheless, the recent label of BIPOC (Black, Indigenous, and people of color) has gained political significance, and I am frequently classified as BIPOC by others. My identity is Latinx, and it has to do with where I grew up, the language I speak best, the food and smells that bring me childhood memories, the music I prefer. In the next chapter I will introduce Myrella, another of the Latinx students I spoke to. She described herself as "white passing" because people considered her white, while she considers herself a woman of color. We discussed this as the opposite of what I was experiencing, where I consider myself white and some people group me under the BIPOC category. She acknowledged it is difficult to discuss this with others, but resolved the conundrum by insisting that what matters is what people define as their own identity, not what others say: "what matters the most is that you know what you are." She absolved my guilt and uncertainty by giving me permission to be true to my identity. This is one of the things I love about working with students: I never stop learning from them.

Figure 14: View of the Okanogan River near Omak, WA

Chapter 2: Okanogan River

At the Grand Coulee Dam, the Columbia River takes a detour from the original riverbed that led it down to Dry Falls during the Ice Age. After glacial forces created the Grand Coulee, the river shifted course along a steep canyon to the West, where 40 miles downstream it meets the Okanogan River, which flows from the North. Both the Columbia and Okanogan rivers originate in Canada, and their valleys have long been used as communication corridors by the original inhabitants of the land. The Okanogan River Valley was the ancestral territory of the Syilx Nation (siwłkʷ) toward the North, while the lower (Southern) Okanogan was inhabited by the Okanogan people, a group of semi-nomadic bands including the Sinkaietk (sinEqāie'tku), the Tokoratums, the Kartars, and the Konkonelps, whose descendants are now part of the Colville Confederated Tribes, reduced to the Colville Reservation, as I discussed earlier. In this book I weave together places and their history, and people and their stories. A tapestry of voices.

Bridgeport and Chief Joseph Dam

A few miles before reaching the Okanogan River, the Columbia River is intercepted today by the Chief Joseph Dam. The dam was built in 1949, after the Grand Coulee Dam, further upstream, was already in operation. Since the Grand Coulee Dam stopped the salmon from spawning upstream, engineers decided they did not need salmon ladders at Chief Joseph Dam either. The engineers created a double barrier that completely blocked salmon migration to the upper Columbia River. Originally, Foster Creek Dam, the dam was renamed Chief Joseph before construction in honor of Native American leader Chief Joseph (1840-1904). Chief Joseph (originally Hinmatóowyalahtqĭt, or "Thunder Rolling Down the Mountain"), was a passionate and principled leader of the Nez Perce tribe during the 1870s, when they were forcibly removed by the U.S. government from their ancestral territory on the Wallowa Valley, in northeastern Oregon. Chief Joseph's father Tuekakas (also known as Joseph the Elder) had initially received white settlers hospitably, but was then forced into signing the 1855 Treaty of Walla Walla, which established the Nez Perce Reservation with 7,700,000 acres.

Figure 15: Chief Joseph Nez Perce, Library of Congress https://lccn.loc.gov/2002722462

In 1863, the Klondike Gold Rush attracted a new influx of white settlers, and the US government reduced the reservation to 760,000 acres, excluding the Wallowa Valley, in exchange for promised cash, schools, and a hospital. Some Nez Perce leaders agreed, but Joseph the Elder refused to sign the new treaty, causing a rift between "treaty" and "non-treaty" bands of Nez Perce. "Non-treaty" bands stayed in the Wallowa Valley, under the leadership of Joseph the Elder, succeeded by Young Joseph as Chief Joseph in 1871. In 1873 Chief Joseph negotiated with the U.S government that his people could stay in the Wallowa Valley, but in 1877 the government changed course and decided to force the relocation of the people with the rest of the Nez Perce Reservation in Idaho. Chief Joseph resisted, and for over three months skillfully confronted and escaped the pursuit of the US Army across

present-day Oregon, Washington, Idaho, and Montana. He finally surrendered on October 5, 1877, with the following words:

> *"I am tired of fighting. Our chiefs are killed; Looking Glass is dead, Too-hul-hul-sote is dead. The old men are all dead. It is the young men who say yes or no. He who led on the young men is dead. It is cold, and we have no blankets; the little children are freezing to death. My people, some of them, have run away to the hills, and have no blankets, no food. No one knows where they are—perhaps freezing to death. I want to have time to look for my children, to see how many I can find. Maybe I shall find them among the dead. Hear me, my chiefs! I am tired; my heart is sick and sad. From where the sun now stands, I will fight no more forever."*

The terms of the surrender were not honored by the U.S. government. Instead of allowing the roughly 400 survivors a safe return home, they were sent to Kansas and held as prisoners of war for eight months, after which they were sent to a reservation in Indian Country (present-day Oklahoma) for seven years. Finally, in 1855, Chief Joseph and the surviving people with him were taken to the Colville Reservation near Okanogan River, where they became the 12th of the Confederated Tribes of the Colville Reservation. Chief Joseph visited University of Washington in 1903, invited by history professor Edmond Meany, who arranged for a photographer to take his portrait, one of his most well-known photos (Library of Congress: Joseph Nez Perce). Chief Joseph Nez Perce died on September 21, 1904. According to his doctor, his cause of death was of a "broken heart." For decades Chief Joseph had relentlessly and unsuccessfully campaigned for his people to return to their ancestral territory on the Wallowa Valley in Oregon. All he got was a dam named after him.

The bridge over the Columbia River at Bridgeport, Washington crosses into the Colville Reservation right next to the Chief Joseph Dam, the last place where salmon can swim upstream on the Columbia River. A sign greets you right after the bridge, welcoming you to the territory of the Confederated Tribes of the Colville Reservation, with the names of all 12 Tribes and the year of the creation of the reservation: 1872. The irony of the name of the confederation is hard to escape: it takes the name of a British colonist, Andrew Colville, governor of the fur trading Hudson's Bay Company.

Bridgeport is today a small city of around 2,500 inhabitants, nestled in a fertile valley by the Columbia River, across from the Colville Reservation. It was originally the ancestral territory of the Scheulpi or Chualpay people, later renamed Colville Tribe. Chinese immigrants mined the region for gold starting in the 1860s, until developers purchased the town in 1892. Bridgeport was incorporated as a city in 1910, and is best known for its proximity to Chief Joseph Dam and for outdoor recreation activities including hunting and fishing. In addition, it is surrounded by apple and cherry orchards. The orchards were in pruning season when I visited early in the spring, with workers climbing up ladders to trim branches to increase fruit production in the summer. Fruit orchards require a lot of manual labor, and depend on the cheap labor offered by immigrant farmworkers.

Figure 16: Welcome sign upon entering Colville Reservation at Bridgeport

Monserrat

Monserrat is a senior at UW, studying Human Centered Design and Engineering. She arrived in Bridgeport from Mexico City when she was 12, and her parents worked in agriculture. Her dad worked in the orchards, her mom started working there too but then moved to work in a packing shed for cherries and apples during the summer season. Her dad speaks English, so he was able to get a job with a company that makes candy for granola bars, and later became a manager at that company. Her mom then became a janitor with the packing shed, which was better because the janitor position required less physical effort than the packer position. Arriving to Bridgeport at 12 was not easy for Monserrat. "I guess my teenage years were a bit different," she tells me, "because my expectations in Mexico City growing up were that, when I became like 14, 15 years old, I could go out with my friends, go to parties. When I moved to Bridgeport, it was a rural place and there was nowhere to go. There was no transportation to go anywhere, and I did not know how to drive. My expectations were not the same as those of other kids who grew up in Bridgeport, so it was mostly me and my friends hanging out in each other's houses and spending a fun time there."

Even though she speaks English with a slight Spanish accent, far less than my own, Monserrat is one of the few interviewees who would have preferred to have our conversation happen in Spanish. Nonetheless, we held it in English anyway, to make it easier for my research team to participate in the transcription and analysis process. Growing up in the small community of Bridgeport, Monserrat felt pushed to learn to drive as soon as she could: there is no public transportation in Bridgeport.

I walked around the Bridgeport schools, all closed due to COVID-19. All three schools—elementary, middle, and high school—are right next to each other. I imagine Monserrat and her friends going to school there: BHS Mustangs, Fillies. Two young boys ride by me on their bikes, cruising along the empty parking lots of the schools. I imagine the years ahead of them, attending those three schools, one after the other. Down the street I find a boarded-up thrift store: $ for Scholars, decorated with a graduation cap and rolled diploma. The scene makes me think of stunted scholarly opportunities in Bridgeport.

Figure 17: Thrift Store: $ for Scholars, Bridgeport

Nonetheless, Monserrat is resilient. As she was getting ready to graduate from Bridgeport High School, she knew she wanted to get out of Bridgeport. She wanted to go to a large university, not a community college. After successful applications, and torn between University of Portland and University of Washington, she chose UW because she got a good financial package, she liked Seattle, and she felt like UW was a better fit for her. She had attended "a bunch of events" at UW, so she already felt at home in some way.

I asked Monserrat what she is reading nowadays, and she regretted not reading any books because of the classes she is taking. Nonetheless, she enjoys some of the things she reads for school:

> *I am taking Concepts of HCI [Human Computer Interaction] and reading a lot of research papers and then doing critical analyses on them. But it is more of an opportunity to read these papers and see how it relates to you, and your life, and your experiences as well. I was reading about personal health tracking in Instagram and in social media. I thought it was interesting how these social media*

applications are designed a certain way that affects your whole behavior and how information flows from person to person. It is meant to do that. It is purposeful because it was designed in a certain way. We were thinking during class, and while I was reading these, how could we design something that is morally correct, rather than for profit or just to get a product out.

Ricardo: That's a tough balance, a tough choice. I teach a class on Information Ethics, where we deal a lot with what is the ethical thing to do. It is not necessarily always the most popular one, or the legal one, or the one that will make you the most money.

Monserrat: Yeah, exactly. Do we design for the business model, or for the company, or should we design for the participant, for the person that is going to use the product? What is the balance of those things?

Monserrat is poised to help make computer design more truly human-centered.

Figure 18: Fruit orchards by Lake Pateros on the Columbia River, with City of Brewster on the far left

Brewster and Okanogan

Ten miles further downstream from Bridgeport and Chief Joseph Dam is Brewster, a small city of 2,300 on the side of Lake Pateros, at the confluence of the Columbia and the Okanogan Rivers. Lake Pateros is an artificial lake formed by the Wells Dam, 15 miles more downstream on the Columbia River. Brewster has a prosperous Hispanic neighborhood, with restaurants and stores selling clothes and groceries with Spanish-only signs. It was once the terminus for stern-wheel steamers navigating the Columbia River between Rock Island (further South) and Brewster, the gateway to the Okanogan Valley. The first settler on present-day Brewster was John Bruster, who filed a claim to the land in 1896, even though Fort Okanogan had been founded nearby in 1811 on the other side of the Okanogan River, on the ancestral territory of the Chualpay people, later renamed the Colville Tribe.

Fort Okanogan was a log cabin that acted as a fur trading post, originally built for the John Jacob Astor Pacific Fur Company. John Astor was a German merchant who immigrated from England to New York in 1784 and started to work in the fur trade, buying raw hides from Native Americans and reselling them at a great profit. By 1800 he was one of the leading fur traders. In 1811, he established a trading post near the mouth of the Columbia River, Fort Astoria, the first US community on the Pacific coast, and a smaller trading post upstream, Fort Okanogan, by present-day Brewster. Through real estate investments in New York, and commercial enterprises in China and Europe, Astor was the wealthiest man in the US by 1848. The city of Astoria, OR, among other places, are named after him. John Astor died with the sinking of the Titanic in 1912; he had never set foot in Fort Astoria or on the Columbia River.

The city of Okanogan, county seat of Okanogan County, is about 25 miles upstream from Brewster on the Okanogan River. The fertile valley of Okanogan is rich with fruit orchards all the way north and into Canada, where the name changes to Okanagan. Some old mining towns remain, such as Oroville (from French, "Gold Town"), four miles south of the Canadian border. When I visited the region, most of the small border crossings into Canada were closed, with limited hours and traffic reduced to essential travel only, due to COVID-19.

Figure 19: Stop 11 of Okanogan Historical Walk - Undated portrait of Chief La Ke Kin by Japanese immigrant photographer Frank Matsura

Even the once-prosperous Oroville on the Okanogan River feels like a ghost town. In the city of Okanogan, I walk around the deserted main street and I follow a walking tour that takes me to different historic sites in town. One of the stops is a larger-than-life black and white portrait of Chief La-ka-kin, or Chiliwist Jim, a respected medicine man and rancher of the Methow Band, whose descendants still live in the area.

The portrait is by a Japanese immigrant photographer, Frank Matsura, who lived in Okanogan from 1903 until his death in 1913, at age 39. He photographed many people in the region, including many Native American leaders. The undated portrait of Chief La-ka-kin shows a man in traditional a dress and hat, with a stern

gaze straight into the camera. The note next to the portrait says:

> *"Chief La Ke Kin or Chilliwist Jim. Dispossessed of their homelands, the Peoples of the Wenatchee, Entiat, Chelan and Methow were forced to move to the newly formed Colville Reservation in 1878. Settling next to other kin, they formed a community in the Malott/ Monse area. In a unique position with his camera and Japanese deference and respect, many native families sought Matsura for their keepsake portraits. The Palmanteer, Timentwa and Condon families count La Ke Kin as their ancestor."*

The collection of images by Matsura is held by Washington State University as their library's digital collection. I wonder what Matsura's photographs of immigrant farm workers would have been like had he lived to see them in the Okanogan River Valley.

Immigration Enforcement: Jailhouse Detainers

Walking around the courthouse and the county jail in Okanogan, I imagine the illegal jailhouse detainers that U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) and U.S. Customs and Border Protection (CBP) place on immigrants, and the illegal courthouse arrests within one mile from the county court. Given the proximity to the Canadian border, the role of CBP for immigration enforcement in Okanogan is stronger than in other regions of Eastern Washington. Under the Keep Washington Working (KWW) law in Washington State, local jails cannot hold people for federal immigration officials unless there is a warrant signed by a judge. Nonetheless, both the ICE and CBP issue what is called an "ICE detainer" or an "immigration hold," which ask local jails to hold persons suspected of being undocumented immigrants.

Furthermore, according to the KWW law, CBP and ICE are prohibited from interviewing inmates without written and informed consent, local authorities are prohibited from collecting or sharing any personal information regarding a person's place of birth or immigration status with ICE and CBP, and local authorities are barred from notifying them when an inmate is released. Nonetheless, a common practice by CBP in Okanagan has been to indicate they have "probable cause" to believe someone is undocumented and to attempt to interview inmates about their

immigration status without their consent, which undermines the requirement of a court order signed by a judge and violates KWW.

A case in point llawsuit was filed in 2019 against Okanogan county by Columbia Legal Services and the Northwest Immigrant Rights Project on behalf of Maria del Rayo Mendoza Garcia. The suit alleges that Okanogan County illegally held Ms. Mendoza Garcia solely based on a detainer from CBP, despite federal court decisions that clearly state that local and state officials have no authority to arrest or detain people for reasons related to immigration. The District Court ordered Ms. Mendoza's release, but the county continued to hold her for 48 hours and then turned her over to immigration officials. The lawsuit alleges that Okanogan County's standing policy of holding inmates eligible for release for an additional 48 hours at the request of ICE or CBP is illegal. Okanogan sheriff Tony Hawley said in 2019 that his office began changing his policies after KWW as enacted into law, but the practice of allowing CBP and ICE to contact inmates, honoring their detainers based on "probable cause" statements alone, without court orders, and informing them when inmates will be released, are all practices that appear to continue.

An Oregon journalist uncovered email correspondence between the Clark County Jail and ICE that led to the detention and deportation of Joel Alcazar Anguiano, a Mexican-born immigrant. "Go get him," wrote a county jail staffer after letting ICE know about someone who may be in the country illegally. "Thanks for the referral," the ICE officer wrote after receiving the tip and filing a detainer with the county jail. At the time of his release after posting a bail bond, Anguiano was arrested by ICE officers within the restricted area of the county jail and subsequently deported. The email exchanges between the county jail and ICE officers are being used as part of Anguiano's defense, to evidence illegal information-sharing that led to his arrest and deportation.

According to the UW Center for Human Rights and the Transactional Records Access Clearinghouse (TRAC) program at Syracuse University, almost half of the ICE arrests in Washington State between 2014 and 2018 involve collaboration with local jails. Even though ICE insists they are apprehending criminals, almost a quarter of those detained by ICE through Washington jails have never been convicted of a crime. Many had only misdemeanors such as traffic violations, and others had only immigration-related violations. Based on TRAC data, the UW Center for Human

Rights reports ICE arrests in Washington State via the Criminal Alien Program, ranked by most serious criminal conviction categories (note the top category is, by far, No Conviction):

Table 1: ICE Arrests in Washington via Criminal Alien Program, 2014-2018

Most Serious Criminal Conviction	Total
No Conviction	819
Assault	414
Driving Under Influence Liquor	369
Traffic Offense	211
Domestic Violence	117
All Others	1,436
All	3,366

Data: TRAC Immigration, 2018

Figure 20: Disparate architecture styles in Okanogan County Jail and Courthouse

The Okanogan County Courthouse was built in 1915 in the architectural style of Spanish Mission Revival, with a grey stucco exterior, a large clock tower with a decorative cupola, and curved parapets and arched windows, all under red roof tiles. The courthouse was added to the National Register of Historic Places in 1995. The county jail adjacent to the courthouse is a drab concrete structure built in 1984, with expansions in 2000, 2002, and 2003 to make it "a comfortable 183 bed facility that houses all individuals that are arrested in Okanogan County by any law enforcement agency," according to the Okanogan Sheriff's web site. The two buildings side by side are an architectural eyesore.

Just a few miles upstream of Okanogan, I find myself in Omak, the largest municipality and economic hub of Okanogan County. With under 5,000 inhabitants, Omak is nicknamed "Heart of the Okanogan," and is famous for the annual Suicide Race, part of the Omak Stampede. During the Stampede, which is held during the second weekend of August, the town swells to 30,000 for a carnival-like week of rodeo, horse races, and celebrations. The Stampede Arena is closed and empty, waiting to reopen after the pandemic, but businesses are open and active. I find a spot in the shopping area where I can see a Walmart, Big 5, and JC Penney, and I think of the story Sandra shared with me about going shopping there when she was in high school.

Sandra

When we talked for this project, Sandra was wearing red-rimmed glasses that matched the Golden Gate virtual background on her screen. In this unreal—but now normal—setting, we talked about her growing up in a small Mexican town near Patzcuaro called Opopeo. In 2014, when she was 15, Sandra and her family moved to Brewster, on the confluence of the Columbia and Okanogan Rivers. There is a large community of immigrant farmworkers from Opopeo in Okanogan County. Immigrant farmworkers move to Okanogan to work in the many fruit orchards along the Okanogan Valley. Moving to the US was hard for Sandra. She had her life in Mexico, with her friends and extended family. Her family had always worked in agriculture, but there was little money and no regular salary, and they struggled. Her dad and uncle started to leave Mexico for seasonal bouts of farm work in the US, first in California, then in Washington, so Sandra mostly lived alone with her mom.

My mum and I were in Mexico for four years and then after that, my brother was born. Then the last time that my dad went back to Mexico from here, my little sister was born, and my dad could not cross anymore back into the US because of ICE. The situation was getting difficult. Then we crossed all together in 2014. My dad's parents live here in Brewster. So, we came to live with them. My grandpa was really happy about my little sister coming. She was three years old. We used to do a little chonguito [bun] with a mono [bow] on it. That was the only thing that you could see over the sofa. You knew Margarita was there just because the little bow was going around the house.

A year after we got here, my grandma, my dad's mom, got cancer on the breast. It was hard for all of us, but my little sister was always with her. She was always like, "Mommy Sara, come with me. Mommy Sara, do this with me." So, doctors think that my little sister helped her a lot just because they were always together, she was the only one always with her. She said, "Mommy Sara, we should go for a walk. Mommy Sara, we should do cooking, or mommy Sara, let's go to the park." That way my grandma was always out of bed. Whenever she was too tired, my little sister was just always next to her and said, "Oh, do you want to watch a novela?" They were always watching the same novela, over and over again.

When Sandra first arrived in the US, her family was coming to be reunited with her grandparents and other family who already lived here. She didn't speak any English at the time. She lived in Brewster, in her grandfather's one-bedroom house, with ten other family members. There was a sofa and a big TV, a Catholic altar, a small kitchen, and one bedroom. It was hard for her because she was used to living in a bigger house, in the countryside, with no neighbors nearby. It was a big change. Sandra started learning English in eighth grade. She had some extra help the first few years, and then she caught up with the rest of her classmates. I will discuss more of Sandra's experience getting from high school in Brewster to the UW in the next section. For now, let me go back to why I stood on a corner in Omak where I could see Walmart, Big 5, and JC Penney. Sandra and I had talked about immigration enforcement in Okanogan, and how the local sheriff collaborates with ICE and Border Patrol to target immigrants. She told me how this had impacted her personally:

As you might know, the population here in Okanogan County,

especially in the Brewster area, there are 90 percent Mexicans. I think it was, three years ago, my uncle got deported. It was really sad. He went to work and then after he went back to his house and then ICE came into his house and took him. I don't know the details about the situation. But for me, it was really shocking and hard just because the whole family had to pay the consequences from this. Now, because I've heard a lot of people at UW saying about the 10-year policy that there is for those people to get detained from ICE, in detention from ICE.

I just didn't know. I didn't know anything about laws. I didn't know about any human rights or anything about it. I feel like it is really sad to see how sometimes people just get scared and can act cruel- can act differently or do something that they shouldn't do, just because they don't know their rights whenever it comes the time to speak with the police. I think it was two years ago that ICE was around a lot in town. It was really shocking for people. People used to say, "oh, I saw an ICE truck around here and I saw another ICE truck around there". It was really scary for people to just know that ICE was coming, and they didn't know why they were here or what they were looking for.

So, when I was in high school, we used to have a lot of workshops about how to know more about immigrant laws and what to do, just in case ICE came to our house and what kind of rights we had that many people didn't know of. I think this is what we need the most just because people just get scared and intimidated about thinking what police can do to them. We just feel inferior to them just because they're police. They're the police and they can take us or anything but it's important for us to know the rights. Once people know that, they can start being less afraid about the police. I don't know if that makes sense?

I assured her that it made total sense. If immigrants fear going to the police or fear going to a courthouse because they think it can result in them being detained and deported by ICE or CBP, it makes all our communities less safe. Sandra then went on to tell me about what happened to her one time she and her family went shopping in Omak, about an hour north of their home in Brewster.

It was my parents and my siblings and me. I was getting ready to go

to UW and I remember that afternoon we went to JC Penney, which is in the middle of Omak. My mom was, "oh, I want to go to JC Penney," and she always used to go to JC Penney before they closed. I said, okay. I love shopping. That is an anomaly that I have. I know that I have to stop shopping and everything, but I love shopping. She said, "we should go to JC Penney." I said, yeah, we should. So we went. I remember that after that my dad was waiting for us in the car. I remember that he went to a Big 5. It was around two stores next to JC Penney. I told my mom, "oh, I don't know how the weather is going to be in Seattle, can we go to Payless?" which was on the corner. Then I called my dad and I said, "Dad, we're going to Payless. I'll meet you there". He said, "okay." So, he got out of the store and he met us right in front of Safeway, right in front of the door. My mom said, "oh, we'll meet you down there, just so we don't have to walk that much." My dad said, "okay, so I'll meet you there." Then we went to Payless and from Payless we went to Walmart.

I remember that after we went back from Walmart, we went to Walmart and then we were getting out of Walmart, then we were going to the car when the police came to us, directly to us. They were two big policemen. They were two white policemen. They said, "can we see your papers and your identification because you are a suspect of robbing at Safeway." I said, okay. None of my parents speak English and I talked to them and said, "okay, so they're saying this and this and this and this." My dad said, "but we never went to Safeway." I said, "yes, I know. We never went into Safeway. We just crossed from Big 5 to Payless and we passed in front of Safeway."

The police said, "yeah, but people gave us the characteristics of your car and your license plate" or whatever thing is on the bottom of the cars. They said, "we need to check your card and see that everything is okay just because we were told that you stole beer from Safeway." I said, okay. So, they checked the car. They checked all of our IDs, and they left. The policeman said, "okay, we'll get in contact with you if we have any more questions."

In my first quarter at UW, I took an English class, just because my English wasn't the best. The main concentration of this class was about human rights, and my professor there told us the police couldn't do this. We could say no to getting the car registered and

just open and everything. We have the right to say no, we don't want you to check our ID card, just because we know that we didn't do anything. Well, they never told us that we have the right to choose between saying yes or no if we wanted them to check our card.

I pointed out to Sandra that she and her family had been very lucky, because these encounters easily result in immigrants being jailed for no reason, and if the officers find out that they may be undocumented, they are handed over to ICE. They are mixing local enforcement of driving violations, or even shoplifting, which they had not done, with federal immigration enforcement. I'm glad her English teacher was able to prepare her, and by extension, her family, to confront local law enforcement if they overreach their powers to stop, search, or question with no reason.

Figure 21: Big 5, Safeway and Walmart in Omak, WA

Meanings of Success

Learning about her rights as an immigrant or child of immigrants was an important lesson and a big success for Sandra. I had asked other interviewees about their own successes, if they consider themselves successful, and what they understand as success. Monserrat, for example, said that for her, success was "meeting the expectations that I had set out since the beginning, reaching my goals. So you set a goal, then you try and work for it, and once you reach that goal—which means meeting the expectations of what you were setting out to accomplish—that is success for me." This is almost a textbook definition of success, the accomplishment of an aim or purpose. Nonetheless, I have been surprised by the nuances and shades that these students bring to their notion of success. In my book Latinx@UW, there is a whole chapter dedicated to success that can be thought of as a precursor to this section of the book. Introducing that chapter, I reflect on the notions of success as experienced by apparently successful Latinx faculty, students, and staff at UW:

> *The notions of success among the Latinx faculty, staff and students at UW are rich and varied. They are frequently associated with overcoming obstacles and reaching milestones (first to graduate from high school, first to go to college, first to go to graduate school, first to get a faculty job, first to get tenure, first woman president of a Tier 1 university). Success is also associated with service and mentoring to others, with making the world a better place. Success is both individual and collective, meeting basic needs as well as reaching for the stars. Success is not linear, and failure is a teacher, too.*
>
> *The idea of having Latinx role models and mentors is particularly salient; having the role model and help of others who look like us, helping others who look like us. I created a series of art objects called Portrait of a Migrant with different types of boxes and a mirror inside. We are not only migrants; we celebrate being part of a group that looks like us.*

In my conversations with Latinx students for this project I was again pleased to see the many different ways in which they understand success, and how they see themselves as successful. Some expressed concrete and tangible indicators of success such as wealth, housing, educational degrees, jobs, and cars. Others anchored their

understanding of success on intangible gains such as increased opportunities and relationships. For example, Marcela mentioned "I do think another indicator of success is the ability to build generational wealth and continue to increase the opportunities that my kids will be able to have." On the other hand, Xitlalit noted that for her, "success involves putting myself in places where I've never seen myself and where people like me do not often see themselves. Getting into engineering was the first step because I have not met very many Hispanic individuals or people of color in engineering. My cohort lacks diversity, so when I found myself there, I felt that that was the first step of success."

Students tended to show great autonomy in creating their own definition of success without referring to how others would define being successful. A salient perspective shared by two participants on their understanding of success included taking risks, especially the risks taken by their family to provide them with better opportunities. Marcela pointed out how "I always think about my success and my failures as a representation of the sacrifices that my parents have made over the years in order to give me certain opportunities." Nora also mentioned the importance of success, risks, and family by stating, "I think just the idea that I had to succeed, my parents left everything, just so I could get a chance." Like building multi-generational wealth and increasing opportunities for the next generation, as Marcela emphasized, students emphasize multi-generational opportunities for success enabled by their parents, who immigrated so their kids would have a chance for a better life. Success is not individual, but builds across generations of resilience, sacrifice, risk, and hard work.

Education about Human Rights

Part of the mission of the UW Center for Human Rights centers on research about human rights, but it is also inscribed in the broader educational mission of the University of Washington. The Center offers valuable educational opportunities to both undergraduate and graduate students, while engaging with local, regional, national and international organizations, policymakers, and other stakeholders to advance respect and promotion for human rights. Students work with the Center for Human Rights as interns or research assistants, and they are frequently drawn there after taking a class or seminar on human rights. I talked with a few of the stu-

dents involved in the work of the Center in early 2021, trying to understand their own stories and motivations for the work they do.

Tara

Tara is an undergraduate student, a junior majoring in International Studies on the International Human Rights track. In 2020-21 she was awarded the Benjamin Linder fellowship to work as a research assistant with the Center for Human Rights. The Benjamin Linder Endowed Fund is one of several funds, awards, and fellowships awarded to outstanding graduate and undergraduate students to work on human rights projects with the Center. Benjamin Linder, in whose honor Tara's fellowship is named, was a UW alum who moved to Nicaragua after graduating with a degree in mechanical engineering in 1983. He was helping to bring electricity to a small town in rural Nicaragua when he was killed in an ambush by the Contras, a US-funded irregular army fighting to topple the Sandinista government. At that time, the Sandinistas were trying to bring social justice and equity to their country, crippled by decades of dictatorship under the Somoza family. I met Benjamin a few times in Managua, where I also lived at the time, and he taught me to juggle. He wore clown outfits and rode a unicycle, something that made me very jealous, and used his juggling to encourage people to participate in vaccination campaigns. Ben's commitment to social justice is memorialized in this fund, established by the UW Center for Human Rights.

Tara has long black hair, deep brown eyes, and a firmness and determination in her voice that are more frequently found among graduate students than undergraduates. She is in charge of filing the public records requests, including all the follow-up messages, to ensure they are acted upon. She has filed around 70 public records requests over the past year alone. With a smile, she points out that about a third of them have been filed in my name. Tara also participates in the analysis of the documents that are received, though she laments that the process to get them takes so long: there is a lag between the time when she sends the request and when the information is received. Nonetheless, the records that are obtained help paint a picture of the illegal information-sharing that is taking place between local law enforcement and federal immigration enforcement agents. I point out the irony of using laws that ensure transparency in information, to get information about too much information-sharing between agencies; in other words, using transparency

to ensure privacy. "Yeah, it's a weird little process," she says; "I mean, it's really one of the most informative ways we found to show that relationship. Because things can happen on the phone and there would be no transcripts we could request. So much of this relationship between agencies is systemic and deeply embedded. And I think the history of the way that these agencies work together makes it so that the emails that are sent back and forth are so quick and transactional. There is a lot of vague language and what could even be seen as code. They do not even have to say a lot in the emails, because they are so close with these federal immigration officers, that it's just a subject line of 'here's this' and they attach a specific file, and the other person's going to know what they're looking for. And so, I think identifying those relationships is really important."

When Tara started studying at the UW she did not know of the existence of the Center for Human Rights. Nonetheless, she has always been passionate about immigrant rights as a second-generation immigrant. Her dad came to the US as a 17-year-old student during the Iranian Revolution in the 1970s, escaping violence and persecution in his county. He found refuge among family friends in Seattle. Her mom, also from Iran, came to the US in 1996. Her family's experience led Tara to seek ways to combine her work and career aspirations in health care with immigrant rights advocacy. When she took a class on Human Rights in Latin America with Angelina Godoy, Tara learned about Latin American people's resistance and resilience in the face of human rights atrocities, and was inspired by the way Angelina empowered her students, "how she really wanted to give us a front seat to the work that she does, and the research she does." Tara recalls how "one day, Angelina began class by telling us about a conversation with a woman she knew who had fled a warrant for her arrest in Nicaragua that stemmed from political turmoil. She was the mom of a student political prisoner. After class we met with nine other students to discuss anything we could do to help—these political prisoners were our same age and had been imprisoned for speaking up for their most basic rights. So, we started an independent project collaborating with Las Madres de Abril—the coalition of mothers of current political prisoners. While the activists and protestors were eventually released under an amnesty law in 2019, the consequences of that very same amnesty legislation were salient. In some cases, it became impossible for community members and families to ever seek justice for the actions of the authoritarian government."

It is ironic that the incidents that prompted Tara to get involved in human rights work in Nicaragua were happening under the government of President Daniel Ortega, who was a revolutionary leader during the 1980s. At that time, his government fought for equity, health care, education, and self-determination in Nicaragua after decades of dictatorship by the Somoza dynasty ended in 1979. That is when Benjamin Linder, under whose name Tara works at the Center for Human Rights, and millions of other young and hopeful idealists from around the world (including myself) visited or lived in Nicaragua to be part of a new society, building equity and social justice for all. But the Sandinista revolution was betrayed by its leaders, then defeated by US-led aggression, and finally, forgotten, according to writer and former Nicaraguan Vice President Sergio Ramirez. The Sandinista revolution was first betrayed. Then defeated. Then forgotten. After losing the elections in 1990, Ortega reinvented himself and the Sandinista party and returned to power in 2006 as a populist dictator, persecuting political opponents and remaining in office through the toxic combination of corruption and repression. The sad story of the Nicaraguan revolution confirms the literal meaning of a revolution: when things go in a circle and return to the place where they began, in a full revolution.

After working with Las Madres de Abril to free political prisoners in Nicaragua in 2019, Tara was awarded the Benjamin Linder fellowship to work for immigrant rights as a research imtern at the UW Center for Human Rights. "Little did I know the eerily similar tactics federal immigration officials use in comparison to some authoritarian states: the collusion, the lies and the lack of documentation," Tara wrote me later. She recalls the morning when she woke up to "news articles referring to hundreds of people of suspected Middle Eastern descent or Islamic affiliation (especially from Iran) had been detained at the border for up to 9 hours in one day. All because an internal memo from DHS [Department of Homeland Security] had been sent to Washington's CBP [Customs and Border Patrol] to impose 'enhanced screening' for people who could be suspected to have a connection to Iran. It was crazy to me that crossing the border one day later would make such a difference. This came about after US forces killed Iranian general Qassem Soleimani and feared Iranian rebels would cross the border on a mission for vengeance. Ridiculous, racist and illegal from all aspects."

Tara's work with the Center for Human Rights has given her a chance to meet people, and to participate in work that she thinks is important; she likes to think of

creative and innovative ways to share research results with the communities and organizations that benefit from the research. She recognizes that "although it may seem that the documents our team receives are tedious or that they only matter to people like us that have the privilege to spend hours analyzing them, they are much more important than that. They are vital in highlighting what is happening within these systems and the consequential effects it can have on our community members." Tara's awareness that of the struggles that many immigrants in Washington face drives her to work harder to ensure the evidence found by the center can be used by legislators to make better choices for communities and to amplify the historically ignored voices of those fighting for their rights.

Israel

Like Tara, Israel is an undergraduate student who works with the Center for Human Rights. He was interested in a data visualizer role as an Informatics major with an interest in data science, and took on the job as an intern. He helps clean up the data received from law enforcement agencies, completing information in blank fields so it can be more easily analyzed. He is confident that he is contributing to an important cause. His Latinx family lives in Eastern Washington and, even though he personally has not had any problems with law enforcement, he sees what his friends go through as immigrants. Both Israel and Tara appreciate the fact that the Center for Human Rights is grounding its work on the needs and priorities of the local communities, rather than a top-down effort. Tara points out that

> *the Center really grounds the work in what the communities are asking for and what people are facing on the ground in the counties that we're investigating... They see that their loved ones, their friends, and their family are disappearing from courthouses when they are not supposed to, or they are recognizing that an ICE officer showed up outside of the jail when they were not supposed to. Providing evidence to substantiate the claims that these community members have been making, can make a big difference, because we need to see really big policy change.*

Tara and Israel both feel lucky to be part of the team working at UWCHR.

Thomas

Thomas is a second-year law student who works with UWCHR, thanks to the Jennifer Caldwell Endowed Fund. Jennifer was an alumna of UW who passionately sought social justice on campus while she was a student, and then worked in South Africa to promote tourism based on equitable and sustainable relationships with local communities in poor countries. She was tragically killed in an accident in 2009, and her family, friends, professors, and students all pitched in to create an endowment in her memory. In 2020, Thomas received the Jennifer Caldwell award in recognition for his support of women-led strikes at fruit-packing plants in Washington. He continues to support of fruit-packers' labor organization, and has started to support the UWCHR's research on immigration enforcement. Thomas laments that the laws that protect immigrants in Washington, Keep Washington Working (KWW) and Courts Open to All (COTA) in particular, do not have a strong internal mechanism to ensure they are being implemented correctly, nor are there sanctions for agencies who violate the laws. "The spirit of the law is local government agencies shouldn't be using any resources, first of all, to support immigration enforcement activities by the federal government; and second of all, even when they're not using resources, they should avoid any actions that could have the unintended consequence of aiding the federal government in enforcing immigration laws against Washingtonians," Thomas tells me. "Pretty much, the spirit of the law is, Washington state government and local governments within Washington state should play no role in immigration enforcement, period. Because it undermines the relationship between all immigrant communities, all people of color, and Washington state government and agencies there."

Thomas had a shaved head and a long beard the first time we met via Zoom. I figured he must be around 30, the same age as my oldest daughter who is also an attorney, so I feel I must be projecting my admiration for her upon him. In addition, Thomas went to college at Western Washington University in Bellingham, 100 miles north of Seattle, where two of my sons also went to college. I feel Thomas could be part of my family. While Thomas was in college, he attended a talk by farmworker advocates from the Skagit valley, which is a rich agricultural region with many migrant farm workers, located a short distance south of Bellingham. At this talk, Thomas heard them speak of the repression farm workers faced for speaking out at work against the inhuman working conditions: they experienced racism

and discrimination; they frequently had to be with their children in the fields, where they worked up to 80 hours a week with no overtime; and they experienced terrible health outcomes and shortened life expectancy because of their harsh working conditions. He was moved by something he heard the speakers say to the students on campus.

> *They said: as university students, you have particular tools that are available to you that aren't available to us. And while we insist on leading, the farmworkers said, there is a place for everyone in these movements. And that was about eight years ago. Since then, I have had the privilege of working with farmworker communities, following their lead, as they really have been trailblazers in Washington, being able to set new laws which protect farmworkers. Recently, they were able to secure overtime for dairy workers, which is huge.*

Thomas is a living example of how an apparently small experience, such as attending a talk in college, can have life-changing consequences.

Furthermore, Thomas points out, he learned the importance of "the success that movements can have when the people most affected lead, and when the people who have resources to support are willing to follow that lead." He tells me that seeing the victories that they were able to secure made him commit himself to those movements, "because I have seen not only the conditions that need to be remedied, but a pathway to have success. And it's the same kind of coalition work that I saw happening at the Center for Human Rights, which is why I volunteered to support in any way I could." Thomas is very aware of the privilege of having a college education and pursuing a law school education, so it is important for him to participate in work that helps transform inequities in society.

> *I benefit from the labors and oppressions of poor people around the world and here in the United States. And it is part of coming to terms with the privilege that I experience at the expense of others, that I really am obligated, I feel, to participate in this work. But I also think that there is a much broader political trajectory of this work which is toward equality. And, really, it is a question of how we can achieve the full potential of living in communities together.*
>
> *I do not think we should stop at a place where some of us are able to live lavishly while others live out their lives incarcerated for petty*

crimes or, in the case of immigrants, not even crimes at all, just the act of moving across a border to feed your family or to seek a better future. I think we have to really aspire to something greater than that. And what I aspire to is to live in a world where we are all treated with dignity, where we all share in the wealth and natural resources of the world. And I think that abolishing the prison industrial complex is an important first step in that direction. It is not the only step. And I think it is interconnected with other really important projects.

But I think that the way that we treat the most oppressed people in our society is really a bellwether for how we organize our society in its whole. So, by really shining a spotlight on those people who are incarcerated, undocumented folks, poor people in the United States and in the Global South, I think it helps illuminate the reality of the world we live in, which is sometimes pretty ugly.

Thomas is puzzled by the boundaries between the spirit of the law that protects immigrants, and the letter of the law. For example, if you can't share information with the federal government, where is the line between sharing information and allowing it to be accessed, or making it accessible? Unfortunately, some law enforcement agencies, specifically in jails in the state, have tried to come as close as they can to that line. Within the bounds of the Keep Washington Working Act, they still do everything they can to assist the federal government in immigration enforcement.

I ask about the specific ways that this happens, and he goes on to explain:

Local agencies are not supposed to allow for federal immigration authorities to affect arrests inside of jails or state government buildings. And yet we have seen in our research that a lot of apprehensions are happening right at the door or sometimes following immigrants right from the door of these jails. So, while we are not exactly sure how exactly this information is being shared, when the person is going to be released, it is clear that there is a lingering problem where the pipeline from local jails to immigration detention has not been completely severed by the Keep Washington Working Act. And we are trying to really get to the bottom of how these systems continue to feed into one another.

With the Keep Washington Working Act having been implemented, where the hope was that we would really see no pipeline from jails or courthouses to immigration detention. Because, of course, when that happens, it makes it so that immigrant communities do not feel like they can pick up their loved ones from jail, or that they can go represent themselves or even be with their attorneys in court. And that is really why the Keep Washington Working Act is important. And unfortunately, we have seen that it hasn't been completely successful.

In other cases, law enforcement agencies are not even trying to pretend they are following the spirit or the letter of the law, they blatantly or overtly disregard it without facing any real consequences. Thomas describes some of the behaviors they have seen:

Unfortunately, we have seen several law enforcement agencies, particularly sheriff's offices and jails, who have shared booking information with federal immigration authorities. In particular, they either find out or speculate as to the national origin of detainees and share that information with ICE, who then flags it, lets the local law enforcement agency know, okay, thanks for notifying us that you've got someone you think is undocumented. We have confirmed that they are, and we would like to pick them up. Can you make that happen? That is called an immigration detainer. And then, at that point, unfortunately, certain local jails, there are processes to say, okay, we will let you know what time this person is due to be released and you can come pick them up then. Just do it outside the doors. We do not want to do the handover inside of the jail because that would violate Keep Washington Working. But in fact, sharing that information, in and of itself, violates the Keep Washington Working Act, and they should not even be doing that.

Thomas appreciates the work of the Center for Human Rights done in partnership with immigrant rights organizations, which can act as watchdogs on the behaviors of law enforcement agencies.

What is really fantastic about the work of the Center for Human Rights is that it is done in coalition with partners, ranging from public defender organizations, the ACLU, Columbia Legal Services, La Resistencia—which is a grassroots movement to abolish immigration detention in Washington State—and local activist groups

all over the state, in small counties and rural areas and in big cities alike. And we share that information with them. There is a lot that the community can do to leverage their power as stakeholders, as taxpayers, to hold government agencies accountable. And where the Attorney General and the government have not seemed willing or able to bring these local agencies into compliance, we have seen some success in local community groups and these advocates that I mentioned, in being able to really put some pressure on these agencies and, not force, but push them into a more sincere attempt at compliance with the Keep Washington Working Act."

In this way, the analysis done by UWCHR informs local organizations who, in turn, apply pressure on law enforcement organizations to act in compliance with the law. The work of a public university informs grassroots and non-profit organizations about how law enforcement agents act outside of the law. This sounds surreal, but it is exactly what is taking place: Community organizations protect immigrants by ensuring the police acts in compliance with state laws.

Yubing

I met with Yubing, a doctoral student in Information Science whom I co-advise with a faculty colleague, to talk about her work with the Center for Human Rights over Zoom. This time, though, I am interviewing her, not advising her on her research. She is used to being the one doing interviews, so she finds it interesting to be interviewed instead of being the one asking the questions. When I ask Yubing about her motivations to do this work on immigrant rights, she smiles and says:

Yeah, I had a suspicion you would ask about that. So, I have been thinking. I think there are two things for me. I think one is my family immigrated from China to Italy, and that is where I was born. And then I immigrated to the US. Or I am not an immigrant, I guess, by US definitions. But I moved to the US to pursue higher education. And so, immigration has always been near and dear to my heart. Because I feel like it is such a part of, not just my identity, but that of my family. So, in undergraduate, I was incredibly interested in immigration and human rights. And at one point, I thought I wanted to be an immigration lawyer, although that turned out to not be for me. But I was incredibly excited to return to it from the

research perspective. And not the human rights research, necessarily, but from an information science perspective, I felt I was really lucky to have come in. And then you had this project that seemed to check all the boxes of the things I wanted to explore further. I do feel this research, maybe more so than others that I'm currently doing, feels less self-serving. Although it is, of course, benefiting me as well. But I do feel that I can tangibly 'see' the results when we meet with the community partners of the UW Center for Human Rights, and how they are integrating our work with their work of more on-the-ground advocacy and litigation. It just feels incredibly gratifying to know that me looking at a spreadsheet, or me looking at emails and coding for that, serves a greater purpose than just advancing my own career or my own interests.

Yubing has a knack for data science and quantitative research, and has been strengthening tools to also do qualitative analysis of the datasets that the Center for Human Rights receives from the public records requests related to immigrants' rights. Under my supervision and through working with other faculty and graduate students, she led the development of a method to organize, code, and analyze thousands of pages of emails and other records obtained from Grant County, in Eastern Washington. She is the first author of the resulting paper, published in 2021—academic publishing frequently takes a year or more to publish research results—in the Journal of the Association for Information Science and Technology (JASIST): "The information practices of law enforcement: passive and active collaboration and its implication for Sanctuary laws in Washington State." That paper reveals "a baseline of passive and active information sharing and collaboration between local law enforcement and federal immigration agencies before Washington sanctuary laws went into effect in May 2019, a practice that needs to stop if agencies are to comply with the laws." In addition to establishing a baseline for information sharing, the paper suggests a systematic methodology to analyze the records according to information science standards accepted in the scientific community. The methodology can be further refined and used to continue monitoring information-sharing practices between local law enforcement and federal immigration enforcement after the passage of the sanctuary laws in Washington state. After her work on that paper, the Center for Human Rights hired Yubing as a research assistant to continue analyzing the records obtained from other counties in Washington state, records documenting communication and immigration detentions after the passage of

KWW and COTA laws.

Ana

Early in 2021, another doctoral student in Information Science approached Yubing and me with an interest in participating in our project with the Center for Human Rights. Ana was curious about how research teams collaborate in fields different from her background in knowledge organization, and wanted to learn about qualitatively coding large datasets. Ana worked for a few months helping Yubing code aspects of the immigrant rights dataset, including emails and arrest records. She quickly started noticing how immigration enforcement officers write about the detentions in ways that are purposefully vague, with subtle cues embedded in the language that automatic coding would not be able to easily detect. A human reading of the records yields more insight than a machine, to detect how officers try to cover their tracks. Ana mentioned a few examples:

> *A person was arrested after leaving the courthouse, and it was within a block. They waited for him. They waited for the individual to have left the courthouse, followed him in the car, and it was within two blocks of the courthouse that he was arrested. And then another situation I reviewed four forms in which they were all collateral arrests. And you could tell from reading the forms that they were all connected with each other, but I do not know if a machine would have been able to pick that up. Because the language was very similar, it had the same narrative events. It referred to other arrests, but it was not necessarily obvious that these other people were being arrested. In other cases, they gave the address location of the corner, where he was arrested, but did not say a mile radius distance. Much of the nuance is about information sharing, too, because no one is coming out and saying, we received this information directly from a law enforcement agency. But they just say things like, through the course of our duties, we learned that this person might be at this jail.*

Working with Ana, Yubing continues to find both explicit and veiled evidence of what she calls "problematic" practices of information sharing. To defend these information practices, local law enforcement officials seem to consider it their duty to actively report or flag to the attention of ICE or CBP that they have encountered

individuals suspected of being undocumented, primarily based on their names or their looks. These behaviors are evidenced by the datasets Yubing has been analyzing, which show her that:

> *jail staff actively notify ICE and CBP when someone is about to be released from jail, so that ICE can come and apprehend them. And in addition, legal assistants and legal aides, who work in local courthouses and prosecutor's offices, have been sharing court dockets and calendars with ICE and CBP, so that they can then come on the day that is scheduled for these individuals to appear in court and wait around and apprehend them in that way.*

I ask Yubing about the notion of "problematic" information sharing, given other discussions in the field of information studies that push for more transparency and frame more information sharing as a good thing. She pauses for a moment and says:

> *Of course, freedom of information allows the UW Center for Human Rights to do the work that we do. For example, we are getting these records because of a Freedom of Information Act [federal] and Public Records Act, [state] requests. But at the same time, when, for example, in the case of personal identifying information, we are now seeing this movement of wanting to not make those types of information or data just freely available to everyone. There can be these gray areas of conflict, where you are trying to, basically, ensure that enough information is publicly available, but without harming individuals. Or in this case, structurally harming groups of individuals. So undocumented, but even documented immigrants, in this case.*

The tension between transparency and harm seems to be particularly poignant for undocumented immigrants, whose precarious situation can easily result in them being detained and deported, with dire consequences for their families, their communities, and the economy. This reminds me of other research work I did with different collaborators, a project we called "Mind the Five" (www.mindthefive.org). In that project, we suggested five recommendations to help protect the information privacy of undocumented migrants and other vulnerable populations: exercise prudence, protect and secure information, provide training, share-alike, and practice non-discrimination. These recommendations were the result of realizing

that humanitarian organizations often want to help migrants, but easily overlook the additional vulnerabilities they experience. If humanitarian organizations are not careful, their careless collection, storage, and use of personal information about migrants can cause unintended risks. In the case of undocumented migrants, the inadvertent or malicious exposure of personal information can exacerbate the risks of detention, deportation, or violence. If humanitarian organizations trying to protect migrants need to care about the personal information they collect and store, law enforcement organizations should be bound by the same principles of care. The "Mind the Five" practices to protect the privacy of vulnerable populations in humanitarian contexts apply just as well in the context of law enforcement, especially in a sanctuary state such as Washington.

The problem, as Yubing points out, is that law enforcement agents likely think that what they are doing is right, even though it is against the law.

> *In the work that we have uncovered, it is clear to us, at least through the email records and through the descriptions of their encounters with these individuals [immigrants], that they probably think they are doing what is right and what is their duty and mandate. But for us, another way to see that same work is to see that they are continually ethnically profiling individuals. And there are probably larger incentives at play, where you are seen as a productive ICE officer or deportation officer, if you can get large numbers of people apprehended and eventually deported. So, I think there is probably a sense of them thinking that it is doing good, and for the best interests of the US, of their country. But I do think it is more complicated than that. And in their doing good, they can also very intentionally harm those that they are apprehending and encountering along the way.*

Yubing and I talked some more about what is good or what is right, and whether there is an absolute truth about what is right. In the end, she concludes that "when you are taking away people's parents and separating them from their children, or making courthouses insecure locations, or going into neighborhoods and raiding people's houses, I do think those have—and have been shown in other people's work—to have severely negative consequences at the community level, however good it may look in terms of numbers or how you're doing individually as a deportation officer."

In the end, the deportation machine is incentivizing a system that causes harm to people and to the community. In Washington State, sharing information and resources, or collaborating with the deportation machine of federal immigration enforcement outside of criminal matters, is against the law. Local and state law enforcement agencies need to act in compliance with the law. It is as simple as that.

Yubing hopes her involvement with this project will also open an unexpected door for her, to create ways to visualize the data in ways that make it more interoperable and more accessible to people. I look forward to her visual essay or visualization of law enforcement practices and the protection of immigrants' rights.

Figure 22: Farmworkers pruning cherry trees near Wenatchee, WA

Chapter 3: Wenatchee River

After receiving the waters of the Okanogan River, the Columbia River flows south along what is known as the Cascade Farmlands. The views of the Cascade Mountains to the west are spectacular, and there are abundant fruit orchards on the narrow banks of the river valley. There are several tributaries that join with the Columbia along this stretch. The Methow River flows gently down the Methow Valley from Winthrop and Twisp, joining the Columbia at Pateros. Further south, the Chelan River, the shortest river in Washington at just four miles long, connects the outlet of Lake Chelan at the Lake Chelan Dam, with the Columbia River. Lake Chelan, in turn, is a 55-mile-long reservoir that used to be the largest natural lake in Washington State. It grew to its current size after the construction of the Lake Chelan Dam in 1927. The name Chelan is originally a Salish word in the Wenatchi meaning "Deep Water." Further south from Chelan River, past Rocky Reach Dam, the Wenatchee River joins the Columbia. The Wenatchee Confluence State Park has trails and viewpoints over the confluence of the two rivers, and the area is encircled by the 10-mile Apple Capital Loop Trail, the longest loop trail in Washington State. The city of Wenatchee, the largest in Chelan county with a population of 34,000, sprawls around the confluence of the Wenatchee and Columbia rivers.

Wenatchee

Wenatchee is known as the "Apple Capital of the World." Fruit bins are stacked high in the many processing facilities in and around Wenatchee, which receive fruits from the numerous orchards along the Columbia and Wenatchee rivers. This region accounts for 85% of the pears and 25% of the apples produced in Washington State. The share of apples used to be larger, but other regions have increased their apple production and, the Wenatchee region has diversified to other fruit orchards. The annual harvest of apples in Washington is 134 million standard 40-pound boxes, produced in around 175,000 acres of apple orchards, harvested by hand between August and November every year. This is about 10-12 billion apples each year, half of which are either Red Delicious (34%) or Gala (19%) varieties. The other half of the crop are either Fuji (13%), Granny Smith (12%), Golden Deli-

cious (10%), Cripps Pink (3%), Braeburn (3%), or any of the 2,500 other varieties of apples grown in Washington. The $3.4 billion Washington State apple industry is dominated by ten ultra-large growing, packing and shipping organizations and produces six of every ten apples consumed in the US. A 1934 study of the apple industry in Wenatchee reported that "a greater production of apples comes from this section [the Wenatchee area] than any other area of similar size on earth."

However, apples are not originally from Washington. The Bible blames an apple for the original sin, although apples likely originated in Kazakhstan and were carried east by traders on the Silk Road. Apples were first planted in North America by the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Vancouver, Washington in 1826. Apples came to the Pacific Northwest with the white settlers. The region of Wenatchee has evidence of human habitation since the end of the Ice Age, more than 11,000 years ago. The region was the ancestral territory of the Wenatchi people (nɬəšqʷáẇsəxʷ or *P'squosa*), a hunter-gatherer tribe that lived along the Wenatchee and Columbia rivers. The Wenatchi spoke a variant of the Salish language; one of their fishing camps was the village of Nikwikwi'estku, located in present-day downtown Wenatchee. The Wenatchi were greatly decimated by sickness (smallpox in particular) after the arrival of white settlers. In 1855, the U.S. government promised the P'squosa people a 36-square-mile reservation upstream the Wenatchee River with a guarantee of their fishing and hunting rights. The treaty was then forgotten when the U.S. government focused on a treaty with the larger Yakama reservation, and the Wenatchi became a non-federally recognized tribe, which led to the loss of their ancestral lands and their fishing and hunting rights. Eventually, survivors of the Wenatchi were moved into the Colville Reservation further north, where their descendants are now part of the Confederated Tribes of the Colville Reservation.

Native populations were decimated and displaced by the white settlers. Outside of the reservation, immigrant farmworkers are now the source of cheap, dispensable labor for agriculture on the Wenatchee River Valley, as in the rest of the Columbia River Basin.

Figure 23: Orchards along the Columbia River, with the Cascade Mountains in the background. Near the confluence of the Methow River at Pateros, WA

Natalia

Natalia was born and raised in Wenatchee. Her parents are from Michoacán,

Mexico, and they moved to the US long before she was born. They lived in California for a couple of years where they had Natalia's two older siblings. "We had an uncle that lived in Washington, and he said: 'Hey, there are all of these orchards in Wenatchee, Washington. There are apples, cherries, and pears. There are so many jobs and so many Latinos out here.' So my parents decided to move to Washington while I was in my mom's belly, and I was born in Washington," Natalia tells me with a smile. She has a UW College Assistance Migrant Program (CAMP)-branded purple background on her zoom screen because she works as a Program Coordinator at CAMP. But before we talk about her work, she tells me about growing up

in Wenatchee:

> *My first memory as a child that I can think of, related to migrant farmers, is daycare. I used to be a part of—now that I'm thinking back, it was probably Head Start. I know that I was being taken care of at this facility that was like daycare, but everybody's parents worked in agriculture. I think that is where it started. The education was about apples and healthy eating. We would play. It was really awesome. I made a lot of memories. I definitely don't remember anybody that was there with me when we were little, but I have vivid memories of a lot of learning that took place. A lot of connecting with my family took place at that learning center: bringing in parents for us to present to, performing musically, things like that. Those are some of the memories I have of growing up.*
>
> *There is a Mariachi Program there that is really connected with a lot of the Latinos in the area and is trying to get them to think about their future with music or college. It is like a music education program. I was a part of it, and it was really awesome. I definitely continued with music as I got into middle school and high school with the Mariachi Program. I learned guitar and vihuela and started singing. I think that helped me develop personally and to feel more confident in my abilities growing up as a first generation Mexican American in a community that, I would say, is half white, half Latino. Now, when I go back, I'm starting to see a couple of Black families and Asian families, but you can tell from the demographics of the community that it's Latino and white. I think that is why I stuck more to the Mariachi, versus the orchestra, versus the band. It connected with me a lot more. It had songs that my grandparents could relate to, so I went along with that. I stopped with music once I got to college, sadly.*

I looked for Natalia's school in Wenatchee, trying to find any indication of the Mariachi Program, but everything was closed due to COVID-19. I wondered how students have been participating in the Mariachi Program remotely, via Zoom, to play songs that their grandparents could relate to. Natalia tells me it was very scary to come to UW from Wenatchee, and she tells me a story of her first day, being dropped off on campus:

> *I was moving into my dorm, my mom and my dad were with*

me. We had already packed the car and driven three hours from Wenatchee to Seattle. I was on campus going through my first day of orientation, and my dad is watching me put my stuff out in my room. It is, like, two buckets of things. Then he looks at me and says, 'You're not actually staying, right? ¿De veras te vas a quedar? ¿Es en serio? (are you really going to stay? Seriously?)' And I turned to him and I told him: 'I already paid tuition. I already paid for my dorm. I already paid for everything.' It is just this moment where this is the first time that this has ever happened in my family. My dad does not know if it is serious, even though I've seen the University many times before. I think that was one moment that will always stick with me, that my dad could not believe it. Also, he did not really think I was going to stay that day. He thought I would be crying and want to go home.

I do not think that it had set in for him that I was actually going to be leaving my home, my culture, and my community. Traditionally you do not leave your house until you are married as a woman, culturally, and I think that's kind of what they thought. After I graduated, they thought I would move back, and that is not really how it happened. I liked it out here and ended up staying out here. But that memory will never leave me because I was already there, ready to go, to start my first day, and my dad was, like: 'Wait, you're actually staying?'

I wish I could have talked to Natalia's dad when I visited Wenatchee. What was it like for him to drop her off and go back home leaving her in Seattle to go to college? How did he experience the mix of pride in her success and sorrow of leaving her behind? Was this why he moved to the U.S. from Michoacán two decades earlier, so his daughter could have a chance for a better education, and maybe even go to college? I've talked to parents of UW students at CAMP events. I sought out the ones who look like they felt most out of place in the ballroom where lunch or dinner is served, with speeches and recognitions they likely cannot understand. It is hard to break through and make contact in that setting, where they are both ecstatic and paralyzed. One day, after the pandemic, I will be able to do fieldwork again. I will be able to meet Natalia's parents in their place, speak their language, share their stories. For now, all I have is Natalia's picture on Zoom, with a purple, UW-CAMP branded background. I ask her if she ever had doubts about leaving home and coming to

UW. She immediately replied:

> *I had so many doubts. I think that my parents, even though they could not give me any knowledge in terms of majors, careers, connections, and a network, they were one of the biggest reasons why I graduated. They helped me out a lot with just being motivated, just being able to pick up the phone. Any issue that I had did not seem like as big of an issue compared to the things that they had overcome since before I was born. Hearing from them and continuing to hear their words of motivation was really what pushed me, and the fact that I had already put so much money into my degree and I needed to get it done. I wanted to have a job afterwards. For me, it was not really an option to just leave college, and I would have done everything in my ability to make sure I graduated.*

And graduate she did. In fact, she went on to do a master's in leadership in higher education, and she just graduated from that. She wanted to learn more about the organizational structure of the education institutions, how to make things easier for students, and how to better advocate for them. She now works as an advisor for CAMP, she understands how students more easily commit to UW once they find out they are accepted to the CAMP program. Natalia tells me how CAMP provides a community for the students, when they come from different regions of Washington and have experienced things like their parents working seasonally and sometimes having no money coming in, or having to pick up their house and move to another state for work, things that all kids of migrant farm working parents understand well. She also understands them well, since she also shares that background. She has the dual perspective, both as student and as part of CAMP, on the importance of students finding community in order to thrive:

> *When I go into a space like the UW, although we have improved our diversity rates so much over the years and have a really diverse incoming class this year, I feel a little bit different coming into the institution. I feel welcomed, but I can tell that, institutionally, it's not a Hispanic-serving institution. I feel like I'm coming in and there are certain norms and certain roles that I have to abide by. The institution is slowly changing. I see things differently than maybe some of my white coworkers, or my Black coworkers who have a completely different experience both at work and at home.*

Surviving and confronting this racialized experience of being Latinx in higher education is enhanced by developing resistant cultural capital, a type of social capital I will discuss below, something minority students need in order to thrive. At CAMP they have a seminar every week and they talk about topics such as these, and they have students think about their identity and their impact on the world. CAMP helped Natalia choose to come to UW, and then, when she was finishing her master's program there was a position open. "I think my master's program was way more challenging than my undergrad," Natalia tells me. "I would have way more breakdowns, way more crying moments, but, you know, you pick yourself back up." Nonetheless, she joined the staff at CAMP, and has thrived, finding ways to give back to her community in ways she had not expected:

> *I would say that it is both a really big blessing that I get to be a guidance for the students on campus, and I also know that it's a lot of responsibility that I have on my shoulders. Their parents sometimes give us phone calls about concerns that they have. And there are certain things that we cannot tell them, you know, but I have to be able to still have them feel confident in the fact that their student will be fine. So, we are really, really connected to their families, and that is probably one of the hardest parts. If a student's car gets broken into, for the parents back home it is this crazy thing, like: 'Come home. Why would you be out there in this unsafe place?' But when you are out here, you know it's, like: 'Well, where did you park your car? Why did you leave this shiny thing in front of it?' It is learning about not doing that. But to the parent, it can definitely seem like a completely unsafe situation. I think that, for me, it feels really rewarding and, on top of that, it can be stressful at times.*
>
> *There are things that our students face and there is nothing that I can do to help them, you know. I am seeing our students more consistently opening up about the mental health issues that they face. We work with first-year students and students who are in college up until they graduate, but our focus is on the first-year experience. Sometimes they are dealing with things that I have no control over, and I think that is the most challenging part for me. I wish I could do something, but I cannot change the experience that they had growing up in their home. A lot of our students come from single-parent*

households, and they start learning about the traumas that they faced growing up once they get to college, and they learn about therapy, and mental health and wellness. So, the first year is definitely a big revelation year for a lot of our students.

On top of all the regular challenges of first-year students who come from immigrant farm working families, this year has been particularly challenging due to COVID-19. All classes were shifted online starting spring quarter, so all students who joined UW in fall had a very different experience, taking classes remotely and living at home or alone on campus dorms. I ask Natalia how CAMP students have been dealing with the pandemic, and her mood turns somber:

I do not think anybody is doing well. I think everybody is definitely getting by. One thing that I will say is, academically, our students this autumn quarter have performed better than any of our students over the past five years. Academically, they did really, really good. We only had a couple of students who fell under the GPA concern—a 2.5 GPA or below is what we would consider really concerning in any of their classes. There were only a couple of students in that situation, but I know that even the ones that did good in their academics do not feel good.

They are feeling lonely, like everybody else is feeling, not being able to hang out with their family and friends when they want to, not being able to do things. Their entire first-year experience of college is just completely different than they thought it was going to be. I feel sad about that, you know. I remember my first year being chaotic and crazy, but I had so much fun. I learned so much about myself through the mistakes that I made and through the things that I wish I could have done differently. But they just do not really get that in-person experience, so we try to do as much as we can. We have had conferences with them, events, cooking nights, painting nights. We try to do things to keep them engaged with each other, but you can only get to know each other so much over a computer.

The frustration of online learning is shared by most of the country and, in fact, most of the world. I have been teaching and interacting only online as well for over a year. Three of my kids are finishing school online: one graduated from her mas-

ter's with an anticlimactic and chaotic online commencement; two more did their last year of college and of high school entirely online, with very limited in-person social interaction. This has been the strangest of years for all of us. And we are all doing the best we can.

Daisy

Like Natalia, Daisy grew up in Wenatchee and both her parents are from Mexico. Her mom works for the Transportation Security Administration (TSA). Her dad works in different orchards and owns a couple of them as well. Daisy remembers getting up very early as a child, at 4:00 in the morning, and going out to the orchards with her parents to work. She remembers being cold while sitting on the ground of the orchards. The ground was wet, and she would sit there all day until it got really hot. At the end of the day they would go back home. Those memories marked her childhood.

When she started high school she decided she wanted to be an engineer. She wanted to go to Stanford or UW, so she took all the advanced classes offered at her high school. She joined clubs. She joined MECHA (Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano/a de Aztlan, a student movement of Chicano/a, Mexican, Latino/a identity, rooted in the spiritual liberation symbolized by Aztlan; http://students.washington.edu/mecha/) and with MECHA she visited UW. During her senior year in high school she did a business program at UW aimed at high school students for one Saturday every month. All those activities prepared her to get admitted directly into the engineering program at UW, which is a very competitive admission.

She was initially interested in aerospace engineering but is now thinking that aerospace may be too narrow a field and that she may get into mechanical engineering instead, hoping it will give her more opportunities. She recognizes that engineering classes are really hard, but study groups help to overcome these difficult classes. Going to school during a global pandemic has also been stressful. With online classes, she feels she has to teach herself everything. Additionally, she feels as if some professors are not very understanding of the challenges of online learning. However, the CAMP program helps Daisy in other ways, like finding her way around college and figuring out what she wants to do with an engineering degree.

Most importantly, CAMP has given her a sense of community, of being in a place where she feels she belongs.

Leavenworth

The Wenatchee River flows along the Wenatchee Valley from Leavenworth and the Cascade Mountains further west. The Wenatchee Valley is a rich, fertile valley lined with fruit orchards. Leavenworth, 22 miles northwest of the Columbia, is quite a unique city. It displays several glacial erratics, huge boulders pushed and left behind by a glacier which originated in nearby Mount Stuart. From a pedestrian bridge in downtown Leavenworth you can see the Wenatchee River cutting through the terminal moraine that marks the glacier's end. Leavenworth was incorporated in 1906 as a small timber community and lumber mill. Mining operations added to the attraction of the town, and the saloons, gambling, and brothels that followed earned it the label of "the wildest town in the west." Nonetheless, during the 1920s the lumber mills closed, mining disappeared, and the population dropped with the ensuing economic downturn. In 1960, two Seattle friends bought a country café and a motel and decided to decorate them with Bavarian motifs because the surrounding mountains reminded one of them of the scenery of Bavaria (where he was stationed in after World War II). The Bavarian theme was adopted by the Leavenworth Improvement For Everyone (LIFE) project, following guidelines suggested by the University of Washington Bureau of Community Development.

The LIFE project focused on tourism as key for Leavenworth's revitalization. From an eyesore of a town, filled with dilapidated buildings and with most residents on welfare, Leavenworth eventually became a thriving Bavarian-style town that attracts thousands of tourists to its numerous festivals held throughout the year. Tourism has made Leavenworth thrive, but it is focused on the well-being of out-of-town tourists and affluent seasonal residents with vacation homes. Local residents are employed in hotels, restaurants, shops, and other tourist attractions, but they tend to feel foreigners in their own town.

Myrella

Myrella went to high school in Leavenworth even though she was raised in nearby

Dryden, just a few miles downstream on the Wenatchee River. Both her parents were from Mexico, and they also grew up in ranchitos, small agricultural towns. Having grown up in the small town of Dryden, she felt accustomed to the small, secluded ranchitos when she visited family in Mexico. The small-town life also helped her parents adapt to their life in a new country which may be a common experience for other immigrants coming from small agricultural towns. Myrella's dad worked in a pear orchard in Dryden for almost 50 years; he just retired last fall. Her mom works in agriculture too, in warehouses packing cherries, apricots, or pears, depending on the season. It has been hard for Myrella to be apart from her parents during the pandemic, seeing all the health disparities affecting migrant farm workers, and worrying about their wellbeing. She tells me there are not many rules to protect farmworkers in rural Washington, and she and her sister have become active in requesting more government support and protections for migrant farmworkers. Washington was slow in adopting regulations to protect farmworkers from getting infected and spreading COVID-19, and immigrant workers were caught between the vulnerability of immigration status and the push to remain working in the fruit harvest as essential workers. One document gave them essential worker status and pushed them to work despite COVID-19 restrictions, but the lack of another document made them deportable. Myrella's dad can speak some English, but not her mom, so helping them get medical attention in Dryden is particularly hard for Myrella and her siblings, all of whom are in Seattle.

When I ask what it was like to go to school in Leavenworth, which is known mostly as a touristy Bavarian town two and a half hours East of Seattle in the Cascade Mountains, Myrella laughs heartily because she is well-used to that question.

> *It is honestly very funny [laughs] because, again, that is all I grew up with, so that is all I know. I really don't know how to compare to other things. In hindsight, fighting for what I was going through at the time, as well as for my family and my life, I am really happy that I grew up there. Growing up near Leavenworth was a very nice experience. It is funny how some people assume that there aren't any Latinx folks in Leavenworth, and there are! I want to say there were about 30 Latinx students in my graduating class, and the numbers are growing. Many people don't expect that.*

I feel like a lot of people are quick to assume that I just went to school with only non-Latinx folks, which is safe to assume. I understand why they would assume that, but that was not really my experience. When I came to Seattle and people would ask me where I was from, I would say Leavenworth because I just didn't want to explain the whole thing about Dryden. I went to school in Leavenworth, and it was just so much easier to say Leavenworth. I did spend a lot of time there and that is where I went to school, so at least eight hours of my day was in Leavenworth. People would respond saying, "What? There is a school there? People live there? I thought it was just a tourist town." I would tell them that there is so much more to that area than being a tourist town. And I wish people knew that. I think that is something to be aware of.

Ricardo: At the time, when you were a student, you were aware that most people thought of it as a tourist town?

Myrella: I worked in Leavenworth at a place called the Fudge Hut, and tourists would straight up ask us "So, where does everyone actually live? Is there a school here?" We would ask them "What do you mean?" and they were just so confused. We would explain to them that some people live in Leavenworth, some people live outside of Leavenworth, and that we have a school here. In some cases, people would confuse this Leavenworth with Leavenworth, Kansas, which has a really big prison. Customers would joke and ask, "Where's the prison?" and I remember that some of my classmates would direct them to the local high school, which was pretty funny. So, if you have a sense of humor that was funny.

Walking around the modern and empty buildings of Cascade High School in Leavenworth, closed due to COVID-19, I am amused by the Bavarian-style mannequin on the side of the main road holding a sign indicating face masks are required in town. I imagine Myrella's life going to school here, in a town that I, too, only knew as an all-season tourist destination. I always found the Bavarian-style motif kitsch, but with Myrella's story I have a new appreciation for the town.

When Myrella was getting ready to graduate from high school, she did not think twice about applying to UW. Both her older siblings had attended college, so they

Figure 24: Bavarian-style sign welcomes tourists to Leavernworth, WA

could help her with applications. This made a huge difference to Myrella. She mentions the College Assistance Migrant Program (CAMP) only in passing, even though she acknowledges it made a huge difference to her. I discuss CAMP and other programs that support minority students below.

> *But it was hard. During senior year, I remember going through college applications and my non-BIPOC peers would constantly tell me that if I get into certain colleges, it would be because I'm a Mexican, first-gen student. They never said this was because I didn't earn it, but their reasoning was always, if I got something, it was because of my ethnicity and my background. It got to a point where I heard this so much that I actually started to believe it. It wasn't until after my first year at UW, my experiences in the CAMP program, and conversations I had with my amazing advisors, when I realized that what my classmates in high school said was not true. I earned my spot at the University of Washington and I earned all the success that I had. I'm a hard worker, and it was so eye-opening for me that the culture of telling people that they earned something solely based off of their race or ethnicity is so normalized, especially at that time.*

It was rough first coming to UW because I came by myself. My graduating class was 97 students, and only three of us came to UW. I was never close with the other two students that came to UW, and so I never saw them. I was very fortunate to be in the CAMP Program. It is where I made a lot of connections and a lot of friends. Moving to Seattle, this huge city, this huge campus, all by myself, was very scary. Well, I wasn't all by myself. I had my family drop me off, but I was living there all by myself and it was intimidating. I remember that I was very excited to move to Seattle, up until a month before moving day.

I had a moment of panic and I remember looking around thinking to myself, "Who's letting me do this? This is wild! I'm from a graduating class of 97 students, and I'm now going to be in classes with up to 600 students. Whose idea was this? Who agreed to this?" It was just so mind-blowing to me. [laughs] I remember thinking that I couldn't say this to anyone, and that I had to go through with it. That was a really interesting experience.

The CAMP program was key to her undergraduate success, and after graduation she got help from the McNair Program to enroll in graduate school. The McNair Program helps first-generation, low-income, and/or minority undergraduate students to prepare for doctoral-level studies. The program is part of the Federal TRIO Programs, designed to motivate and support students from disadvantaged backgrounds. The McNair Program is named after Ronald McNair, and African American physicist and astronaut, killed in the Challenger space shuttle in 1986. The McNair Program is dedicated to maintain the high standards of academic achievement inspired by Dr. Ronald McNair's life.

Myrella, a McNair scholar, tells me she just finished reading Brené Brown's ***The Gifts of Imperfection: Let Go of Who You Think You're Supposed to Be and Embrace Who You Are***. She believes this book may be influencing the way she is now thinking about not being ashamed of growing up and messing up. She also tells me that she listens to a lot of Reggaeton, especially Bad Bunny, because

Figure 25: Dormant fruit orchards waiting for spring by the Wenatchee River near Leavenworth, WA

he has been releasing a lot of new albums. I leave Leavenworth and drive down the Wenatchee River towards the Columbia River, listening to Bad Bunny and admiring the miles of dormant fruit orchards along the valley, all waiting for the warmth of spring to go into bloom. The blooms will be followed by a plentiful harvest, all tended to by migrant farmworkers like Myrella's parents.

College Programs to Support Minorities

First-generation college students are most frequently marginalized and face many obstacles to attend college. While financial barriers are significant, they are not the only barriers preventing students from applying, being admitted, attending, and succeeding in college. Overall, more than half of the first-generation college students in the US have parents without a bachelor's degree which means they generally do not have family role models to follow. In addition, the experience of first-generation college students is frequently compounded with other intersectional identity factors (e.g., identifying as LGBTQ or coming from a low-income household) which exacerbate the challenges of college success. Commonly studied non-monetary barriers for first-generation students include low self-efficacy, lack of parental support, low school personnel support, and perceived barriers such as uncertainties regarding career plans, discrimination due to gender or ethnic

identities, perceived unsafe environment, absence of positive role models, presence of negative role models, lack of long-term guidance, lack of preparation or low academic skills, lack of social support, and feelings of not fitting in. All these barriers compound with the lack of financial resources that is most frequently experienced by first-generation college students.

Establishing special programs targeting first-generation college students and other marginalized groups is a matter of equity, rather than equality. While equality seeks to offer the same programs and opportunities to all (i.e., treating everyone the same), equity seeks to provide different levels of support and assistance depending on the specific needs or abilities of each individual. While equality can exacerbate pre-existing advantages of privilege, a focus on equity can help transform structures of privilege and disadvantage and contribute to social justice.

A graphic artist from El Salvador, Alfredo Burgos, made this illustration specifically for this book. It depicts people picking apples to visually render the concept of equity: one can reach them standing on her own, another one needs a ladder, and a third one needs the help of stacked boxes. This way, all can pick and enjoy the apples.

Figure 26: Equity is providing various levels of support and assistance depending on specific needs and abilities (Illustration by Alfredo Burgos)

An analysis of programs and services at four-year institutions prepared by the National Association of Student Personnel Administrators (NASPA) recommends educational institutions shift from a deficit-based lens, in which students' perceived shortcomings are the driving force, to an asset-based lens, in which institutions welcome and celebrate the unique assets of first-generation students, fostering a climate of belonging and inclusion. Rather than expecting students to be college-ready, NASPA suggests educational institutions shift their focus to become student-ready. Rather than reacting to expressed student needs, educational institutions need to be proactive in engaging students and building an engaged community to support them throughout the entirety of the college experience. More specifically, this means sustaining programs that target first-generation students rather than the general student population at large (equity rather than equality). Successful approaches for first-generation college students include 1) appointing a single advocate with visibility and influence to coordinate institutional efforts, 2) tracking end-to-end student data (both qualitative and quantitative), 3) aligning resource allocation with clearly stated program vision and objectives, 4) understanding the reach and gaps of existing resources (which tend to be disjointed and scattered), and 5) increasing return on investment and funding opportunities (i.e., share costs with institutional partners, leverage technology, peer and alumni mentoring, and source additional funds).

The type of approach described by NASPA is deployed at University of Washington through the programs of the Office of Minority Affairs and Diversity (OMA&D). OMA&D works to increase diversity on campus and to enrich the college experience of all students, faculty, and staff. To accomplish this, OMA&D defines its mission as "creating pathways for diverse populations to access postsecondary opportunities, nurture and support their academic success, and cultivate a campus climate that enriches the educational experience for all." The OMA&D team pursues the vision of being "leaders in advancing equity for underrepresented groups in higher education, and build from our legacy of advocacy to promote broad inclusion and enact positive change." The Special Education Program, forerunner of OMA&D, was created in the 1960s after Black Student Union members and supporters occupied the office of UW President Odegaard, demanding an increase in minority student, faculty and staff on campus, and the creation of a program in Black Studies. Samuel E. Kelly was appointed as the visionary leader of

the new initiative. Dr. Kelly was the first African American senior administrator of the University, and he helped open the doors to minority and low-income students. The Samuel E. Kelly Ethnic Cultural Center (Kelly ECC), named in memory of Dr. Kelly, is part of OMA&D and one of the frontline centers offering resources and opportunities for historically marginalized and underrepresented students. The Kelly ECC focuses on leadership opportunities, education through social justice, student advising, intersectional celebration of diversity, and offering a meeting space for students and student-led groups. The Kelly ECC is the largest cultural center in any college campus in the U.S., and one of the few with a dedicated team to support and empower undocumented immigrant students through the Leadership without Borders program.

Together with the Kelly ECC, OMA&D at UW supports a dozen other programs as part of its focus on minority affairs and diversity. The most salient one among the students I interviewed in this project is the College Assistance Migrant Program (CAMP). To put CAMP in context, I include below a description of the dozen UW programs that seek to bring equity to higher education, copied from the information sheets my daughter received with her admission to UW this spring:

> ***Educational Opportunity Program (EOP) Advising***
>
> *EOP Advising offers holistic academic advising and assistance to students from underrepresented minority groups, economically disadvantaged families, and students who will be the first in their family to attend a four-year university.*
>
> ***College Assistance Migrant Program (CAMP)***
>
> *CAMP assists first-year college students from migrant and seasonal farm worker families in pursuing higher education by helping them develop the skills necessary to ensure continued enrollment and eventual graduation.*
>
> ***Health Sciences Center Minority Students Program (HSCMSP)***
>
> *HSCMSP seeks to increase diversity at each level of aca-*

demia by helping to bridge subsequent levels of academic training from undergraduate to professional and graduate.

McNair Scholars Program

McNair prepares undergraduates for doctoral study through involvement in research and scholarly activities. Their purpose is to assist in the academic and professional development of undergraduates whose goals are to teach and research at the college level.

wəɬəbʔaltxʷ - Intellectual House

wəɬəbʔaltxʷ is a longhouse-style facility on the UW Seattle campus. It provides a multi-service learning and gathering space for Native American students, faculty and staff, as well as others from various cultures and communities to come together in a welcoming environment to share knowledge.

Study Abroad

OMA&D partners with the UW Study Abroad office to provide programs in collaboration with academic departments that focus on minority perspectives all over the world.

Champions Program

The Champions Program provides holistic support for UW students who are alumni of foster care. Services are designed to ensure academic success and preparation for lifelong achievement after graduation from postsecondary education.

Early Identification Program (EIP)

EIP encourages and assists UW undergraduates from educationally and economically disadvantaged backgrounds to enter graduate school through undergraduate research, pre-graduate advising, seminars, coursework, and social

activities.

Instructional Center (IC)

The IC offers academic support through drop-in tutoring, workshops, placement testing, graduate exam preparation, and access to a computer center.

Louis Stokes Alliance for Minority Participation (LSAMP)

LSAMP provides opportunities and resources to students pursuing science, technology, engineering, or math (STEM) careers.

Samuel E Kelly Ethnic Cultural Center (ECC)

The ECC is a community center dedicated to inclusive space and student leadership development. The ECC offers education on social justice, is the home to over 165 registered student multicultural organizations and host diversity programming in the center and theatre. Features include a dance studio, leadership lab, wellness room, computer lab, and a program for undocumented students called Leadership Without Borders.

TRIO Student Support Services (TRIO SSS)

TRIO SSS provides holistic and comprehensive advising and instructional support in order to help undergraduate students be successful at and graduate from the University of Washington.

College Assistance Migrant Program (CAMP)

The CAMP Program is the most frequently mentioned program among the students I interviewed for this project. CAMP started at UW in 2010. It is funded through the U.S. Department of Education's Office of Migrant Education. Each

year, CAMP provides 50 students from migrant and seasonal farmworker families with both financial assistance and advising and support services during their first year of college. Participating students need to be admitted to UW as well as the CAMP program. CAMP seeks to recruit the most academically prepared students that are among the most underserved populations. In addition to CAMP counselors visiting migrant families in their homes, CAMP hosts Dare To Dream Academy, a week-long event on campus for high school seniors to have a taste of what it would be like to be a student at UW. Since 2016, almost all of the CAMP students are first-generation college students, and almost all of them continue on to their second year of studies. CAMP provides more than financial and academic support. The program also offers mentoring and emotional and social resources, so students feel included and are encouraged to continue their education. CAMP organizes cultural events throughout the school year such as breakfasts and outings to museums and sporting events.

Sandra

Sandra's experience illustrates the importance of programs that target students from underserved communities to encourage them to go to college. While in high school in Okanogan she participated in a program called Gear Up, which took her to visit different colleges. She liked WSU (Washington State University) because it is "an alone place, with nothing around it." Since she was used to life in a small community, she felt more at home there. At the end of the Gear Up program she had to fill out applications to colleges. Even if she did not send them out, she had to complete the applications. She applied to two community colleges and three universities. I include a long excerpt from our conversation as an example of the granular detail of the importance of the work of CAMP and other support organizations in helping minority students get to and succeed in higher education.

> *I filled out the application for Wenatchee Valley, Central, WSU and UW. I knew that I wanted to go to Wenatchee Valley just because it was a lot cheaper for me, and it was closer to my house. Just because I've always been with my parents, and I've never lived far from them. I filled those applications out, and then I sent them out just because I already had them done. I talked to my advisor and she said, "you already have this done. Just send them out. I'll give you*

waivers." I said, okay, even though I hadn't decided if I wanted to go to Wenatchee, or if I wanted to go to WSU. But I knew that WSU was really expensive for me. Then I just thought about just going to Wenatchee and then transferring myself to another university whenever it was time.

I thought, "okay, so I'll do that." That was my big plan. After that, when the results came, I got an offer to go to WSU and I stayed there for two days. Then I just went over to WSU and I really liked it and everything. I thought, okay, I'm coming here. That's my final decision. I talked to my parents. They were like, "oh, but if you go to WSU, Pullman is really far. There is nothing around. You don't know how to drive."

The first night that we were at WSU, some of the people that went with me to the event, they were receiving the UW notifications. They were like, "oh, my gosh. I also just got accepted to UW!" I wasn't excited at all just because I went to UW before getting accepted two times, but I just got lost around the campus, it was so big.

Then, two days after I came back from WSU, I received a big letter with my acceptance to UW. I went to school and then two girls from my same high school also got accepted and they were doing a big, big deal about that. They were excited and throwing laughs and everything. They were taking pictures with the post and everything and I thought, okay, I don't know if I should tell people that I also got accepted to UW, just because the valedictorian of my school didn't get into UW. She got into the waiting list and same thing for the other two people that I know that they applied. So, I thought, I don't know if I should tell them, just because I don't know if this is good or bad. I just went quietly to my counselor's room and said, "I need to talk to you." She said, "okay, what is going on?" I said, "I need to tell you something." She said, "okay, tell me now." I showed her the big letter and she screamed. The secretary from the main office came and she said, "what is going on in here?" and then she said, "oh my gosh, she also got accepted." She was all excited and everything. I said, "yeah, but I don't want people to know. Just because I've heard that one person from here didn't get accepted yet." So, I don't want to do a big deal just because I might not go. I might just start with Wenatchee Valley and everything. She said, "Okay, okay".

She [the high school counselor] took me to Wenatchee a week after that with a trip that she was doing. I was just going all over the campus and everything and I met the CAMP [College Assistance Migrant Program] people from Wenatchee Valley. So, I thought, okay. I need to apply just because I'm coming here. I was getting everything done—same thing for WSU. I decided I needed to apply for CAMP. I was filling out my applications while I was receiving a lot of phone calls from UW. I was really surprised because I have talked to people and they told me that they've just got one or two phone calls from UW. I was receiving weekly phone calls from UW. I have heard that that's been really weird.

Ricardo: They really wanted you!

Sandra: I speak with a lot of students around. They were like, "oh, we're just calling you to see how you're doing" and everything. I was saying, "oh, they really want me to go there." They offered me to go to UW with a parent, but I didn't want to go with a single parent. I asked them for three tickets, even for four tickets so my two parents and my little sister could come with me. They said, "okay, we can't do that". Then in the afternoon they called me, and they said, "if you want to come and they want to come with you, they're welcome to come. You have four tickets now." I said, "okay." Then I talked to my dad and I talked to my mom and they both said, "okay, we're going to support you as much as we can. We know that we can't support you with money. But if you want us to go with you, we'll go with you." My mom got a little bit sick on those days, so she couldn't come with me. So only my dad and I went to UW.

I remember that my dad and I were sitting next to the window and we were watching how people were going all over the place. I thought, oh my God, this is so many people. My dad said, "aren't you going to get lost in here?" "Yes, I know that for sure," I said. We were talking there, and I remember that Raul, a CAMP advisor came to our table. He had a black suit and a white shirt with a little tie and he said, "Hi, my name is Raul." He sat at the table and I said hi. We introduced each other and he said, "I heard that you come from Okanogan County and we don't have many people from there. How are you feeling about coming to UW and everything?" He was really

nice. My dad was talking to him and asking him questions. When my dad does that, it's when he likes someone because he doesn't really like to talk. I was surprised how my dad just started talking to him and how they started talking to each other. It was surprising.

This conversation between Sandra and Raul was part of a CAMP-organized workshop about scholarships, and all the sources of financial help students could get, including loans, none of which Sandra knew anything about. Her parents could not contribute any money toward her college education, only moral support, so having this picture of financial options was important. Nonetheless, money is not the only critical factor for success in college. Raul also explained about the Husky Promise, and the many programs to support undergraduates at UW. Knowing she would not be alone made all the difference to Sandra:

Raul explained to us how the Husky Promise works and how at UW, everything has a department if I needed help, I could reach out to him. He explained to me about the Mary Gates Hall and how they had a small department for everything and that even if I wasn't on campus, if I didn't make it to campus, I always had options to go to and ask for help. So he basically showed me the campus for about 30 minutes. He talked to me about the Ethnic Cultural Center (ECC), the Instructional Center and other resources that they have which I didn't know about. I was worried because my writing wasn't the best and my reading either. I was having trouble knowing if that was the right place to go just because it's a multicultural place. I didn't know if I was going to be able to find Hispanic people that I could talk to. He just opened my eyes about knowing that even if it was a big campus, I was always a possibility to find people that could be in the same situation as I was.

My dad was surprised about this campus. He couldn't believe that we were in there and neither could I. They gave us pizza; they took us around campus and everything. After we went to UW, we got home and he said, "okay, now you went to Central, Wenatchee Valley, WSU and then UW. Now it's your decision to go wherever you want to go. We're going to support you to whichever place you want to go to". I said, "my final decision is to go to UW, just because they've been calling me. They are asking me a lot how I am."

This is how Sandra ended up choosing UW: people called her, repeatedly, and made her feel welcome. She came to check it out, even though she had already decided to go somewhere else. Then, when she came to visit, she found not only financial and instructional support, but emotional support and a sense of community where she could fit in, where there were with more people like her. She is now in her third year as a Spanish major, and she is proud of what she has accomplished.

Removing Obstacles on the Way to Higher Education

Like Sandra, other participants I interviewed for this project spoke of the many obstacles they faced on their paths to higher education. In addition to instability and financial hardship, participants emphasized loneliness and lack of community as important obstacles. The work of support organizations such as CAMP was critical to their success. The sample of participants in my study is incomplete, since it includes only those who made it, those who succeeded despite all odds. Many others never had a chance, or were not able to overcome the obstacles on the way. For those who made it, the support and help offered by CAMP and other similar efforts at UW proved to be invaluable to build what researchers Solorzano, Villalpando, and Oseguera call "resistant cultural capital." Resistant cultural capital is a key factor in student success to confront racialized barriers in the institutional and social contexts of higher education, frequently hidden behind a façade of the university being meritocratic, objective, and race neutral that ignores "the racialized structures, policies, and practices that guide higher education." Resistant cultural capital addresses social and emotional needs as well as academic and financial ones to provide a more holistic environment of support to minority students such as immigrant farmworkers. Resistant cultural capital is strengthened through specific social and emotional support activities, support from other students and faculty of color, and through active opposition against racist policies and practices.

Latinx students I talked to report all sorts of obstacles along the way to higher education, starting early in their lives. These obstacles ranged from financial hardship to struggles with relationships, loneliness, hopelessness, mental health issues, lack of resources and opportunities, and overall lack of stability in their lives. For

example, Xitlalit mentioned how her parents' jobs were "not very sustainable in the long-run which meant while growing up my life lacked stability. This was a source of frustration for me, so I put a lot of pressure on myself to avoid instability in the future." Xitlalit grew up near Mount Vernon in Western Washington, north of Seattle, so her story is not featured in this book like the others from Eastern Washington. Minelli and Emely, on the other hand, grew up in Yakima, and I feature their stories in the following chapter. Minelli talked to me about how "being from a very low-income family, we have struggled with health care and being able to afford it," which placed additional burdens on her path to higher education.

Emely

Emely told me how her path to UW was especially hard.

> *It was very difficult. There were a lot of times where I just wanted to quit, and I was so tired. It is culturally shocking because there are not very many students that look like me. I know UW claims to be a very diverse campus, but that's not really what I see. It's so hard to find your own community.*

She then went on to describe some of the difficulties she faced as a student, and what helped her overcome them:

> *I remember just saying 'yes' to a lot of things, a lot of clubs and a lot of programs, because I wanted to find that community. I joined a sorority, and it was so different to me. I don't know how to say this. It was a bunch of white girls and they had money. You could tell they just had a lot of money. I got into this sorority because I was just so eager to find a community, to be able to ground myself. But I joined the sorority and I wasn't treated very well. I remember being asked, 'Are you even here legally,' and things like that throughout my freshman year. It was very traumatic and it was very hard. It was hard on my mental health. There were times where I just thought, I don't want to do this anymore, I don't want to go to classes, I'm not motivated. But what kept me going was going back home on weekends and seeing my family. I would talk to them as a little destressor. It just reminded me that my parents work with their hands, so I can work with my mind and make them proud. Just seeing them*

do everything that they do to put me in college kept me going and motivated me to—even if i'm being treated this way—to speak up for myself, to learn how to advocate for myself and, if this situation isn't good, then get out of that situation and find a different community that's going to help me.

I was involved in the College Assistant Migrant Program, the CAMP program, and they were my community. They helped me and they supported me so much. They did a lot of internships with me, career workshops, how to build a resume, tips and tricks in college, and they were a really good financial support for me too. I had a lot of ups and downs my freshman year. It was very difficult to find my true community and to stay motivated, but I feel like I've got the hang of it now.

I thought of my own kids in college, and what they might have gone through, which was never as challenging as what Emely was describing. I asked Emely what it took for her as a student to overcome the obstacles she faced to make it through college.

I feel like it takes a lot. There's only so much CAMP can do. They can provide these resources, but it's up to you to want to attend, to want to advocate for yourself, to want to do better. I think it all starts with your mindset. There were times where I thought, I don't want to get up for class, I don't want to do this, I'm mentally exhausted. I think it's just that drive in me. I remember what it was like as a child working in worse conditions in the fields, doing hard labor, actual hard labor, and I don't want that for myself. I don't want that for my parents. I want to provide for them when I'm older. So just remembering my goals, my long term goals, is what keeps me motivated and gets me through the day, what keeps me up at 2am studying, what makes me do extra credit, or what I practice my interviews for. It's those little things that I do by myself that no one sees, behind the curtain, that extra mile that I always go to and that I push myself for.

At the end of the day, I remember why I'm there, that not everybody has this opportunity to be there, and I don't take it for granted. I'm very grateful for all the chances, the scholarships, and the doors that have opened up for me by putting myself out there and by advocating for myself.

Programs such as CAMP, and other initiatives for minority students, help not only with information, guidance and financial aid: they help build resistant cultural capital, a key ingredient for their success in higher education.

Quincy

South of Wenatchee, the Columbia River continues its flow along a valley surrounded by basalt cliffs. The river is interrupted by Rock Island Dam 12 miles south of Wenatchee. Rock Island Dam was completed in 1933 and forms the Rock Island reservoir. The Rock Island Dam provides a water spill during two months every year, releasing water to allow juvenile salmon to pass through the project. 40 miles further downstream near Vantage, WA, the Wanapum Dam, built in 1963, blocks the river and forms Lake Wanapum. Both of these dams are part of the Columbia Basin Irrigation System which provides irrigation water to thousands of acres of farmland. This irrigation system makes the Columbia River the most dammed and managed river in the world. Between Rock Island Dam and Wanapum Dam the west side of the river is rugged and mountainous, but the east side opens up to the Quincy Basin, a flat basin of rich agricultural land. In the farmland around Quincy, central pivot irrigation structures sit on the ready like slow-rolling mechanical monsters in a sci-fi movie, and the soil is getting ready for a new season. Manicured fields of hops and grapes, essential to produce beer and wine, feature specialized trellises to hold their vines up for harvest. Wooden trellises for hops (Humulus lupulus) are about 18 feet tall. The ones I see stand empty during their off-season, waiting for the vines to grow back from the ground and yield their flowers, which are essential for beer's aroma, flavor, and bitterness. 75% of the nation's hops are grown in Eastern Washington, particularly in the Yakima Valley. Trellises for wine grapes (Vitis vinifera) are only about 6 feet above the ground, and unlike hops, the trunk of the vine is pruned and remains dormant during the winter, ready for new buds to start during spring. As you approach the Columbia River there are more fruit orchards than in the flat plateau of the Quincy Basin. All agriculture here is a gift of the Columbia River.

Quincy has a population of around 7,000, 12% of which is Hispanic or Latino. In

addition to agriculture, in which apples and vineyards are displacing other kinds of crops, Quincy is known for the [Columbia] Gorge Amphitheater, an outdoor concert venue with splendid vistas of the Columbia River. It is considered one of the most scenic outdoor concert venues in the world and hosts summer concerts and festivals. My wife's stories of all-night loud music and drugs during a Grateful Dead concert at the Gorge are enough to make me not want to go there, but maybe other bands would draw me there. I think of the music that students have been telling me they like to listen to. Elias had told me that he does not like to listen to much music in Spanish, but listens to music in English, especially rap. "I'm actually not a big person to listen to like music in Spanish," he tells me. "I listen to a lot of music in English. I listen to rap, just some old music. I like '80s, '90s, some random songs. I listen to a lot of Lil Baby, 21 Savage, Gucci Mane. And then I listen to some old songs, those songs that everyone listens to." Although he grew in Connell, on the other side of the Quincy Basin, I do not think Elias has gone to a concert at the Gorge, though. And I would bet neither have Roberto or Nora, both of whom were also born in Connell, but grew up in Quincy.

Figure 27: Trelises ready for a new season of hops, an essential ingredient of beer

Figure 28: Central pivot irrigation systems transformed the high desert into rich agricultural farmland in the Quincy Basin

Roberto

One of Roberto's earliest memories is when he was around four, and he was waiting for his sisters to get home from school. "Nothing significant," he says, "the only reason I can tell I was four was because my sister is a year above me, so she was five and she was at school, but I wasn't. I always associate that with my earliest memory. At the time, I was the youngest, I was alone the whole day, and I just remember thinking, 'Why am I here alone and everyone else is leaving?'" I tell him when my sister, also a year older, started going to school and I was left alone at home, I remember sneaking out and going to join her in her kindergarten room. Nothing significant, but also one of my earliest memories.

Roberto grew up in a little farmhouse outside of town. When friends wanted to go visit him, they had to drive far. He felt that gave him a lot of freedom. There were just three houses on their street, and he would tell his friends that an advantage of living out there was they could do things you could not do in town, like making

noise and building fogatas (bonfires). "My friends wouldn't be able to do that in town because they'd get the cops called on them. It was a lot of freedom and there are a lot of trails you can hike. It was a fun time. I liked it." Both of Roberto's parents worked in agriculture. He believes his dad got U.S. citizenship at the time of Reagan's immigration amnesty, but he is not sure. Roberto joined his dad working in agriculture a couple of years during high school, and realized it was hard work.

> *I just remember it sucking so bad. I worked with the onion seed. In late August, Quincy temperatures are an average of 95 degrees. You are outside all day with dust flying in your face all day. I did not like it. I was always the lazy one growing up in the household. Wherever my dad asked me to help with something, I always use school as an excuse to get out of it. Eventually, that became the case for my summers too. I worked with my dad for two summers and I just did not like it. I started doing these little camps in Seattle that the school told us about. They provided funding if kids were interested. I did a lot of science camps and, eventually, one turned out to be a whole summer long. I came to Seattle for a summer right before my senior year in high school. To put it shortly, I was lazy and used school as my escape to get out of working in agriculture.*

I would not have expected laziness to be the reason you end up going to college, but I understand Roberto's perspective. Other children of farmworkers I have talked to tell me they looked for a way out because farm work is hard work. But there is a poetic beauty in hearing Roberto say laziness was his way out. He wanted to get into pre-med, wanting to be a doctor, but found the Global Health program instead. He has a bit over a year to go before graduating.

By the time I spoke with Roberto I felt more confident about asking what he thinks of immigration enforcement and their collaboration with local police. He tells me he had been talking about that with some friends a few days before, and he was surprisingly gracious about law enforcement: "Rural cops and police officers, I always found them to just be someone's dad at my school," he told me. "They were just someone's dad, they knew everyone, they were part of the community." Immigration officers, on the other hand, are outsiders to the community. They do not know the people, and they cause a lot of harm. He is aware people use Facebook to warn when there are "suspicious looking vehicles" in the community so that people

can watch out. "People know when someone new is around. I don't want to say it's a big deal, like it's going to make the headlines, but people will say, 'Oh, just be careful because we've seen these kinds of cars around here.'" This type of information sharing, a way to protect themselves and to protect those in the community who might be undocumented, is the flip side of the information-sharing between law enforcement and immigration enforcement, where local police help ICE to find and detain undocumented immigrants in the community and target them for deportation. Except information-sharing between law enforcement and immigration enforcement is illegal in Washington. Washington laws are meant to protect the communities, which include immigrants, farmworkers and their families, and even "lazy" farmworkers who end up studying Global Health at the University of Washington.

When I ask Roberto what he thinks of my idea of collecting stories from Latinx students who come from the regions where we are studying immigration enforcement practices, he surprises me once again with an unexpected perspective: "I think it is important to collect people's voices as a way of preserving not only history, but what's going on at the moment. I feel like in a couple of years, decades maybe, whatever is going on right now will be interesting to study in the future. I think people in the future will learn a lot from what has happened now. I think it is important to collect people's voices, so the right people get represented."

Nora

Nora has strong childhood memories of making mud pies with her brothers when spending the day in the fields while her parents worked. Her mom complained that they got their clothes dirty but also found it convenient that she could keep an eye on them while she was working, so she did not have to pay for childcare. Nora liked living and growing up in Quincy, even though Latinos were not represented among those in power in the town: all the Latinos were working in the fields. Some Latinos, like her parents, owned businesses. Nora's family had a nursery where they grew fruit saplings, little trees that can be transplanted into commercial orchards. Her parents had left everything behind in Mexico to give her a chance for a better future in the US, and she knew she had to go to college if she wanted to break the cycle of poverty. Nora graduated valedictorian in her high school class, which

made her parents very proud, and the memory of this made her cry during our interview. I told her if we were in my office rather than on Zoom, I would offer her a box of tissues and tell her that she is not the first one to cry during an interview. She is studying computer science, one of the most competitive majors at University of Washington, and she hopes she can get a high-paying job, so she does not have to watch her parents suffer.

When we talked about immigration enforcement she cried again. "It is terrifying," she said between tears, though this time they were not tears of joy. "I remember one time I was traveling from work to home, and I saw an ICE car, and I was so terrified. I mean, I just immediately called my parents, I was like, stay home. I did not know exactly what they were doing, but I know just seeing those cars was terrifying. One time, I had to pay my boyfriend's speeding ticket because he was too scared to pay. Yeah. Like even to go to court for any reason." I tell her I went to the courthouse in Ephrata and thought about all the people ICE was picking up outside the courthouse, people who went for a scheduled hearing about some unrelated matter and ended up being deported. She confided she had a speeding ticket in her sophomore year in high school, and she reflected on what paying for that ticket had been for her:

> *I have the privilege of being a citizen. So, the interaction was very quick. I did not have to fear for my safety. But obviously, a lot of people do not have that luxury, and a lot of people do not know how to access those resources without putting themselves in danger...A way to change this would be telling them their rights and for them to know how they could maybe pay tickets by mail or find different ways, that they do not exactly have to go to the court and risk themselves. Because I think even if the ICE agents do not have their warrant signed by a judge, which is what makes them acceptable, people are not going to go to the courthouse if they are scared. If an ICE agent comes up to you and is like, hey, I have your name on a warrant, you have to come with us. They are not in the position to say, I know my rights. And that is the worst part.*

We talked about the work of the UW Center for Human Rights, analyzing public records of the collaboration and information-sharing between local law enforcement and immigration enforcement in Washington State, and about how I want to

write something that combines that work with the stories of Latinx students from the communities affected by that kind of immigration enforcement. Nora remarks that presenting these two ideas side by side could be very powerful: "I think it would be a really good contrast to show," she says. "Like I have the privilege of being a citizen, and I have had these amazing opportunities presented to me because of that, compared to someone else, who could have had the same opportunities but was picked up by ICE. It could show those two contrasts." I am in awe of the resilience of the Latinx students I talk to and of the surprising answers to my unexpected questions. I can show the contrast between those who have a chance to live out their dreams and hopes and those who don't because they are picked up by ICE. Nora, by the way, lakes to listen to "chill music" that helps her study. She especially likes Rex Orange County, The Weeknd, and Khalid. Maybe one day she will go to a music festival at the Gorge Amphitheater.

Mattawa

Mattawa is is south of Quincy, next to Priest Rapids Lake. The lake was formed in 1961 by a dam that submerged a series of seven separate cataracts along a nine-mile stretch of the river. The cataracts were an important salmon fishing spot for the people who had lived there for millenia, the Wanapum people. According to the Wanapum Heritage Center, "the Wanapum, which means the River People, are part of the river and the land through which it flows. Coyote created the river in his efforts to care for the Wanapum. The Wanapum people have been supported by the river's bounty for thousands of years. We honor the spirit of the river. We are the caretakers responsible for the land and for passing on the teachings of the natural world to the next generation." There are few descendants of the Wanapum alive today. They are enrolled as part of the Confederated Tribes and Bands of the Yakama Nation, in the Yakama Reservation, which I discuss in the next chapter. Today, Mattawa is a small agricultural town with 4,400 inhabitants. The town boomed during the construction of the Priest Lake Dam, but it has since scaled back to be a tranquil, suburban rural town.

Monica

Monica grew up in Mattawa. She tells my colleague Geno that Mattawa is a small town, so there is not much to do. Monica's parents are both Mexican, and mostly Latinos live in Mattawa, many of them family or friends. "Everything that happened in the town was going to school, being home, spending time with family." Monica's classmates in school were mostly Latinos. In high school she had teachers who talked about going to college, and a counselor who helped her find out about how to go to college. Monica's mom did not want her to go to faraway Seattle, but Monica fell in love with UW when she visited with a group of students and teachers. It was her first time in Seattle, and she loved it. She promised herself that one day she would go to school there. Monica was the first one in her family to ever go to college, so she did not know what to expect when she got to UW. She liked school in Mattawa, but when she got to UW, she realized classes were a lot harder than what she was used to. Nonetheless, she worked hard. She joined the Latino Student Union where she met others whom she felt were more "her people." She also joined a Latina sorority, and through them she got her first teaching job after graduating from college. After college she went back to school and got a master's degree, which was more than she ever dreamed she would accomplish. She is a teacher, working from home during the pandemic, and she loves the life she has been able to make for herself thanks to her college education.

Marcela

Marcela's family moved to Mattawa from Mexico when she was around five, so she grew up in this small farming town in Central Washington. Like Monica, Marcela experienced a community where most students were Mexican or Latino, and Spanish was the language most commonly spoken. This helped Marcela to blend in because there were so many other people who shared her same background and experience and who also spoke Spanish at home and with other friends. Marcela has two older siblings who went to college ahead of her, so they made it easy for her. They were the first ones in their family to go to college. Marcela remembers how her dad was always supportive, but did not know how to help:

In my dad's mind, it was never a question of whether we were going to go to college, but rather how we were going to get there and what support they could give us to get us there. As much as they wanted to help, they did not know how to help us navigate secondary education in the U.S.

My dad, I think, attended school up until 6th grade and my mom went until 2nd grade in Mexico. So, they first, not knowing the language and second, not knowing the system, were not able to help us. I was lucky that my sister Lorena and my older brother Juan pioneered navigating those systems like applying to financial aid, the FAFSA application, scholarships, and applying to college.

I think I was lucky that they had gone through the experience so that they could mentor me when I had to do it myself. I was also lucky that I had very different experiences from friends about school counselors. I was also very lucky that I had a very supportive counselor of the Latino student population in the high school where I went. I remember specially her helping me find scholarships and going to her office and questioning whether I was competitive for certain scholarships and her pushing me to apply to different opportunities. I think that made a big difference, but it still led to some challenges during that adjustment period.

Getting to UW was a big culture shock for Marcela. She recalls how they used to have to drive an hour to go to a mall or to a movie because Mattawa is so small, and how moving to Seattle was so scary because it is so big!

I had to learn how to navigate public transportation and the University District in and of itself. I think that area is larger than the area that I grew up in. It definitely was a culture shock. It was also difficult being confronted with the cultural change. Mattawa is predominantly a Mexican community and UW is a predominantly white community. I think UW has done a lot to try to diversify its student body, but it still has a long way to go. I think that also was a big challenge in adjusting to that cultural change, not only from a small town to a big city but also the diversity in the environment and the people around you.

There were programs at UW that helped Marcela feel more like she belonged. She is grateful for the programs for Latino and minority students, which made sure she could build a community and network of people she could feel comfortable around.

> *One of the things that I appreciate about UW are the resources like the EOP [Educational Opportunity Advising] that they have for minority students. I remember when I came to my first-year orientation, I had a session with a counselor from the EOP. Knowing about resources like the ECC [Kelly Ethnic Cultural Center] was a big game-changer because it gave me exposure to finding environments that were comfortable and familiar while also allowing me to find community. I think that played a big part in my own experience and a lot of my peers that came from similar backgrounds and experiences, in being able to more easily adjust to the environment and succeed in our academics as well.*
>
> *They also provided support from an academic perspective such as utilizing the tutoring hours. I ended up majoring in accounting, and I applied to the business school at UW. One of the things you had to do in order to apply to the business school was take a business writing exam, and I had no idea what that consisted of. The Office of Minority Affairs & Diversity [OMA&D] through the EOP offered a prep course to practice for that test.*

After graduating from UW, Marcela got a job in corporate America, which see sees as also has a very low representation of Latinos and Latinas, especially in Seattle. Marcela has a sense of being the only one in the room which makes her feel a strong sense of responsibility to do a good job. It also brings her pride to see how far she has come because she is one of very few Latinos in the company. At the same time, it is also a reminder for her of all the work that still needs to be done. "It is important to be proud of your accomplishments, but also know that you have a responsibility to mentor younger people so that the numbers and representation in different fields and professions continue to improve."

Figure 29: The Columbia River and the Hanford site of nuclear reactors and radioactive waste near Mattawa, WA

Hanford Nuclear Site

South of Mattawa the Columbia River flows gently south, a steady current of highly managed water after the seven dams that separate it from the Grand Coulee. Every liter of water of the Columbia River is carefully managed for both cheap electricity and subsidized water to be sold at discount prices for irrigation of around 600,000 acres of farmland. In this last stretch of the Middle Columbia, the river crosses the Hanford Reach National Monument and the fertile region of the Tri-Cities, before it reaches the McNary Dam and turns west toward the Pacific Ocean.

The Hanford Reach National Monument is an "involuntary park" created in 2000 to protect the site of the Hanford nuclear site that refined the plutonium used in the bomb dropped over Nagasaki. The Hanford site is a vast deposit of radioactive waste in what was the ancestral territory of the Wanapum People, the Yakama Nation, and the Nez Perce, who used the land and nearby river for hunting and salmon fishing. The reactors were finally decommissioned with the end of the Cold War, leaving behind 56 million gallons of radioactive waste, polluting the river, groundwater, and surrounding soil. The ongoing environmental cleanup of the site

costs over $1.4 million per day, with total costs projected at $112 billion to be completed in 2065. Health consequences of the careless nuclear enterprise have soared as well. Around Hanford, people report unusually high rates of cancer and thyroid disorder, despite government claims that radiation levels are safe. The Energy Employee Occupational Illness Compensation Act (EEOICPA) pays each worker at least $150,000 in compensation for cancer diagnoses, in addition to medical treatment. EEOICPA has paid out $1.7 billion in compensation to Hanford workers, former workers, and their survivors. The staggering human, environmental, and social costs reveal only part of the hidden costs of the nuclear energy program at Hanford.

One unexpected benefit of the radioactive nuclear waste was the creation of the "involuntary park" of the Hanford Reach National Monument. It is not only a great example of the shrub steppe ecosystem dominated by sagebrush, the iconic scrubby and aromatic bush of Eastern Washington, but it has seen an increase in wildlife. It is also home to the only healthy population of salmon on the Columbia River, undisturbed by the industrial development that was kept away by the secretive and radioactive nuclear site at Hanford. The shrub steppe turns into farmland outside the National Monument in a valley that lies in on the southern end of the Columbia Basin Irrigation Project, and the scablands created by the Grand Coulee and the cataclysmic floods of Dry Falls at the end of the Ice Age. In this portion of the Middle Columbia, the river is flanked on each side by Benton County on the west and Franklin County on the east.

Immigration Enforcement: Information Sharing and Collaboration

In January 2017, the Benton County sheriff and commissioners published a statement clarifying that, contrary to rumors at the time, Benton County was not a sanctuary county. The statement read: "Benton County law enforcement officers cooperate to the fullest legal extent with ICE efforts. Corrections officers at the Benton County jail regularly communicate with ICE about suspected criminal aliens, allow ICE to interview such suspects in our jail, and notify ICE of scheduled release dates so that ICE can arrange to legally take custody of the suspect upon his or her release on local charges." The statement may have been in response to

the December 2016 declaration of a county in Oregon with the same name, which declared the county a sanctuary county that would "not participate in or facilitate any federal efforts to register individuals based on their religious affiliation or other status. The Sheriff's Office will respect the rights of and provide equal access to all individuals, regardless of religion, race, and ethnicity or immigration status." Oregon, like Washington, forbids local and state law enforcement agencies from detaining a person for federal immigration violations if that person is not part of a criminal activity. The fact that the sheriff and city commissioners felt compelled to affirm their commitment to collaborating with ICE in federal immigration enforcement may help explain why Franklin and Benton counties rank third and fourth in ICE arrests in Washington State. 84% of ICE arrests in Franklin and 71% in Benton were done as the person was leaving the jail for other charges, the majority of them non-criminal, according to a report by UW Center for Human Rights.

Immigration enforcement is one of the contentious issues that are a part of the culture wars in the country. Culture war refers to conflict and struggle for dominance of values, beliefs and practices in an increasingly polarized political environment. The former US President Trump exacerbated a style of culture war politics based on relentlessly lying as a way to galvanize and mobilize his followers. Traditionally, contentious issues such as abortion, homosexuality or gun laws expanded into a broader battleground of culture wars that now includes climate change denial, rejecting wind and solar energy, calling the COVID-19 pandemic a hoax, refusing the COVID-19 vaccine, and most importantly, perpetuating the big lie that the election was stolen from Trump in favor of President Biden. These lies resulted in the insurrection at the US Capitol in January 2021. An analysis by the New York Times reveals that US counties that are least vaccinated against COVID-19 have in common higher proportions of Trump voters. Benton County is a petri dish where one side of the culture wars is expressed loud and clear. Apart from a majority vote for Trump, there are expressions in the county to reject renewable energy projects to build solar and wind energy farms, rebuff mask and social distancing mandates to prevent the spread of COVID-19, and continue to argue the big lie that Trump won the 2020 election and it was stolen from him. Benton County has one of the lowest vaccination rates in the state, and local law enforcement continues to seek ways to collaborate with ICE to detain and deport immigrants. Driving around Benton and Franklin counties I frequently saw confederate flags along the roads,

together with "Covid is a hoax" signs and "no solar farm in my back yard," accompanied by pro-Trump banners and flags. These disparate issues are all aligned with the pro-Trump world view, and they are all part of the politicization of issues such as immigrant rights.

Sheriffs in Eastern Washington have explicitly said they do not intend to follow the laws that prevent them from sharing information with ICE because they do not agree with them. For example, Spokane Sheriff Ozzie Knezovich has publicly stated that he does not plan to follow the state laws that protect immigrants' rights because he "has a responsibility to make sure that criminals are taken off the streets of my county." The statement is proudly reported by Fox News, an outlet of extreme right positions that fans the flame of the culture wars.

Challenges of freedom of information research on Human Rights

Human rights research has much to gain by the existence of laws that promote access to information about the actions of government agencies. The Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) is perhaps the most important of these laws, as it pertains to federal government agencies. Adopted in 1967 as US Code 552, FOIA mandates that federal agencies are required to disclose within 20 days any information requested, with some exemptions that protect personal privacy, national security, and law enforcement, among others. Similar laws cover state agencies. In Washington State, the Public Records Act (PRA, RCW 42.56) provides citizens access to state and local government records, also with some exemptions, and allows five days for responses to the requests. Anyone can request records, they do not have to state a reason why they want to obtain such records, and there are no restrictions on what they can do with the records obtained. Laws that ensure access to information about government actions are important to promote government transparency and accountability, and to protect the civil liberties and human rights of everyone.

The use of FOIA and other access to information laws for human rights research is not new. The National Security Archive, a non-governmental, non-profit organization in Washington DC, was founded in 1985 to conduct research on national security policy. It holds over ten million pages, the largest collection of declassified

records from the federal government, mostly obtained through over 60,000 FOIA requests over the last 35 years. Much of this declassified information is organized, indexed, and publicly available on the Digital National Security Archive online, and has contributed to numerous convictions of human rights abusers internationally, including former dictator Rios Montt in Guatemala, Alberto Fujimori in Peru, Charles Taylor in Sierra Leone, Rafael Videla in Argentina, and Juan Bordaberry in Uruguay. The National Security Archive continues to be a leader in FOIA research and access to declassified records documenting historic US policy decisions.

Civil liberties organizations such as the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) have been frequent users of FOIA to expose government actions on a variety of topics including national security, privacy and technology, free speech, racial justice, and religious liberty. Related to immigrants' rights, a 2021 report from ACLU Michigan, ***The Border's Long Shadow: How Border Patrol Uses Racial Profiling and Local and State Police to Instill Fear in Michigan's Immigrant Communities,*** uses FOIA research to expose the use of racial profiling to target people of color, and documents how federal law enforcement colludes with state and local police agencies to target, detain, and deport immigrants, with dire consequences for families and communities in Michigan. To prepare this report, ACLU used FOIA to obtain and analyze thousands of records and apprehension logs of the detention of noncitizens that span over nine years of stops and arrests in Michigan. As with the UW Center for Human Rights, federal agencies were unresponsive to the initial FOIA requests so the ACLU of Michigan pursued litigation. Ultimately, the records offer details of who initiated stops, locations of stops, and skin color of the people apprehended, among other information. In addition, the study analyzes internal policy documents from CBP.

The results of this sweeping analysis reveal that CBP does little to fulfil its mandate of apprehending people attempting to cross from Canada into the US without authorization, and instead, CBP spends its time and resources targeting people of Latin American origin for arrest and deportation, terrorizing Michigan communities and instilling fear of harassment and arrest based on physical appearance. ACLU concludes that CBP engages in blatant racial profiling, targeting for investigation and arrest those who speak Spanish or who look like they have a "Hispanic" appearance, conducting warrantless searches anywhere in the state of Michigan,

and working in cooperation with state and local law enforcement to target people of color. All these have resulted in a dramatic increase of arrests and deportations of noncitizens of Latin American origin in Michigan State, which has ripped families apart, caused significant financial burdens for those targeted and their families, and has undermined community trust in both immigration enforcement and local policing. Based on the results of their investigation using FOIA-obtained records, the ACLU includes, among others, the following salient recommendations: reforming the operations of CBP to set a reasonable number of agents to focus on the border, setting a reasonable distance from the border for their operations; ending the entanglement of state and local law enforcement with immigration enforcement; and most importantly, "ending discriminatory policing practices such as racial profiling and other types of profiling based on actual or perceived race, religion, national origin, sexual orientation, gender identity, or English proficiency, among others." In addition, ACLU calls for the restoration of access to driver's licenses for all, and urges for more transparency and disclosure of information about federal immigration stops and expanded reporting of activities by local and state law enforcement.

News organizations have long used FOIA as a tool in investigative journalism, although journalists account for a small fraction (around 10%) of the users of FOIA. A recent example of investigative journalism related to immigrants' rights is a report by the New York Times, How ICE Picks Its Targets in the Surveillance Age by journalist McKenzie Funk, published in October 2019. Combining information obtained through interviews and public records requests, the report analyzes how Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) targets noncitizens for detention and deportation through a combination of racial profiling and data mining—analyzing large databases to generate new information— from a variety of public and private databases such as driver's licenses, car registrations, facial recognition, and other technology resources. These practices result in the detention and deportation of noncitizens just because they become easy to find, not because they are committing any crime or posing any threats to society.

The Center for Human Rights uses FOIA and other public records requests for human rights research to strengthen the work of local organizations doing human rights work in Washington State. Student researchers with the Center for Human Rights received training from the National Security Archive and Emily Willard, a

former researcher at the National Security Archive, who joined the UW as a PhD student and worked as a research assistant with the Center for Human Rights. One of the difficulties of conducting research based on FOIA and other kinds of public records requests is that obtaining and analyzing data is a laborious process and the Center cannot take on all the different topics it wants to explore. The team at the Center has to be selective, and focus its research on topics that would have the most impact to the frontline human rights organizations it works with. Through its partnership with human rights organizations on the ground, the Center can prioritize the issues it works on and focus on what matters most to frontline organizations. In addition to having to choose the most salient issues to focus on for lack of enough resources to cover them all, human rights research faces another problem: the use of FOIA and other public records requests does not reveal enough to produce data about what is happening on the ground. This does not mean that human rights abuses are not taking place, just that the FOIA research is not uncovering the evidence. There are, of course, strong incentives for local, state, and federal agents who are committing abuses against the immigrant community not to document those abuses, so they seek ways to avoid leaving documentation of what they are doing and what is going on. This avoidance takes subtle forms, when it comes to monitoring compliance of laws that prohibit information sharing and collaboration between law enforcement and immigration enforcement. The records obtained include mentions such as "I'll give you a call," "per our conversation," or "I'll drop by at noon and we can talk," all of which indicate interactions that take place, yet they do not leave a trace: there are no transcripts of those conversations. The absence of data does not mean that something is not happening, only that what is happening cannot be corroborated through analysis of public records requests.

Another challenge to FOIA research on human rights is resistance from government agencies to have their actions scrutinized. There are government agencies and individuals in government agencies who do not want their actions and their work scrutinized by researchers or by the public. The most basic form of resistance is passive: not responding or responding that they looked around and could not find anything related to the topic of the request. This is not always due to a desire to cover up the truth. It can also be a result of overworked staff, disorganized information systems, and lack of interest in upholding government transparency and accountability. The research team at the Center for Human Rights has learned that

the records requests must be formulated very clearly, with clear parameters and expectations, and in ways that make it harder for the clerk who receives them to be able to get away with saying they did a quick search found little or nothing to send back. Nonetheless, the Center for Human Rights reports that some agencies and counties are more willing to share information than others. For example, in 2021 the Center reported that four out of 13 counties have not provided responses to at least one of the public records requests of 2020:

> *Adams County has not produced a copy of their current policy in response to records requests submitted by UWCHR in both 2020 and 2021. Spokane County has failed to respond to a public records request regarding interview consent forms that was submitted in 2020. Chelan County provided initial response to two 2020 public records requests, but did not continue record release or correct their mistake in mixing up UWCHR's open requests. Lastly, Franklin County provided irrelevant records to a 2020 public records request for interview consent forms, and did not respond to further attempts to receive the correct records.*

Angelina points out that government agents will sometimes acknowledge they do not like to receive public records requests. She recalls conversations with Border Patrol agents and ICE staff who tell her they actively oppose the Center's work, because they see their core mission is to deport as many people as they can. "I remember a conversation I had with one specific Border Patrol agent who said, and this is not a direct quote, he said something like, I think any information that I release to you, you will use to make my job harder, so I don't appreciate these requests." Angelina also receives hateful or threatening phone calls, emails and social media posts from people who do not appreciate the work they are doing.

Tri-Cities: Kennewick, Pasco, and Richland

The Tri-Cities metropolitan area is made up of the three linked cities of Kennewick, Pasco and Richland, at the location where the Columbia River is joined by the Snake River and the Yakima River. Pasco and Kennewick both have around 80,000 people, and Richland has only about 60,000. Nonetheless, there are no real boundaries between the cities, and large strip malls dominate the main thoroughfares around all three, bisected by the Columbia River and its confluences with the

Yakima and Snake rivers. I described earlier how the discovery of the Kennewick Man on the banks of the Columbia near the Tri Cities provided evidence of early human habitation of the region for at least 9,000 years, and the region was the ancestral territory of the Cayuse, Umatilla and Walla Walla tribes, whose descendants are today part of the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation.

For many generations, the confluence of the Snake and Columbia rivers had been a thriving marketplace led by the local Cayuse Indians, who traded dried salmon, a protein-rich, portable, nutritious and abundant commodity, for neighboring tribes' horses, elk meat, blankets, buffalo robes, sea shells, and obsidian, among others. When the expedition of white explorers Lewis & Clark arrived at the Columbia River in October 1805, paddling downstream on the Snake River in dugout canoes, they were flabbergasted by the number of salmon they found on the Columbia River. "The multitudes of this fish are almost inconceivable," wrote Lewis in his journal. The members of the Lewis & Clark expedition ate so much salmon they quickly tired of it and varied their diet by eating dogs. According to Blaine Harden, author *A River Lost*: The life and death of the Columbia, the expedition had discovered "the world's greatest salmon highway, a commuting route for incomparable numbers of chinook, coho and steelhead." By the time of their arrival, the expedition also found a Native population that was already decimated by half due to disease, particularly smallpox, for which the local population had no defenses. By 1830 they were further reduced by 90% as a consequence of scarlet fever, whooping cough, and measles. UW Anthropologist Eugene Hobbs concluded that "the history of Indian-white relations in the Columbia plateau is first and foremost a history of the ravages of disease."

Near the Tri-Cities region is Walla Walla, where white physician Marcus Whitman and his wife, Narcissa, established a mission in 1836, as part of the white settlers' efforts to convert local Indians to Christianity. An outbreak of measles killed many in the Cayuse Tribe. Survivors accused Whitman of either causing the outbreak or not doing enough to stop it. In retaliation, a group of Cayuse killed the Whitmans and a dozen other settlers in the mission in 1847. The Whitman massacre unleashed the white settlers' revenge and occupation by the US Army, which resulted in the confinement of Native Americans into US-designated reservations. Whitman College, in Walla Walla, is one of the premier liberal arts colleges in Wash-

ington. My wife went to Whitman, and when we took our daughter on a campus visit in the fall of 2020, the campus was beautiful in fall, but deserted due to the pandemic. I could not help but ask the admissions counselor about Native American students on campus. She confirmed Whitman College has never been able to recruit a Native American student. In 2017, the college changed its mascot from the Whitman Missionary to the Whitman Blues. But the history of the relationship between the Whitman missionaries and Native Americans may take longer to heal than the ravages of disease.

Today, the Tri-Cities' region's economy and employment are dominated by the Hanford Site and its cleanup, and by industrial farming with the cheap electricity and water from the Columbia River Irrigation Basin. River barges carry grain, agricultural supplies, and fuel between Astoria and Portland, closer to the Pacific Ocean, up to the ports at Kennewick, Pasco and Richland. At the Tri-Cities, Chevron built a tank farm for diesel fuel and gasoline, and Cargill built a farm of giant grain elevators to load and unload river barges. Barges continue upstream the Snake River all the way into Lewiston, Idaho, which boasts about being the farthest inland seaport of the West Coast. 40% of the country's wheat is transported on barges along the Snake-Columbia riverway, subsidized by US taxpayers through the construction and maintenance of the locks and ports along the way, in addition to the subsidized electricity and irrigation water of the Columbia River Irrigation Basin.

The water of the Columbia and Snake rivers was raised, flattened, and slowed, to eliminate the rapids and waterfalls that made transport difficult. As a result, "the river does not flow, it is operated," says Blaine Harden; The Columbia River was killed, starting with the Grand Coulee, and followed by the more than 250 reservoirs and 150 hydroelectric projects, including 18 mainstem dams on the Columbia and Snake rivers, which turned them into a machine. It is a plumbing system and no longer a river. The river-machine manages the slackwater through dams that, despite the best efforts of fish ladders and water spills, transformed the natural habitat of salmon and endangered its survival on the Columbia and Snake river basins. Born upstream, juvenile salmon swim downstream to grow and live in the ocean, and then swim again upstream to their place of origin to reproduce and die. What was once the world's greatest salmon highway is now a series of warm

pools of slackwater interrupted by dams and turbines. While the dams and reservoirs produce electricity and water for irrigation, and enable subsidized transport of grain and fuel on river barges, the population of salmon in the Columbia Basin is but a fraction of what it was, and may be headed to its extinction. This is the outcome of what started in the 1930s with the building of the Grand Coulee (or in the early 1900s with the arrival of Lewis & Clark). According to Harden, "the Grand Coulee Dam validated the notion that God made the West so Americans could conquer its natural resources, that He made the Columbia River so they could dam it up, extract electricity, and divert it into concrete ditches."

Claudia

Claudia grew up in Pasco and Kennewick, but she and her parents visited her grandparents in Michoacán, Mexico when she was young. Her parents worked seasonally in agriculture, and she liked the continuous visits back and forth, since she had family both here and there. Claudia was used to changing groups of friends at school every so often, and frequently most students in her class were Latinx, like her. After third grade, she remembers that there was more English spoken at school. When Claudia was in fifth grade her family stopped going back to Mexico, with the idea that it would be better to be more stable in the US without so much change. Her older siblings were encouraged to go to college and, when the time came, so was she. By that time, Claudia and her family were living in Connell, WA, a very small town further north, near Othello. Claudia's parents never went to college, and she thinks her mom did not even finish high school. After applying to several colleges and universities, Claudia received the Costco Scholarship Fund, which covered her studies at the UW, so that is where she went.

> *When Upward Bound brought us to visit the university, I remember that I went into an auditorium where they were giving a class, a full auditorium with about 700 people I think, and I remember saying: "Oh no, I can't imagine being here myself, I don't want to be in such a big place." And well, first there was the whole process of applying to the university, of also applying for Financial Aid, which is the financial aid that the government gives, is a process from which I could not ask my father for help because he did not know what Financial Aid is either, but Upward Bound helped me a lot and also some*

friends who had graduated before me, who had already entered university, I asked them many questions to be able to make those applications. When you apply the scholarship from Costco, they give it to students who need that help and when you apply to the university you apply automatically to this scholarship. I did not know that this was the process, so I remember my friend, she called me, she said: "I received a letter that I am receiving a scholarship, do you know if you also received it?" Because it was $10,000 every year, so they were going to cover everything every year and I remember that I went to the mail and received the same scholarship as her. There are not so many students who receive that scholarship, because they give it at the University of Washington and also at Seattle University.

I stayed in the university dorms and I remember that my parents brought me and my sisters and when my mother entered the dorms, she was scared, she said: "No, how are you going to be here? There are also boys who live on the same floor!" My mother was very scared. She left crying. I remember because one of my uncles lives here in the Seattle area and my parents were staying there before going home, I remember they said: you can stay there with your uncle for a few days, too, before you have to start your classes. My mother was crying from the moment I left my things in the bedroom until we arrived at my uncle's house, and then when we started saying goodbye, I also felt very emotional. I was the first in my family to go to university, although I am not the oldest. My brothers went to community college in Pasco, which is about an hour from where we lived, but I was the first to leave home and I was going to stay away from home. I remember that my parents left and I was already crying, and my mother came back and said: "Your father says that if you are going to be crying, you better come with us." It is hard to withdraw from the family and start on your own in a city.

Claudia successfully graduated from UW in 2010. She briefly returned to Eastern Washington but then came back to Seattle and worked with St Jude's Hospital for a

few years. She now works with UW raising funds for scholarships and other projects. It had all started in the Tri-Cities region of Eastern Washington.

Before I continue downstream on the Columbia River toward the Pacific Ocean, I will take a detour up the Yakima River, toward the Yakima Valley and the Yakama Reservation in the next chapter.

Figure 30: Mural in Toppenish, WA: "Braceros in the Yakima Valley"

Chapter 4: Yakima River

The Tri-Cities region of Eastern Washington brings together the three cities of Kennewick, Richland, and Pasco and the Columbia, Snake, and Yakima rivers. While the Snake River continues into the Columbia Waterway to the east, all the way into Idaho, the Yakima River connects the Yakima Valley to the northwest. Although it is the longest river in Washington State (214 miles), the Yakima River is the smaller of the three rivers that meet in the Tri-Cities. The Yakima River is not used for transportation of grains or fuel, but its white water rapids are popular for kayaking and rafting. The Yakima Valley is dry and warm in summer, with 300 days of sunshine a year. Irrigation from the Yakima River and its tributaries provides the economic base for 1,000 square miles of agricultural land that includes pastures for cattle, fruit orchards, grapes, hops, and field crops. 75% of the hops in the US are grown in the Yakima Valley, as well as a significant portion of the state's apples and orchards.

The Yakima Valley is home to the Yakama Indian Reservation, also known as the Confederated Tribes and Bands of the Yakama Nation. The Yakama Reservation is made up of the Klikitat (or Klickitat), Palus (or Palouse), Wallawalla (or Waluulapam), Wanapam, Wenatchi (or P'squosa), Wishram, and Yakama people, all of whom spoke the same language of Sahaptin, also known as *Ichishkíin* Sínwit (which means "this language"). The reservation was created in 1855, when the tribes were forced to surrender much of their land and move into the present reservation of about 1.3 million acres, a fraction of their original territory of almost 11 million acres, in exchange for maintaining unrestricted fishing and hunting rights over all the territory. Nonetheless, more white settlers moved into the area during the following decades. When the Washington Territory became a state in 1897, it placed restrictions tribal access to fishing grounds and prohibited some of their traditional forms of fishing, which was contrary to the 1855 treaty. Several lawsuits followed, leading up to a US Supreme Court decision in 1975, known as the Boldt Decision, which reaffirmed the right of American Indian tribes in Washington to act as co-managers of salmon and other fish, and to harvest them in accordance with the treaties signed by the US with the tribes. Native American tribes, includ-

ing the Yakama Nation, benefited from the decision that allowed them to defend their traditional fishing rights. In addition to upholding Indigenous treaty rights, the Boldt Decision is also considered a landmark case in co-operative resource management and tribal civil rights.

The Yakama Indian Reservation is the largest reservation in Washington State. Covering 2,146 square miles, it is slightly larger than the Colville Reservation, and has a population of about 32,000. The city of Toppenish (population 10,000) is the largest city within the reservation. Toppenish is known as "the City of Murals" for its beautiful collection of more than 75 murals around the city. The murals depict scenes from the region between 1840 and 1940, including images of Native American and white settler lives, hunting, fishing, agriculture, and industry. I drive around the city admiring the many murals, looking for the ones I remember showing immigrant farmworkers. I find the "Braceros in the Yakima Valley" mural on the side of the Yakima Valley Farm Workers Clinic (YVFWC) near Pioneer Park. I discussed the Braceros program in an earlier chapter, so I will not provide more context here. The Braceros in the Yakima Valley mural shows farm workers in a field of potatoes, and the legend on its side that tells the story of Braceros:

> *We came to the valley between the years of 1942 and 1964. Several generations of men left Mexico for the promise of work in America. Under the Bracero program, recruiters visited our communities and recruited the most able-bodied men to pick cotton, fruit, and other agricultural items. Once recruited, we were shipped to centralized areas in the United States like Empalme, Vera Cruz, and Salinas. It would often take us a week to get to these distribution centers.*
>
> *Once we arrived at the center, we would wait in line for days to be enrolled in the program and assigned to a grower, he could move us to any farm he wanted to do any work he asked us to do. You did as you were told or you were sent back to Mexico. Sometimes, the work wasn't agricultural at all. There were no days off for holidays or church. You worked all day, every day. We slept in barracks up to ten bunks high. In the fields, the growers would give us short handled tools so they could see if we were hunched over working from afar.*
>
> *The work was hard, but we were able to send money home to our*

families. Some of the workers returned, and some of us stayed in this valley and raised our families here. 10 percent of each of our paychecks was held by the US and Mexican governments to be returned when we returned to Mexico every three months. But, we never saw any of that money. Though we are aging, we continue to fight to receive the money owed to us.

YVFWC would like to extend our gratitude to the braceros who shared their story for this mural. Heriberto Arce Guzman, Felipe Villa Correa, Rafael Contreras Barragan, Angel Alvizo.

The Bracero program established a strong presence of Mexican immigrant farm workers in the Yakima Valley, a presence and influence that continued grow even after the termination of the Bracero program in 1964. Before the Bracero program, farms in Yakima hired local whites and Native Americans, but they increasingly relied on migrant farmworkers from around the country to meet the increased demand for farm labor during the summer months. The 1935 harvest, for example, required 33,000 hired workers, while the winter months only required 500, according to UW historian Erasmo Gamboa. The number of seasonal workers is today more than double the 1935 figures, and the majority of them are Latinx. Half the population in Yakima County are Hispanic, according to US Census data, and the largest employer in Yakima is in the agriculture sector, with 27% of the formal jobs. Health services and government jobs account for roughly 14% and 12% each, respectively. Even though the Yakima Valley Farm Workers Clinic is one of the largest health care providers in the Yakima region, migrant farmworkers frequently have no access to health care. They are also overworked, underpaid, live in crowded housing camps, and work in crowded packing sheds. And yet, agricultural produce contributes $1.2 billion to the Yakima economy, and Yakima County is the #1 county in Washington for crop value and livestock products

Migrant farmworkers were particularly affected by COVID-19. By June 2020 Yakima County had the highest per capita rate of infections on the entire West Coast, and the highest number of per capita deaths in Washington State. Yakima Valley's farmworkers had already gone on strike in May 2020, demanding that employers follow appropriate COVID-19 guidelines. In addition to seeking better pay and working conditions, COVID-19 surfaced additional needs that made farmwork-

ers fight for employer-provided personal protective equipment (PPE) including gloves, goggles, and facemasks; disinfection and 6-feet of distancing in worker housing, transportation and workstations; handwashing stations; and paid time off for sick employees. A national, large-scale study of farmer and farmworker illnesses and deaths from COVID-19 in the US concluded in 2021 that "counties that employ more agricultural workers, particularly hired and migrant workers, are at greater risk for COVID-19, findings which suggest these groups are at heightened risk from COVID-19." Furthermore, the study suggests that these health risks are exacerbated by the vulnerability of agricultural workers, who "represent populations that tend to have lower incomes, greater job insecurity, and more perilous immigration and legal status than the general population, which suggest additional relative financial risks resulting from the burden of medical costs or lost time away from work."

Figure 31: Entering the Yakama Indian Reservation in the Yakima Valley

Emely

Emely was born and raised in the Yakima Valley, the child of migrant farmworkers. She grew up working in the fields during cherry season with her parents since she was a child. They would wake her up early in the morning and she would go to the fields with them, and then by 8 am she was cleaned up and sent to school. During high school she would work in the fields with her parents. Sometimes, during college breaks, she still goes back to the Yakima Valley to do agricultural work with her parents. Emely is the first one in her family to graduate high school, and the first one to ever go to college. She shares with me an early childhood memory that makes me think of the "Braceros in the Yakima Valley" mural:

> *When I was in third or fourth grade, the teacher had us draw what we wanted to be when we grew up. My classmates were drawing doctors, astronauts, or pilots, and I remember drawing a farm worker, because that was all I knew. I didn't really know that much English either. My parents only spoke Spanish at the time, so I was a little bit behind on my vocabulary. I remember drawing a farm worker, you know, with a mask and a hat in the fields. When it came my turn to share, all the kids were looking at me, like, that is so weird, why do they have that on their face, why do they look so dirty?*
>
> *It was such a cultural shock to me because this is what my day was like, this is what I knew to be my reality. After I told my parents about my incident at school, they stopped taking me with them. So, I just went voluntarily sometimes. But this changed my mindset because, while I was working there, I noticed that there were a lot of health inequalities and health disparities. They were all speaking Spanish, nothing was being translated from English to Spanish. Sometimes you couldn't really go to an appointment because you would miss the day's labor, the day's work, how much you gain from filling up the barrels. I saw this as a child and I thought, this isn't fair. Even as a little kid, I thought it didn't seem right.*

Emely is now studying public health at UW, and her upbringing as a child of immigrant farm workers helps her prioritize what she wants to do in college and beyond. She recognizes it is a hard path ahead of her, but her family raised her to work hard and be strong. She sometimes feels bad about complaining about how hard her

school work is, sitting in an air conditioned room and getting an education. She remembers herself growing up in the fields, and thinking she was not good enough in school. All those experiences help her be strong:

> *I remember getting picked on. I remember thinking I wasn't good enough. I remember all the rejections that I've had. And that's that drive. I think a rejection makes me want to prove people wrong. I'm going to do this even if you tell me not to. I'm going to go for it even if you tell me not to.*
>
> *There were times where I thought, I don't want to get up for class, I don't want to do this, I'm mentally exhausted, I'm mentally tired. I think it's just that drive in me. I remember what it was like as a child working in worse conditions in the fields, doing hard labor, actual hard labor, and I don't want that for myself. I don't want that for my parents. I want to provide for them when I'm older. So just remembering my goals, my long-term goals, is what keeps me motivated and gets me through the day, what keeps me up at 2am studying, what makes me do extra credit, or what I practice my interviews for.*
>
> *It's those little things that I do by myself that no one sees, behind the curtain, that I do for myself, that extra mile that I always go to and that I push myself for. At the end of the day, I remember why I'm there, that not everybody has this opportunity to be there, and I don't take it for granted. I'm very grateful for all the chances, the scholarships, and the doors that have opened up for me by putting myself out there and by advocating for myself. If I wasn't qualified for a position, I would still go for it and see whatever happens. Sometimes I would end up getting it, sometimes I wasn't qualified, but at least I can say I tried and I did it. I think it was just my mentality, that I wanted to keep going and I wouldn't take no for an answer.*

Emely's drive and grit to succeed are admirable, and common among the Latinx students I interviewed. Including Emely, nine of the students that participated in this project came from the Yakima Valley. Their experiences are all rich and varied. They offer yet another kaleidoscopic view of Latinx immigrant farmworkers in Eastern Washington.

Figure 32: Fruit orchards in bloom in the Yakima Valley

Figure 33: Fruit stand in the Yakima Valley, waiting for the fruit season

Sunnyside and Toppenish

Keren

Keren grew up in Sunnyside, a city of 15,000 people on the southeastern end of Yakima County. The settlement of Sunnyside was named after the Sunnyside Canal that used water from the Yakima River to irrigate the area in 1893. By 1901 the town had about 300 people, many of them German Baptist immigrants known as Dunkards. In the 1930s there were many refugees from the Dust Bowl who also settled in Sunnyside. According to the 2010 Census, 82% of the population of Sunnyside is Hispanic or Latino. The Sunnyside Public library has one of the largest Spanish language collections of the Yakima Valley Libraries.

Keren always felt comfortable growing up in Sunnyside. She was surrounded by people who looked like her, had similar backgrounds to hers. As a child of agricul-

tural farmworkers who immigrated from Mexico, she could relate to her friends in school, who were also children of immigrant farmworkers. All their parents were always working, and she never felt out of place. Keren's mom used to work in food-processing warehouses, and her dad works in nurseries, where they grow plants and deliver them to farms. During the Reagan presidency her mom was able to get a Green Card, and a few years ago she became a US citizen.

Growing up surrounded by people who looked like her, Keren lived a culture shock when arriving to Seattle and UW. If it had not been for the CAMP program, she would have been very lonely, since there are so few Latinx here. Through the CAMP program she had a support group and a sense of community:

> *They set up one-on-one meetings with us, and you're more than welcome to set up more, but these meetings are usually when they go more into depth about how you are doing in school and if you're registered for classes. But they also talk about how you are doing overall. How is the campus treating you? Are you financially stable and do you feel safe in the area that you're at? And with them being able to just talk to us and hear us out, I feel like it takes away a lot of pressure and a lot of anxiety and it just makes everything so much easier. You are able to be like, okay, I'm good. I'm in the right area. Everything's going to be okay.*

This feeling of wellbeing in school is very important for Keren, because being the first one to go to college places a heavy burden of responsibility on her shoulders:

> *My parents always have pushed me to pursue further education because they could not. They always encouraged us to try our best in our studies. And because of them, I feel like that is why I am here. I feel like a sense of proudness that I made my parents proud, and I am going to continue making them proud. But I feel like it can also be hard, because sometimes I feel like I have a weight on my shoulders that if I don't do well, then my parents are going to be disappointed. Like I am going to fail them and my community.*
>
> *Ricardo: Tell me more about how the failure would extend to the community.*

Keren: I feel like it extends to the community, because where I come from not a lot of people go to four-year universities. They stay local, and there is nothing wrong with that, but a lot of people, they don't end up leaving the area. And when you leave the area, a lot of people see that as like, okay, they got out, they made it. But it also comes with the struggles of the kind I'm overcoming, a lot of new challenges, different communities, different people. Before I did not really have to deal with thinking, is this person going to think of me strange because I am not white? I did not have to think about that before, in my community. Now I am constantly thinking, oh, do they actually want me to apply for this or do they just want me to fill a minority check?

Keren is in her first year at UW but has extra credits because she did Running Start in Sunnyside, so she is technically a junior, registering for third-year classes. It has been a strange year for her because of COVID and all classes being online. At first, she did well, but winter quarter was harder, she was having a hard time getting into yet another Zoom class. And yet, she volunteered for a Zoom conversation with me, so I asked her why: "I think the motivation was CAMP," she told me; she heard "this study was going to be representing Latinx students here at the University of Washington, and I took it as like, okay, I can give a little bit back to my university community." Even when running out of fuel for another Zoom class, Keren was willing to go the extra mile to give back to the community.

Yoni

Yoni was born and raised in Toppenish, WA, the so-called "City of Murals." Toppenish is almost 20 miles from Sunnyside, upstream along the Yakima River, a region of rich irrigated farmland. Yoni's grandfather was a Zapotec Indian from Ayoquezco Oaxaca Mexico who also learned Spanish and was in the U.S. and Mexico Bracero Program; Yoni's father and his father's siblings understand the dialect and still speak a little of Zapotec, but they primarily speak Spanish and some English.

Yoni went to Toppenish High School and was not sure what he wanted to do after that. He explored different majors (e.g., business, art, exercise science) he also received an internship as an assistant Strength and Conditioning Coach with Eastern

Figure 34: Toppenish High School Wildcat Stadium

Washington University, where worked with football, volleyball, basketball, and soccer teams. After a conversation with the program director, he learned about the relentless job insecurity in the strength and condition field and decided he wanted to get involved in STEM, perhaps become a physical therapist, since that was the director's exit plan if his career did not further develop in the next 4 years.

Yoni took a break from school and worked in the private agricultural sector in Yakima, WA. After a motorcycle accident where he fractured his ankle in two different spots, he was encouraged to apply for the Emergency Department's Medical Scribe program at Memorial Hospital. Yoni received the job and was also offered a physical therapy aid position at the physical therapy clinic he was a patient in for his ankle rehab. He also started attending Yakima Valley College, at this time where he got excited about health sciences, especially environmental public health. He had joined an undergraduate research project at Yakima Valley College testing drinking water on the Yakama Reservation for nitrates, nitrites, lead, and coliforms. He collected samples from his family's home and learned their drinking water had elevated levels of lead. He was angry that no one advised his community to test its drinking water for lead or warned them of the dangers of lead pipes. This led him

to question other harmful toxins that might adversely affect community health and began to recognize health disparities in underserved communities, along with the need for public health education regarding environmental toxicants regardless of citizenship status, income, or language barriers. After graduating with his bachelor's degree in Biochemistry from Washington State University, he was awarded the Dean's Fellowship to start a master's in public health at UW, a program he just started and is truly loving, even though everything has been remote due to Covid. Our conversation, too, is held over Zoom. He tells me it was hard to grow up in Toppenish:

> *You do not realize the dangers of your environment when you are younger, because they are always present. You had gang violence. I guess you had a balance between gang violence and sports, and you can choose. I was someone who got bullied relentlessly growing up. And so, I kind of dabbled a little bit into both, but our sports programs pulled me in. And that was because an older cousin of mine who was in a gang pushed me in the opposite direction.*
>
> *I told him the gang was recruiting me kind of heavily. And he was like, well, I'm in it. And let me tell you, it may look cool on the outside because you look tough on campus and you might get some admirers, but at the same time, once you go fully in this, you have to drop out and you have to start doing certain activities for them. It's hard to get a real job and you're kind of shunned from the family. You always have to be worrying about payback and looking over your shoulder. He's like, you're kind of smart, you're kind of athletic. Just stay in school, don't do this. And so, I didn't. I was fortunate to have one person make a big turning point for me. A month later, he got sent to the state penitentiary in California and then deported after he did his sentence. He was an accomplice in a drive-by shooting. He didn't do the shooting; he was just a driver. But because he didn't give up his friends, that's what happened. Because he wasn't a US citizen, he got sent back to Mexico and that's where he's at now.*
>
> *I continued with sports, and I took some college-level classes. No one else in my family graduated high school. Most of them got their GED or dropped out, due to pregnancies or the need to supplement their parent's income. So, when I graduated high school, it felt like, man, I conquered the world. There's nowhere else to go. I'm just going to*

get married and work a typical 9-5 at the Washington Beef, buy a house, start a family and that's that. College was never really on my radar. But the only reason I applied to school was because it became a requirement that you had to apply to something. You just have to apply for something. You don't have to get in, you just have to apply and show documentation that you applied.

Yoni and I talked at length about the meandering path that resulted in him doing the graduate program with the Environmental and Occupational Health Science Department. But the image of the gang recruitment and the cousin getting deported lingered in my mind. Toward the end of our conversation, I asked him what it was like to grow up in a community where his friends could be picked up and deported. He said:

I knew that my dad was on a green card, he is not a full U.S. citizen. And I know that most of my family members are on a green card as well. I specifically remember one day when we working in the fields, we were out there working in the tree fruit orchards when all of a sudden people were shouting, "la migra!, la migra!" and everybody started running. I was probably around eight years old or something because my parents didn't have a babysitter that summer. So, I was out there with them, and remember my father just hoisting me up and running as fast as he could through all this fresh mud and branches to the car. I remember thinking, why are we running? Where are we going? Everybody just dropped everything and just left. We met up at my aunt's house and everyone was at the kitchen table trying to figure out who made it out and who did not. I remember my oldest aunt in tears, frantically saying they got so-and-so. It was scary. But I did not fully comprehend exactly who we feared? Why did we fear them? Why we feared this white van and this and that. I just remember always being told to watch out for white vans or watch out for people in green uniforms. That's all you are told. You are told to look out for these people. You do not know why.

But now as an adult, looking back, I'm like, okay, I get it now. But I did not understand it then. I guess I just didn't understand, why are you going to take somebody that's just working. Why are you going to go to their work and take them? They are not doing any criminal activity. They are just trying to make a living. I knew it was some-

thing I had to be aware of. But I just did not understand why.

Yoni kept on reflecting on how it was hard for an eight-year-old to understand why their parents can be taken away suddenly. He saw other kids being raised by an aunt or an older sibling, kids raising kids, but he was fortunate to remain together with his family as he grew up. There are other Zapotec/Mixteco Indians among Latinx interviewees from the Skagit Valley, north of Seattle, but I ended up not including them in this book in order to focus on the Columbia River as a narrative thread. Their experiences are similar, a minority within a minority. I wondered what it was like to grow up Latinx inside the Yakama Reservation, which is also a minority within a minority in the larger context of Washington State.

Figure 35: Part of a mural painting in White Swan High School illustrating the roads opened through higher education

White Swan

Francisco reached out to me saying he is a first-gen student at UW studying business. During his CAMP seminar he heard I was interviewing students from Eastern Washington. "I would love to be part of the interviews. I come from a Native American Reservation in the Yakima Valley so I would love to share my experience so far," he wrote in his email on a February afternoon. We met a few days later over Zoom. He was the only participant who wore a facemask for the interview, explaining he was in a shared space in his dorm, and he was excited to talk about his experience with me.

Francisco

Francisco grew up in White Swan, a small community on the Yakama Reservation. White Swan is a census-designated place, an unincorporated community of 3,000 in the West Valley of Yakima County, surrounded by mountains. Near White Swan are the ruins of Fort Simcoe, established in 1856 at the height of the Yakima War, which resulted in the creation of the Yakama Reservation. The fertile valley surrounding White Swan is lined with fruit orchards and hops farms, and the landscape is dominated by the majestic Mt Adams, the second-highest mountain in Washington (Mt Adams has an elevation of 12,280 ft, while the highest peak in Washington, Mt Rainier, is 14,411 ft). White Swan High School, where Francisco graduated just last year, is a small, rural high school with less than 300 students. It is the only high school in the Mt Adams School District. 98% of the students who attend it are poor, mostly Native Americans or Latinx. During the few months prior to my conversation with Francisco, White Swan had been going through a wave of crime and violence. Law enforcement is complex in the region, with some areas are covered by tribal police and others by Washington State troopers, resulting in a feeling of abandonment and frustration in White Swan. Francisco did not mention any of this violence back in his hometown. Instead, he told me what it was like to grow in the reservation and go to school there:

> *I think growing up, it was hard. It was hard. And everything was kind of like very much familiar. I think my community is very much based in agriculture. My parents were migrant farmworkers. I*

would go to work with them here, there. That was like my day care for a good majority of my life. And then, whenever I would go to school, our school was very much concentrated in not much diversity. I think it would lack a lot of diversity.

Growing up in White Swan, the population is mostly Hispanic or Native American, with a few Caucasian people here and there. I graduated from White Swan High School. It had probably 200 students in the whole high school combined. My graduating class was 30, it was tiny, I did not feel out of place growing up because I was surrounded by other people that were just like me. Growing up on the reservation, the American heritage and culture was all very influential in the area. In my elementary school we would have powwows. We would celebrate their culture. And so, I grew up around that, it was something that I was familiar with. It was very interesting. I mean, even just as a kid, I learned to observe the differences in our cultures and celebrations and traditions. I think it was really cool for me as a kid. At the powwows, they would like to include everybody, whether you're Hispanic, whether you were Latinx, whatever you identify as, it was more of like a "come as you are." We were included in dances and stuff like that, and it was just really cool. I always felt included, I always felt accepted there.

Francisco saw how proud his parents were when he graduated from high school, and knows they are supportive of his choice to got to UW. He is the first one in the family to attend college. His college experience has not been what he imagined. His whole first year at UW had been under Covid lockdown, taking classes remotely, and feeling isolated:

I imagined college to be like in movies. I mean, nothing's ever like the movies, I believe that by now, this is definitely not like Legally Blonde or anything like that. That is not what I imagined. As a first-year student, I have friends who are further ahead, and they're like, "Darn, you're missing out on so much. You're missing out on clubs, on resources to make friends, all these experiences." And I'm just like sitting there, I just listen to them, and I don't even know what to say because in all reality, I don't know what else to expect. This is all I know.

> *It was hard regarding the pandemic, everything being virtual. I am more of an in-person guy. I like to meet people and I like to socialize. It was hard to make friends at first and find my community in that sense, not just regarding the Latinx community and finding people that looked like me, acted like me, that I identified with, but just finding people in general that I could talk to and that I felt comfortable and inspired to talk to. It was hard. It was really hard, considering that my parents weren't even able to drop me off. My sisters ended up dropping me off.*

Being dropped off at UW was an important thing for Francisco. He shares with me an early memory of childhood, his first day of elementary school, which in his memory is blended with being dropped off at UW:

> *I remember my first day of school. I had gone to preschool before for a year or two. And in my preschool, it was all mostly Latinos,* todos hablaban español *(everybody spoke Spanish). And everybody understood me. So I felt at home because my first language was Spanish. I learned English as my second language in my home. My parents made me read books. I don't know how. I just don't remember learning English. But I guess I just know how to speak it.*
>
> *So, like the first day of my kindergarten class experience, I just got dropped off at UW. And I just remembered making my way as a little kid in this huge school, or I thought it was huge. Just a big school all the way to the playground and meeting up with some of my friends that I recognized from preschool. I have learned from a few classes that I've taken here at UW that we all bundle up together, we were all familiar with each other.* No éramos muy amigos, pero éramos amigos *(we were not close friends, but we were friends), all of the Latinx kids bundled up in this little group, and we stuck together. And so, when it came to going to the class or forming a line, we were all lost. Some of my friends did not even know how to speak English yet. A few of my friends later told me when we graduated, they were like, "Thank you for teaching me English." I don't even remember teaching them, but I was like, "Okay, I'll accept it. Thanks." But, yo no se (I don't know), I don't remember doing that, it was just*

like a big learning experience for everybody. I may not remember teaching some of my friends English, but to them, that was a big deal.

Francisco tells me he is enjoying a class he is taking about Chicanos in film, and he enjoys the book they are reading in class: ***No se lo tragó la tierra*** (***and the Earth Did Not Devour Him***, by Tomás Rivera). This book has short stories and experiences that Francisco feels he can connect with, especially those about being a Chicano in modern-day America. "I just feel like I relate a lot," he says. "Reading something that is published and that I can relate to with my own experiences at home is a different experience. I feel like I grew up reading a lot of books that were Americanized, so reading something that is specific to my own experiences is very different, I enjoy it." I wonder what Francisco will think about this book, which includes not just stories of people like him, but his own story as well.

I walk around White Swan and I am struck by the level of poverty that is evident in the derelict trailer homes and junk cars. The buildings of Mt Adams High School are old and dilapidated as well, but the football team is getting ready for a game, the energy is high, and the entrance to the football field is decorated with color pictures of the 20 students graduating in the class of 2021. I try to picture Francisco graduating there a year before, at the beginning of the pandemic, and I imagine him today in his dorm room, playing the music his mom would wake him up to on Saturday mornings: Rocio Durcal, and *banda* music. That, he told me, is what he plays when he misses home. *Banda* music in Mexico goes back to the 1880s, when piston metal instruments were introduced by German Mexicans in the state of Sinaloa. Early *banda* music was strongly influenced by German polka music, but as it spread through northern Mexico and southwestern US, *banda* music adopted jazz-like sounds and other variations on the traditional themes and instrumentation. In honor of Francisco, I enjoy the brass and percussion of *banda* music as I drive along the orchards and hops farms that populate the West Valley from White Swan to Wapato, a small town between Toppenish and Yakima, near the Yakima River.

Figure 36: White Swan High School, Class of 2021

Wapato

Wapato is a town of 5,000 people founded in 1855 as a railroad stop on the Northern Pacific Railroad. After 1887 white settlers arrived in the area and purchased land from Indians in the Yakima Reservation, which was allowed and encouraged by the US government as a way to weaken communal tribal ownership. With the 1896 construction of irrigation canals that provided water for irrigation from the Yakima River, agriculture became profitable around Wapato and employed many Native Americans from the Yakama Reservation. In 1905 many Japanese people immigrated to the region, and by 1916 there was a "Japanese Town" in Wapato and

Figure 37: Sign offering pan dulce (sweet bread) in one of the many panaderías (bakeries) in Wapato, WA

more than 1,000 Japanese immigrants in the Yakima Valley. The Yakima Buddhist temple was an architectural landmark in Wapato. In 1942 all Japanese immigrants and Japanese Americans were evacuated from Wapato and sent to internment camps, as part of the forced relocation and incarceration of 120,000 people of Japanese Ancestry mandated by President Roosevelt through Executive Order 9066. Farm labor in orchards and fields around Wapato was taken over by Germans held in a Prisoners of War camp between Wapato and Toppenish. After the end of World War II the labor shortage was filled by Hispanic migrant workers brought in through the Bracero program. Latinx immigration continued through the 1990s, following the increased demand for cheap labor in agriculture. Recent closures of fruit packing and storage facilities combined with increased mechanization of agriculture have decimated the economy. Most small

businesses are Hispanic (*taquerias* and *panaderías*), though most farms are still white-Anglo owned. Hispanics or Latino now make up 84% of the population in Wapato, and it is known as "Mexican Town," famous for its taquerías and *pan dulce* (sweet bread) from one of its many *panaderías* (bakeries).

Yocelyn

Yocelyn was born in the small, one-story hospital in Toppenish, but she grew up in Wapato, "having connections with the Native Americans there, along with other Mexicans, and along with the few white people, and a sprinkling of other people." Her parents worked in the fields. She worked in the fields along with them. She remembers going to powwows in the Yakima Nation, and how her parents liked the dancing, the food, and the colors, which reminded them of Mexico. Growing up, Yocelyn felt very much in tune with being Mexican, there were so many other Mexicans around her. She only learned English when she started going to school, where she was part of the bilingual program. She is glad she learned to read and write Spanish as well. When she transitioned to the all-English program in third grade she was scared, because she lost all her friends and people in class spoke very little Spanish. Her teacher did not speak any Spanish, so her parents could no longer talk to her teacher directly, they needed an interpreter for the parent-teacher conferences. Yocelyn felt like she lived in two different worlds: one in school, and a different one at home.

Yocelyn did not realize how different living away from Wapato would be until she moved to Seattle to attend UW. She had a culture shock, coming from the small agricultural community in the Native reservation.

> *I did not realize how lucky I was to have the experience of not even just living with other Mexicans in the US, but with Native Americans who have had their own experiences. When my parents first moved to a house where they had Native American neighbors, they were so friendly, they gave us food. And it was so strange for us, because my parents had never experienced that, you know, where your neighbors give you food. They got some salmon and my mom made*

tamales for them. That was great.

When I got into UW I felt elated because I would be the first one in the family to go to college. I also knew it was the right distance for me, so that my parents wouldn't freak out, and so maybe I wouldn't freak out. But the more I got involved with UW, the more I just fell in love with Seattle, even though here I don't see too many people who are like my parents. So I did programs at UW that exposed me to those communities. I saw that you did work with Casa Latina, and I was actually a volunteer interpreter at Casa Latina for one of the clinics that were run by medical students. I had to leave because there was an incident that made me very uncomfortable. But when I was there, I loved being there. It did make me a little sad seeing these people who were like my parents struggling here with all the issues they had. But because I saw a little bit of my parents, it made me want to keep helping in whatever way that I could.

Casa Latina is a nonprofit organization in Seattle that works to empower Latino immigrants through employment, education, and community organizing. I have done several action-research projects with Casa Latina over the years, the most recent one a book collecting oral histories of workers, staff, and volunteers to celebrate Casa Latina's 25th anniversary. I was thrilled to hear Yocelyn has also volunteered at Casa Latina, and that there she found a way to feel a little more at home in Seattle. Her experience at UW also changed toward the end of her years in college when she started hearing land acknowledgments at the beginning of meetings and other events.

I started to realize that more people cared about being on Duwamish land, and people started recognizing that. When I would go to meetings, people would sometimes make a point of saying: 'We want to recognize the fact that we are on Duwamish land, and that land belonged to other people before it belonged to us.' Something of that sense. I was like, oh wow, people actually care about that stuff here. And then I started to see more of the Pacific Northwest and Native American art here, the culture here, and how I could relate that to being back home, and how it was different. The Art Museum in Seattle had an exhibit for Native American art. I went to that and I was just, like, wow, this is pretty dope. I wish I could see more art

from the Yakima area as well. I know it is there, it's just not highlighted as much.

Yocelyn graduated from UW in 2019 with a degree in medical anthropology and global health. Her goal is to go to medical school and be a doctor. She has been working as an emergency medical technician (EMT) since she graduated, and she worked doing COVID testing during part of the pandemic. She is back in school now, taking online classes in physics, calculus and biochemistry, all prerequisites for medical school, and works at strengthening her skills to apply to medical school in about two years. Yocelyn tells me she is now reading the memoirs of Sonia Sotomayor, the first Latina appointed in 2009 to the US Supreme Court.

I wish I had read it in college. I feel like I did not read enough about people who were like me to make me realize, like, wow, people like me had to struggle so much and they had to go through a lot of stuff that I have had to go through as well. I could have found more inspiration and more encouragement if I had seen Latinx people achieve these great heights. Some of the things she had to face—wow, it is mind blowing. I wish I had read it earlier. More autobiographies like this would have made me feel better about myself in college, and to feel like, yeah, I definitely fit in, I'm here because I deserve to be here.

Ricardo: When she was appointed to the Supreme Court, my kids were going to a Spanish immersion school and one day they brought homework in which they asked me what the occupations of Latinx people in the US are. I said, well, they are university professors, like me, or they are Supreme Court justices, like Sonia Sotomayor, who had just been appointed by President Obama. And my kids looked at me and said, no, I mean like dishwashers and gardeners. It made me furious to think that this was the image that they thought was the right answer, and that was the stereotype and the prejudice that they would have to fight. I also just recently read Sonia Sotomayor's memoir and liked it very much. I was especially moved by reading about her tension of being a child of affirmative action that got into places, but then she had to demonstrate her worth through a lot of hard work to show that she actually deserved to be there.

Yocelyn: Yeah, I just read that part. I remember feeling mad in college. Like, why do I feel like I have to prove myself when, no offense

to my white friends, you know, they could do whatever the heck they wanted to without feeling that pressure. I knew it wasn't right to feel mad, but I remember feeling like, this sucks, why do I feel like I have to be on my game all the time to prove to people that, you know, I deserve to be here, because I'm pretty smart, too.

Yocelyn was describing a very common feeling among Latinx students, a feeling of not belonging, of being impostors. The impostor syndrome is frequently reported among Latinx—and other underrepresented minorities—in college and among working professionals. I heard Latinx faculty talk about it as well in my study about the paths of Latinx faculty at UW. Feelings of impostor syndrome include negative feelings of self-worth, insecurity, and self-doubt, which lead to feeling inadequate about the future, and feeling anxious, embarrassed or confused about one's own performance, and sense of inadequacy in an academic or professional setting.

Melissa

Born and raised in the Yakama Reservation in Wapato as a child of Mexican immigrant farmworkers, Melissa was the first in her family to go to college. She was admitted directly into the engineering program, where she felt like an impostor, a common feeling among underrepresented minorities in college:

My first two years at UW were rough because I was trying to get through the calculus series. I barely made it through the first course because I had a little bit of background on the subject matter. I remember one of the tutors at the Instructional Center told me that I was already supposed to know something, and I had to try to tell him that I did not learn this in high school. You work as hard as you can to learn everything, but it feels kind of like impostor syndrome. Why am I even doing this? Do I even belong here?

I think being in the CAMP Program at UW helped me the most because other people were going through the same thing as me and we encouraged each other. I was able to express how I was feeling. I would always wonder why they picked me for the program because a lot of my peers talked about being in AP Calculus and I felt like I did not belong. The CAMP counselor reassured me that I got into the program for a reason and talking to him made me realize that

I deserve to be here. I did what I could with what was offered to me from my high school, and there was nothing else I could have done. Realizing that was probably one of the ways I overcame my impostor syndrome.

Growing up, Melissa felt like she belonged there, since she was surrounded by people who looked like her and who had similar stories and backgrounds as her own. It was not an easy life, but at least she felt she belonged there:

My first childhood memory is from when I was four years old, and my sister was born. I was sitting alone in the hospital because my mom was going into labor. I mostly remember moving a lot when I was young. Both of my parents worked in agriculture, so they worked from 5am to 5pm. Because of this, I was dropped off at my Aunt's house. I was raised there because my mom and dad were always working. I remember my Mom waking us up at 5am to get dressed to go to our Aunt's house. Once we were there, my aunt would have us go back to sleep because it was so early, but that was the only way for my Mom to go to work. Most of my memories from when I was young are from my time at my Aunt's house. I do not remember being around my parents a lot outside of the weekends.

My high school, middle school, and elementary school were very underfunded. A lot of people work in agriculture, so the income level is not very high, which may have contributed to this. At my high school there were only about two or three white students. Other than going to the store in the nearby towns, I had never seen a lot of white people. There was a lot of gang activity, and I think it was because a lot of people did not have other means to support themselves or make money. I remember going into high school and being told that we could not wear solid colors because they were associated with gangs. A lot of the gang members were from the Latinx community, so if you were Latinx and wore solid colors the teachers would assume you were in a gang. I also remember my friend once wore ripped jeans to school and a teacher asked her if she was in a gang.

Life was very challenging because we do not have a lot on the reservation. We only had one grocery store, though we do now have a Dollar Tree and a couple of restaurants. There are no big stores,

so if you need anything you have to go to the next town over. It also made me realize how under-resourced everything was there and that there was a lot of poverty. If I tell people, I am from Wapato, they have assumptions about what it is like there such as "it is sketchy." If you go to my hometown, it looks very rundown. The best-looking building is the high school because it was newly built, but everything else is very rundown. I was embarrassed when I showed my college roommates my town because it is small, and the streets are unkempt.

Figure 38: The new building of Wapato High School, WA

Leaving her town and community and coming to UW was academically hard. She was taking classes she was not well prepared for by her high school, and also coming to terms with who she was as a person of color and what she wanted to accomplish in life.

A lot of things in high school were taught to me by white teachers, and I never really delved into what it meant to be a person of color. I never thought about what that would mean for me outside of high school. Leaving that space allowed me to come to terms with what

it meant to be a first-generation college student. I have very high expectations for myself because my parents still work 5am to 5pm every day. I feel privileged to leave my hometown to attend UW and not to have to worry about money because I almost have a full ride to attend school here.

I realized that everything in life is not always about making money because making money was one of the biggest reasons why I chose to go the engineering route. Leaving high school, I thought I would be an engineer and work for a big tech company in order to help my parents and buy them a house, but I hadn't really reflected on what that would mean for me. Would I even enjoy that path? Was I even interested in that? Did I even have the skills or drive to do that? I remember moving here and feeling overwhelmed and a little bit uneasy. I talked to Angelina Godoy about these feelings because she was writing a report on the dynamics of students of color in the classroom. I remember talking about how uneasy I felt during my first class at UW because I had never experienced that before.

Melissa is no longer in the engineering program, but in the Law, Societies and Justice program, where she is thriving. She still works hard but finds a better purpose in what she is studying. She sometimes feels lonely and listens to music that her mom used to listen to on Saturday mornings, but on her own she is more likely to play reggaeton because it makes her happy, especially when it is cloudy and gloomy in Seattle. She realizes she had a very rough start to college, but also acknowledges she has grown much as a person, and she is in a good place now. "I'm doing a good job," she tells herself. I can only agree.

Israel

I interviewed Israel as one of the students working with the UWCHR on the immigrant rights project, not knowing he grew up in Wapato as a child of immigrant farm workers. In addition to talking about his work as a data analyst with the records about immigration enforcement, we talked about what it was like to grow up in Wapato. For Israel, the most salient aspect of growing up in Wapato was how poor it was, and the implications it had for his high school education:

> *It is a very small town, and it is very poor compared to other Washington towns. I remember one time my teachers said they found an article saying Wapato is the poorest town in Washington State. So, I do feel like, in many ways, I grew up in disadvantages, such as in education, having less funding for quality education. I think growing up in Wapato is growing up with a disadvantage.*

Israel was very relieved when he got into the UW with a full scholarship. He would not have been able to go to college without that support. He also quickly realized the extent of the disadvantage he had experienced all his life:

> *Coming to UW made me realize more of the town I came from, the disadvantages that I did not even know I had. It became more apparent when I came here, and students from Bellevue going to these expensive private schools and having a different quality education. And in Wapato, you do not get that a lot. It is mostly the same people who grow up there their whole lives. So, I think coming to UW, I have access to different perspectives, and I really value that. I noticed those disadvantages, but I also felt more open to opportunities to learn more and to meet different people.*

Israel is majoring in informatics, which is one of the most competitive at UW, and he plans to graduate in about a year, specializing in data visualization. He encouraged me to keep on reaching out to students like himself, and to make their stories more relatable, because professors don't always understand where students come from, and they teach in ways that are not easily understandable by students who come from disadvantaged backgrounds. Furthermore, he points out that there is not one single story of Latinx or disadvantaged students, but many. Just telling one story or pretending all Latinx stories are the same is limiting, he tells me, because there are diverse people with very different perspectives. "The more that we get their voices out, the more we can get a clearer picture," he concludes. I hope this collection of multiple and diverse stories of Latinx students does justice to Israel's request.

Figure 39: Vineyards and hops trellises waiting for spring in the Yakima Valley, WA

Yakima and Naches

About ten miles north of Wapato is Yakima. With around 9,000 people, it is the largest city and county seat of Yakima County. While the city lies outside the boundaries of the Yakama Reservation, most of the area of the county is within the reservation. The growth of the city during the 20th century was mostly fueled by agriculture, as fruits, vegetables, vineyards, and hops are the driving force of the economy in the Yakima valley. The Yakima Valley has 120 wineries and more than 17,000 acres of active vineyards, and produces more than half the wine grapes in Washington State. 75% of the hops in the US are produced in the Yakima Valley. After 2000 there has been an important drive to renovate and promote the downtown area as a center for entertainment, events, and shopping. Downtown Yakima now has new pedestrian-friendly streets with paver-inlaid sidewalks, water fountains, hanging baskets and banner poles, all in an effort to make it an attractive city for

tourism. Restaurants, shops, craft breweries, and wineries are increasingly common in the historic downtown area of Yakima. Nonetheless, just outside the historic downtown businesses are more frequently boarded up, and poverty is rampant. As in other parts of Eastern Washington, the wealth of the agricultural production of the Yakima Valley does not reach those who make it possible with their cheap and precarious labor.

Minelli

Minelli is a in her first year at UW. She joins me over Zoom from her dorm room decorated with lights around the bed the way my daughter decorates hers, which made me bond with her immediately. Her parents are both from Mexico, and both work in agriculture. "It makes me proud to say my parents are Hispanic," she tells me; "they are agricultural workers, and I am their daughter. That is what makes me proud." When Minelli was in elementary school they moved around a lot. It was not always easy:

> *We used to live in this really bad part of town, in downtown Yakima. and our house got broken into. At that point, my mom was like, okay, we need to move. So, I would just basically be moving around all of Yakima just for her to be able to afford it and keep us safe, because since she would work all day, we would have to stay by ourselves and my older siblings. My sister would try to raise me, but she would also go to school, and I would be by myself sometimes.*
>
> *I remember when we were little, we were taught weird superstitions. Things like brooming your feet is bad luck and stuff like that. Then one day when I was in school the principal took it as a joke, and he started brooming my feet on purpose. I felt so disrespected at that point. I was like, hey, it's a thing for me, don't make fun of my culture.*
>
> *When I was in third grade, I found out about UW and for as long as I can remember, I always wanted to be a doctor. And when I went into high school, I decided that I would be taking every class possible and take every path that I could in order to get into UW. So, every class that I took was thinking what would look best on a UW application. Since I was already speaking Spanish and English fluently, I decided to take French because they would like that better. And*

I guess I did a lot of volunteer work and stuff. I think my personal statement was actually the thing that drove me more into getting in because my grades, they haven't been the best in high school. I did struggle a lot with the fact that my primary language is not English. So sometimes it takes me a little bit longer to associate the words a little bit better. And with learning, I tend to go slower. And so, my grades did not really reflect me as a person as much. But when I got to talk about my personal statement, I just I told my story.

And I know that UW is the place that would get me to where I want to be in life. And just how we have struggled in life as my family has been, I guess it definitely drove me to getting into UW. When I got into UW, what I wanted to do was to focus on the low-income community and being able to work with affordable health care. Being from a very low-income family, we have struggled with health care and being able to afford it. I decided that I wanted to come into UW specifically for public health and focus on the social ecological aspect of that. I knew that UW would give me my best opportunity. When I got in, it was a no-brainer for me to get here.

As a first-year student in college, Minelli is taking all the prerequisites to get into the public health program. We talk about how the CAMP program has helped her focus her interest on public health. She loves reading about nutritional standards, for example, and learning about the foods we eat, realizing that maybe the foods she is used to eating are not necessarily great for her health. Despite this, growing up with strong Latinx values and traditions at home was important for her. She was the one who translated things for her parents, who did not speak much English, and she misses being close to them while she is away in college. She is particularly fearful of police and law enforcement; she fears something may happen to her family. Hearing about ICE raids makes her fear for her family and her community. All she wants is to make her parents proud. For Minelli, that is the meaning of success.

Figure 40: The Naches River flows from the Cascade Mountains to the Yakima River, WA

Yakima is at the confluence of the Yakima River and the Naches River, both of which flow from the Cascade Mountain Range to the west. The 12-mile road from Yakima to Naches follows the fertile valley upstream, surrounded by the rich farmland that is typical of the Yakima Valley. Naches is a very small town, with less than 1,000 inhabitants. Unlike much of the rest of the valley, the population in Naches is predominantly white, with only 1.5% Native American and 8.3% Latino or Hispanic. The economy is based on agriculture, and on timber from the forested areas in the Cascade Mountains. While the sawmill closed in 2006, agriculture continues strong, thanks to the irrigation from the Naches River. Naches is known for its production of apples, cherries and pears, and there are several privately owned warehouses and growers' cooperatives around town, testimony to the amount of fruit that is produced every year.

Adriana

Adriana felt the culture shock of moving to a predominantly white school when her family moved from Yakima to Gleed, in the outskirts of Naches. While in her Yakima kindergarten there many other Latinx kids, some classes were in Spanish, and documents sent home were translated into Spanish, in Naches there was none of that. Adriana had to translate for her parents, and she was only one of few students of color in her class.

> *My parents both emigrated from Mexico about 20 years ago. They grew up for most of their lives in Mexico, and they did not attend school much. My mom completed one year of high school and my dad finished one year of middle school, so I was the first person in my family to go to college. I do have an older half-brother who graduated high school. My parents mostly speak Spanish. They worked in agriculture in Yakima, though they recently started their own house cleaning business. It is going well for them and I am happy that they get to have more control over their hours.*
>
> *I remember my mom teaching me how to read and write in Spanish. She would have me write simple letter combinations and then have me practice. She also got me a library card and would take me to go get books. My parents always pushed me to go to school, and I always did well in school. When I was in high school I was thinking about going into a healthcare-related field and I wanted to go to the best school possible. After doing research online, I found that people thought that the University of Washington was a really good school, so I set my sights on UW. It was also a good fit for me because it was an in-state school. Since I am undocumented, it more financially achievable to go to school in-state.*
>
> *When I graduated from college it was crazy. It didn't really hit me until I was in the stadium walking up to get my diploma that I was actually graduating. I was very emotional. My parents were able to come, and they were really proud. I was really glad that we had the La Raza Graduation because they were able to feel a little bit more included. Since they mostly speak Spanish, they don't always know*

everything that is being said at school functions, so that was really nice for them and for me.

I can picture Adriana's parents awkwardly sitting at a table during the La Raza Graduation, one of the smaller-scale graduation ceremonies on campus that allows students, friends and families to celebrate in a multicultural and bilingual setting. I've often attended this type of celebrations, and I like to talk in Spanish to the proud parents who sit awkwardly on the sidelines, shy and proud for their children's accomplishments.

Adriana now works as a research study coordinator with a team in the School of Public Health at UW. She helps test how efficient interventions are helping Latina immigrant women improve their health, targeting adult women who were born outside the US. Most participants are Spanish-speaking, and Adriana's work is to recruit and enroll participants, and conduct some of the surveys as part of the data collection for the study. Adriana is proud to be a Latina, even though she acknowledges it is sometimes hard. She is particularly proud of her resilience, and the resilience of her parents. "My parents are really hard-working, and it makes me proud that they worked hard to help us get where we are today."

UW faculty conduct a number of different research projects with Latinx populations in Eastern Washington, frequently under the umbrella of the Latino Center for Health (LCH). LCH was launched in 2014 with a $1M grant from the Washington State Legislature to focus on Latinx health, including physical health, mental health, environmental and occupational health, and violence and injury prevention. LCH advances the field of Latino health by supporting culturally responsive research and informing policy development for health in rural and urban settings. LCH supports projects to address the need for culturally responsive and bidirectional research communication with the Latinx community (led by Dr Nathalia Jimenez), understanding Washington's Latinx experiences around COVID-19 (Led by Dr Leo Morales), identifying strengths and barriers to access labor and industries services among Latinx workers in Central Washington (led by Dr Leo Morales), and remote training in evidence-based practices for clinicians who work with migrant workers (led by Dr Gino Aisenberg), among others.

Latinx Pride and Resilience

I asked participants what made them Latinx, and followed up by asking what was hard, and what made them proud of being Latinx. In the first chapter mentioned how naming what makes them (and me) Latinx was a hard question to answer for many of the participants, shaped by location and place of origin, parents, tradition, and language, as well as by shared experiences, physical appearance, and value systems. Talking about what makes them proud to be Latinx, on the other hand, was not as hard a question for many participants, but a joyous one. Their comments focused strongly on taking pride in their own resilience and hard work—and that of their families—to keep on struggling to overcome obstacles and improve their lives. In addition, they expressed pride in the shared heritage and cultural traditions of family and ancestors; the sensory experience of music and food; the increased representation of Latinx in positions of power; and the broader perspective and attitude of service to others afforded by their sense of being Latinx. Here are some examples of each one of these experiences of Latinx pride among participants.

The most salient expression of pride in being Latinx is related to resilience, the title of this book: Adriana, for example, says "I'm most proud of the resilience. My parents are really hard-working, and it makes me proud that they worked hard to help us get where we are today." Similarly, Minelli is proud of her agricultural worker parents, the strongest people she has ever met:

> *What makes me proud? My parents, 100 percent. They are the strongest people I've ever met, obviously, to me. And just their stories that they've told me, their determination to get to somewhere. It just makes me so proud to say, my parents are Hispanic, they're agricultural workers and like I'm their daughter. That's what makes me so proud.*

Similarly, Francisco emphasizes "I always thought of their job as important and I was always super proud to be their son." Furthermore, he is proud of the struggles to get where he is now, "the amazing parts of it, good and bad." Monica pushes the argument further by emphasizing that she is happy to make her parents proud: "being

able to say, I made them proud. I went to college, I got my career, I got my degree. They told me they're proud of me. And I'm just proud to make them proud."

Pride in their resilience and success as a recursive experience. Monica is proud her parents are proud of her success. In addition, Monica points out "what makes me proud is that I can look back and say, even though it was really hard, I know my parents sacrificed so much to move from Mexico, move to here because they knew they wanted something better for their kids." The sacrifice of her parents was worth it because of the opportunities it opened for her.

For Xitlalit, her Latinx background and limited financial resources is part of the motivation to keep on working harder, "it propels me forward," she says, and adds "it really pushed me to pursue things that people wouldn't normally pursue." She feels if she did not have the Latinx background she would not be as motivated as she is now: "I'm really proud of the fact that my parents started out somewhere rural and small, and ended up in the US where they pushed my sisters and I through school."

Finally, both Marcela and Luis link their pride in their success with the broader success and representation of Latinx people, and their own responsibility to serve as mentors to others. For Luis, "what makes me proud to be Latino is the fact that despite all odds, we are being successful. And a lot more of us are in these leadership roles and we are starting to see this rise of BIPOCs in leadership positions." Furthermore, Marcela points out the pride in seeing how far she's come, as she is one of few Latinx in the company she works for. She sees this success as a reminder of all the work that still needs to be done: "It's important to be proud of your accomplishments, but also know that you have a responsibility to mentor younger people so that the numbers and representation in different fields and professions continue to improve."

In addition to taking pride in their resilience, hard work and success, participants frequently spoke about being proud of the shared heritage and cultural traditions of their family and ancestors. This can be as simple as Nora's "I realize how beautiful it is to be Latina, specifically Mexican," or Francisco's "I've always been super proud to be Mexican," or as subtle as Nayeli's "I'm actually just really proud of being able

to make history in different things I do, being able to show pride in where I come from too." For Sally, Keren and Daisy, their pride in their heritage is related to their history, ancestors, and Indigenous people. Sally points out her ancestors did brilliant things and she has nothing to be ashamed of; she was always proud of her own community. Daisy is proud to learn "the history of my ancestors, of the indigenous people in Mexico and all the really cool things that they've done and how smart they really were and how advanced their societies were." Keren, on the other hand, feels a great sense of pride is traveling to Mexico and feeling a great sense of belonging in a community with a shared history.

For a few of the participants, the sense of pride in being Latinx is a new or evolving feeling. For example, Nayeli "used to be really ashamed or embarrassed about myself, where I come from and what I speak, but I grew to be proud of that." Similarly, when Nora was younger, "I definitely didn't like identifying as Latina. I didn't see people of my color on TV and stuff like that, so it was always a source of insecurity of mine." But Ariana, on the other hand, confidently says "I'm proud of being Latina more than I am not proud. I've rarely felt like I wasn't proud of who I am. I am Latina. I'm not ever going to feel ashamed of being Latina."

The sensory experience of music, food, and general Latinx culture is a source of pride for several of the participants. Francisco points out that he is "literally Latino," and adds that "having some familiarity with the culture, music, the food, my family, just always being intact with that part of myself and being proud of it." Natalia learned more about Latinx music in middle school and high school: "with the Mariachi Program I learned guitar and vihuela and started singing. I think that helped me develop personally and to feel more confident in my abilities growing up as a first generation Mexican American in a community that, I would say, is half white, half Latino." Luis combines music and food into the same feeling of pride of being Latinx. For Luis,

> *Seeing Mexican music being played at these markets or seeing different things that we identify with, whether it's like our culture or our food being placed in a certain area. Or you see a Mexican restaurant is deemed number one in among all these different restaurants that are competing with them. That's what really makes me proud.*

Melissa also pointed out "the good flavorful food is another really good part of being Latina." Music was also important for Nora, though in a different way: She liked pop culture and music, and she found others to be more accepting of her because of this: "I think I'm proud that finally we're being seen as normal."

The normalization of being Latinx in the face of the mainstream society is expanded by a few of the participants who express pride in the growing representation of Latinx and other BIPOC people in positions of power. Both Nora and Luis mentioned being proud of having Alexandria Ocasio Cortez (AOC) in the US Congress, "a strong representation of Latinas in the government," according to Nora. Furthermore, Nora points out, "I'm proud that there's other groups, especially on campus, who just are so proud of being Latinas and they share that with others. I'm proud that people love our culture so much now." Similarly, Luis is proud of having Latinx people who are "super successful in our community, who is of Latino descendants and is doing so much for the community, those are the things that make me proud."

The last type of expressions of pride of being Latinx is related to the unique perspective and attitude of service that it affords the participants. Monserrat puts it most succinctly with an emphasis on service when she says "I am really proud of my culture and what I can bring to other people," while Yocelyn expands on the idea of having multiple perspectives:

> *What makes me proud is the fact that I feel like I can see the world from more than one viewpoint, because I know what it's like when you're not in the predominant group in a society. I feel like I can relate more to people. I feel like I have more empathy for a lot of situations. And I don't feel ashamed. I've never felt ashamed to be Latina and that's because I know there is nothing to be ashamed of. I don't have to have something specific to be proud of. I feel like it's just the fact that I'm alive and that I am not part of the stereotypes, the negative stereotypes.*

Finally, Nora expands on the pride of being of service to others, something I had already identified as an important notion of success among Latinx faculty and students at UW in an earlier study. Natalia is proud of many things:

I am so proud of myself and the impact that I've had on students' lives. Also, as a community, how we support each other. My family would do anything for any family member, and it makes me proud to know that even with so many odds stacked against us and so many different parts of our lives, we still flourish. I'm very, very proud of our creativity as a Latino community. I'm very, very proud of our intelligence, our contribution to the world, and how we always want to make things better for our community and for everybody. I think that's a big reason why I'm proud of us.

I am inspired by the different ways in which participants expressed their pride of being Latinx. It is sometimes hard to do, especially in the face of so many hardships and obstacles they have found on their way to higher education. In the same recursive way mentioned above by Monica, I am proud that they are all proud of being Latinx, each one in their own way.

Immigration Enforcement: Information and Activism

The research of the UW Center for Human Rights, and its work with local human rights organizations to monitor human rights in Washington State, also has some results we can all be proud of. There have been small changes of behavior among local law enforcement organizations, and some important victories in the protection of immigrant rights in the state.

Closing the For-Profit Immigration Detention Center in Tacoma

The UW Center for Human Rights continues to work on information access related to war crimes in El Salvador, but that work also opened a new door into human rights work in Washington State. Center director Angelina Godoy recalls how, after the creation of the Center in 2009 with the mandate to work with local organizations in support of human rights in Washington State, with an explicit mention of immigrant rights as one of the areas of concern for the legislature, they started to collaborate with OneAmerica to study immigrant rights in the communities of the northern border with Canada. Even though the work was rich and productive, they

did not have the resources to continue, so work on immigrant rights was put on hold for a while. Then the Center grew, got some more funds and more know-how, and they decided to return to work on immigrant rights. Community groups in Washington were telling them how concerned they were with the levels of abuse and fear they were hearing from communities across the state, and according to Angelina "it started to feel to me that we couldn't continue to be a human rights center worthy of the name, if we didn't find a way to respond to this clamor from our own neighbors for assistance on immigrant rights. And so that is how we decided to do this. We said that even though we do not have a grant, we do not have the funding to do this work, we are going to have to find a way to do it anyway, because this is just too important and too central to the cause of human rights, and the reason why we were created. So that is why we started doing this immigrant rights work much more in earnest, early in 2017."

In this way, Angelina realized that what local organizations in Washington State were asking the Center for Human Rights to do was not very different from what organizations in El Salvador had asked her to do: "they wanted to know what their government was doing. And just like the victims of wartime massacres in El Salvador, I mean, they knew what happened. They were there. They know what their loved ones told them. The same is true for immigrant communities in Washington State. They know what they are experiencing. They do not need to be told that. But what they need help in is understanding what are the structures of government that are enabling this to happen. Is it being enabled because somebody is giving an order for this to happen, or is it simply looking the other way when there are abuses? How does that happen in the institutional sense, or in the structural sense? And that is important to know in order to stop it." The experience of using FOIA for human rights research in El Salvador turned out to be useful to help human rights organizations in Washington State as well. Initially, Angelina asked some of the students who had already been trained in FOIA research as part of the work in El Salvador to work on FOIA and public records requests related to immigration in Washington State. Since they already had the skills to do it, this work showed early results, and the team was encouraged to go on: freedom of information research on human rights in Washington State could produce useful knowledge, and the team has been doing it ever since.

Even though I am now part of the team doing some of the freedom of information research in Washington, and many public records requests have gone out in my name, as a faculty member of the University of Washington, to local and state law enforcement agencies in Washington, I was not involved in this work during its initial stages. Angelina points out that an important feature of the work, drawing from the lessons learned in El Salvador, is to build on the work of local organizations and work in partnership with them. "You can't just ask for all information. If you cast the net too wide, you will not even get the information. So, you have to be targeted in the request that you make. And that is where the partnership with communities is so important, because those are the communities who are experiencing the issues, and who can say 'we are concerned about things happening at this specific place, or this particular pattern of behavior.' They give us really pointed direction in terms of what are the things that our investigation could enable them to fight against. Through that partnership, we are able to prioritize, and then seek information from government agencies, whether it is federal, state or local. But again, it only works if it is built on a strong partnership where whatever information we receive is used to inform or corroborate what folks are reporting on the ground. So, we are not discovering something that nobody has ever experienced, but we are triangulating data—if you want to think about it in social science terms—and giving the result of that data or that analysis of data back to communities, who can advocate for their own rights. Our job is to support their process of advocacy and work, not to lead that process ourselves." This community partner-centered approach is central to the work of the Center for Human Rights: the purpose is not just to do and publish research, but to serve the needs of local organizations doing frontline work for the promotion and protection of human rights. This is what makes the work of the UW Center for Human Rights so unique.

When the work on immigrant rights started in Washington State, the Center's team listened to the needs of local groups such as La Resistencia, a grassroots organization based in Washington that seeks to end the detention of immigrants and stop deportations. Founded in 2014, La Resistencia was initially created to support a hunger strike by people detained in the Northwest Detention Center in Tacoma, Washington, one of the largest immigration prisons in the US with a capacity of 1575 prisoners. The Northwest Detention Center is a privately run center operated for profit by the GEO Group, the second-largest private prison operator in the US.

People held in the Northwest Detention Center are held with few legal protections, frequently for extended periods of time. As civil detainees, those held in immigration detention centers do not have the right to an attorney at the government's expense, and a great majority of them see their cases move forward without legal representation. Phil Neff, the Center for Human Rights project coordinator, remembers how La Resistencia, together with other local organizations, asked the Center to help answer very basic questions such as: Where are people being picked up by immigration enforcement? They knew people end up in Tacoma and from that point on they are in deportation proceedings with very little recourse. This was well understood by activists and local organizations such as La Resistencia. But what was not so clear were the ways in which people initially enter the detention and deportation pipeline. This gave rise to two different programs at the Center for Human Rights: one program was focused on the conditions at the Tacoma immigration detention center, and the other on the ways in which immigration enforcement takes place in Washington State.

La Resistencia and other groups were increasingly concerned about accounts of abuse they were hearing from people detained at the immigration detention center in Tacoma. To investigate these accounts of abuse, the Center started to file FOIA requests to ICE about conditions of detention at the Northwest Detention Center. UW's Center for Human Rights also sought records from other agencies that could help them understand what was going on in that facility. Many of those records requests are still outstanding, and the Center has faced strong resistance from federal agencies who refuse to comply with the records requests. Similar to the lawsuit against the CIA for failing to respond to records requests pertaining to the civil war in El Salvador, while pursuing the case of the Northwest Detention Center, the University of Washington once again needed to file lawsuits against the Department of Homeland Security for failing to respond adequately to a series of public records requests. This time, the requests at issue pertained to the use of solitary confinement at the facility, and the release of something called "significant incident reports," which are internal reports that are filed each time there are certain kinds of incidents including hunger strikes and any kind of physical violence inside the facility. This litigation is still ongoing at the time of writing, so the data is incomplete. However, it is sufficient to paint a stark picture about how the Northwest Detention Center operates, and the inhuman conditions faced by many detainees there.

Over the course of 2020, the Center for Human Rights published five different reports on human rights conditions at the Northwest Detention Center, documenting abuses related to food and sanitation, allegations of medical neglect, use of solitary confinement, and problems in the management of the COVID-19 pandemic. These reports corroborate what human rights activists have heard about abuse in the immigration detention center. The documentation of abuses has also added fuel to a long-standing movement in the Pacific Northwest that seeks to shut down the immigration detention center in Tacoma. Angelina points out that every single human rights organization in the Pacific Northwest has signed on to support the shutdown coalition that seeks the closure of the detention center: "Every organization, every single organization in the immigrant rights space in this area of the country, has agreed that that facility should be shut down. It is not at all a controversial proposition from the immigrant rights point of view." The coalition to shut down the Northwest Detention Center represents multifaceted grounds to demand the closure of the facility. The argument that has gathered the most support against the immigration detention center is not strictly human rights based. It opposes the for-profit operation of prisons and detention centers in the state, on the basis that they lack transparency and oversight and lead to inadequate medical care, poor nutrition, and frequent cases of mistreatment (such as those documented by the Center for Human Rights at the Northwest Detention Center). Early in 2021, the Washington State Legislature moved forward with HB1090, which prohibits private for-profit detention in Washington State. The bill signed into law on April 16, 2021. The Northwest Detention Center is the only private for-profit prison or detention center in Washington State. Therefore, it is the only facility directly affected by the passage of the law, which prohibits the construction or operation of any new, future for profit prisons or detention centers in the state. The current contract between the GEO Group and ICE expires in 2025, and it cannot be renewed. The new bill is effectively closing down the Northwest Detention Center, which is a major victory for all human rights organizations in the region and other organizations that participated in the movement to shut it down.

Shutting Down ICE Air in King County

In addition to wanting to find out more about what happened at the Northwest De-

tention Center, La Resistencia and other immigrants' rights groups in Washington were interested in uncovering information about where, how, and why immigrants were detained in the state, and what happened to them once they were detained. One of the intriguing details that came out from local community organizations was that there were many accounts by family members of people being deported out of the King County International Airport, an airport owned and operated by King County, also known as Boeing Field. Built in 1928, King County airport used to be the primary airport in Seattle until 1944, when Seattle-Tacoma International Airport opened and took over the majority of commercial and international flights in the region. King County International Airport is today mostly used for cargo, and for what is called "general aviation," which encompasses private transport and recreational aviation. Local organizations asked the Center for Human Rights to find out more about why people were being deported from King County International Airport, which did not make any sense given that King County was supposedly a sanctuary county. As a sanctuary county, King County prohibits the use of county resources for federal immigration enforcement, including local law enforcement sharing information with ICE unless mandated by a court, and prohibits ICE from using the facilities of the King County International Airport. However, the prohibitions of the sanctuary county contradicted what people were saying was happening and immigrants' rights organizations wanted to find out more. Angelina herself was not aware that these flights were taking place out of that airport. "I think the broader universe of people in King County didn't realize that this was happening out of our own airport," she told me. "I mean, I'm a resident of King County, and this was our own public airport." This is how the Center for Human Rights filed an initial FOIA request to find out more about deportation flights leaving from King County International Airport.

The first FOIA request related to this topic was quite simple. The initial FOIA inquired about information regarding deportation flights leaving from King County airport: how many deportation flights depart from King County Airport, where are they going and how many people they carry. None of that information was public. The results that came back were in the form of a database, a series of spreadsheets from ICE with all flights leaving from King County airport over a particular time period, all copied onto a CD. Angelina recalls

getting that CD and putting it into the CD drive of the old computer in the office, and opening it and just scrolling through, and realizing these are like tens of thousands of passengers leaving on ICE flights from that public airport. I remember being shocked to see the volume of that, and all the information provided, which also showed the categories under which people were being deported. It showed, for example, that a large percentage of those folks were being deported under categories that meant they had never had the opportunity to go before a judge. This is a form of expedited removal, in which the person does not have a chance to present their case before any legal authority. They are simply ejected. The database also contained information about people denied asylum, and a variety of other things. The review of this dataset made the team at the Center for Human Rights realize the magnitude of what was going on and the usage of King County's public facilities to facilitate these deportations. Now knowing that such a database of ICE deportation flights existed, the team requested a copy of it. This is how they obtained the first copy of the ICE ARTS Database, which stands for the Alien Repatriation Tracking System, used to track all ICE deportation flights, or what is now known as ICE Air. The database they received had over 1.7 million people in flights and nearly 15,000 ICE Air Operations missions between October 2010 and December 2018.

Although the ICE Air dataset was quite large, in the world of big data, a set of 1.7 million lines is small. Big data is a term whose initial usage began in 1997 to refer to data that cannot be stored or processed by a single computing system. One million rows comprise a dataset that is too large for Excel, but not for Pandas, a commonly used application for large datasets. A file with 100 million rows is too large for Pandas, but works well for Spark, a commonly used platform to analyze big data projects, running on a single machine. A file with one billion rows is too big for Spark on one machine, but it works ok if running on a few machines simultaneously, and so on. In other words, the ICE Air dataset was too large for analysis using a spreadsheet, but too small for data science. Nonetheless, each one of those 1.7 million lines represented an individual immigrant who was detained somewhere in the US, processed by ICE in most cases without ever being heard by a judge, and deported. The implications for each individual, their families, and their communities, were bigger than any dataset. Each case

is a life upended, a family divided, a community torn apart, with little accountability and oversight.

There is little research on this last leg of the deportation machine in the US: How do the deportation flights work? What are the contracts with the private companies that operate those flights? Who are they accountable to? There are still many questions that need answers, but the analysis of the ICE Air flights provided a glimpse of what the answers might look like. The results of this work, published by the Center for Human Rights in 2019, offers an eye-opening account of numbers of passengers per airport and flight paths, both within the US and from the US to other countries. It also details some of the most salient ICE Air contracting relationships with the private businesses that run the flights, and reports on physical abuse and ill-treatment of deportees, due process violations, frequent lack of travel documents, and violations of international refugee laws that prohibit *refoulement* (the forcible return of people to a place where they may be persecuted on account of race, religion, nationality, political opinion, membership of a particular social group, or to a place where they risk torture or inhuman, degrading or cruel treatment).

In addition, the report points out that the ARTS dataset provides an incomplete picture of deportations in the US, given that it includes information only on about half the total removals reported each year by ICE and its division of Enforcement and Removal Operations, leaving the workings of the other half in the dark.

Days before the Center for Human Rights' report on ICE Air was to be released, the Center shared a copy with the King County Executive, Dow Constantine. County Executives are the highest elected officials representing the government of the county; they manage and supervise the county's agencies, departments and services, and are separate from the Mayor, who represents and manages the city. The City of Seattle, and the King County Airport, are both within the boundaries of King County, but authority over the Airport falls under the County Executive. Upon the release of the report on ICE Air, the King County Executive ordered King County Airport

to ban flights chartered by ICE and its contractors that carry immigration detainees, and to review the terms of the agreement with ICE to make their operations more transparent. In his remarks, County Executive indicated that "Here in King County, we are a welcoming community that respects the rights of all people. My Executive Order seeks to make sure all those who do business with King County uphold the same values (...) Our goal is to ban flights of immigrant detainees from our publicly owned airport, and I hope members of Congress shine a light on this practice and how it is currently funded." Shortly after the County Executive orders, local companies that support and serve the flights out of King County Airport voluntarily committed to stop servicing flights carrying immigration detainees. The FOIA research of the UW Center for Human Rights brought to light the practices of ICE Air, and King County took one small but important step to protect and promote the human rights of all immigrants in the county.

Figure 41: Sunset on the Columbia River near the Columbia Gorge, with Mt. Hood in the background

Coda: Cowlitz River

Between the Tri-Cities and the Pacific Ocean, the Columbia River flows slowly for 300 miles and has four dams: the McNary, John Day, The Dalles, and Bonneville dams. Unlike the Grand Coulee and Chief Joseph dams, these dams on the Lower Columbia all have fish ladders, but salmon population continues to dwindle despite the late efforts to save them. Sockeye and Steelhead salmon are considered an endangered species on the Lower Columbia and the Snake River, and Coho salmon may already be extinct in this region. The only healthy salmon population on the Columbia River is around the Hanford Reach, where it was inadvertently protected from human interference by the radiation of the nuclear reactors. As recently as May 2021, efforts to remove dams on the Lower Snake River have failed despite efforts by Indian tribes and conservation groups in Washington, Oregon, and Idaho. The Columbia River is no longer natural but an engineered machine, according to Blaine Harden's *A River Lost*. The machine of the river offers subsidized irrigation, energy, and transportation at the expense of the Native population, the immigrant farm workers, the environment, and especially the Columbia River salmon.

The area between the John Day Dam and the Bonneville Dam is known as the Columbia Gorge, a canyon of steep basalt walls that flank the river in the only sea-level passage in the mountains between Canada and California. At the entrance to the Columbia Gorge is the city of Hood River, a world-class windsurfing destination that attracts young and wealthy surfers, much to the annoyance of the local population and barge pilots maneuvering their huge loads up and down the river. After the Columbia Gorge and the Bonneville Dam, the river finally flows freely toward the ocean, unimpeded by dams and influenced by the tides. At Portland, OR the river crosses its only metropolitan area in the US, before it turns north toward Longview, WA, home of the tribal headquarters of the Cowlitz Tribe, on the confluence of the Cowlitz and the Columbia rivers.

The Cowlitz Indian Tribe are one of the Coast Salish peoples of the Pacific Northwest. Given that the Cowlitz refused to sign away their rights to their ancestral terri-

tories in the 1850s, they remained in the region as it was occupied by white settlers, but they had no reservation of their own. The Cowlitz Reservation, a few miles northeast of Longview, was established only in 2010 after the tribe obtained federal recognition in 2000. Some of the Cowlitz are enrolled in neighboring reservations including the Confederated Tribes of the Chehalis Reservation, the Confederated Tribes and Bands of the Yakima Nation, and the Quinault Indian Nation.

With a population of 37,000, Longview is the largest city of Cowlitz County. It has a large port with eight marine terminals, as the Pacific Ocean is another 66 miles to the west. The Cowlitz County District Court and the Hall of Justice are in Longview, perched on the banks overlooking the Cowlitz River. I stand in front of the Hall of Justice and watch the river flow, imagining the many lives it has touched over the centuries and the stories it has seen over the last few years.

Ending Immigrant Youth Detention in Cowlitz County

The Cowlitz Juvenile Detention Center sits behind the House of Justice, and it was at the center of an investigation by the UW Center for Human Rights about its practice of detaining minors on behalf of ICE, which resulted in a new lawsuit in federal court against UW and the director of the Center for Human Rights, Angelina Godoy. It all started with a series of public records requests made by the Center in relation to the detention of minors for ICE in the county juvenile jail. Angelina tells me how they wanted to find out more about all the places in Washington State where immigrants were being detained by ICE or CBP for immigration violations. Where are these places? How do they operate? How many people do they hold for ICE or CBP?

> *To figure that out, we looked at some documents that had been released under FOIA, not to us but to other human rights researchers at the National Immigrant Justice Center. They had received what was till then, and I believe still to date, the most comprehensive spreadsheet of ICE detention centers in the nation. It had data up until November 2017. That spreadsheet had many tabs, and a lot of very detailed information. I was looking over that spreadsheet, and one of the things I noticed, something that struck me as interesting,*

was that there was a small number of places in the nation, I think it was about nine or ten facilities in the nation, that were holding juveniles, children, for ICE, for a period of over 72 hours. We all know that there are many children being detained by immigration authorities in the United States. But under the law, they are supposed to be held not by ICE, even if it is ICE that detains them, but ICE is supposed to give custody of them to the Office of Refugee Resettlement (ORR), which is not part of the Department of Homeland Security, but part of HHS, the Department of Health and Human Services.

I noted this was an aberration: why are these kids actually remaining in ICE custody, as opposed to going over to ORR? And I noticed that on that list, that very small list, two of the facilities were right here in the Pacific Northwest. One was Cowlitz County Jail, the jail run by Cowlitz County for juveniles in Longview, WA, and the other was a place called Norcor, which is in The Dalles, Oregon. That one was similar in the sense that it was a county-run facility that had a contract with ICE and was holding kids under that contract. By then I thought, wow, that is weird. I tended to think that here in the Northwest, these are relatively progressive and immigrant-friendly states. And yet we have a small cluster of places doing this unusual business of detaining minors for ICE. And so, I thought, that seems odd. I will look into it. I am just curious, as part of our work trying to lay the land of the way in which people are being detained in Washington.

Figure 42: The Cowlitz River and the Cowlitz County Hall of Justice in Longview, WA

So, we sent an initial records request to Cowlitz County, and also to Norcor in Oregon, asking them how many minors had been held under this contract, and what was the contract or the MOU that governed this relationship, so that we could understand who these kids are, how many, why they are being held, and for how long each of those minors had been held in the last five years. So, we filed that request in 2018. We were asking for data just to get a sense: over the last five years, 2013 to 2018, how many kids, how long were they there, and why? I had assumed prior to getting any response from Cowlitz county that it would be a small number of kids, and second, because of the rule limiting holding minors for a maximum of 72 hours, that there was a glitch in the transfer to ORR so that instead of happening before 72 hours, it happened at 81 hours, or 83, or a small number of hours that missed that window of 72 hours. That is what I was assuming.

But then when we got the records back, they showed that 15 minors had been held in Cowlitz County over the course of the previous five years, and that some of them were held there for hundreds of days, almost a full year. And I thought that seems really weird. Moreover, the contract governing the relationship had a definition of who those kids were, and it included minors who, I think this is almost a direct quote, who were chargeable as criminal, classified as criminal, or subject to extant criminal proceedings. And that struck me because what do they mean "chargeable," that is different than having been charged or found guilty in a court of law. So, I started to look at that and thought, well, this just seems that ICE is deciding that some of these kids are chargeable, whether or not they are even being charged, ICE has determined that they are chargeable, and then they end up in this facility. And I thought, well, that does not seem to me like an acceptable proceeding. That was still me reading the contract, reading between the lines of the contract, and trying to interpret it. And so, I thought, well, I better figure out if this is actually what I suspect, what this contract would allow is actually what is happening. So, I asked for the actual jail records of those 15 kids, because I knew in the records it would stipulate the legal grounds on which those kids were being held. And that is what I wanted to understand, how is this jail doing this? And that is where all the problems came.

With the first public records request, they gave me what I was

seeking, which was the list of kids, not by name or anything, just the numbers. But once I asked for the actual jail records that would enable us to understand the legal grounds for their detention, that's when ICE intervened in the case. ICE told Cowlitz County that they could not give me the information I had requested, and then Cowlitz County got back to me and said, do you want to drop your request? They said, ICE says we cannot give you the information. Do you want to drop your request? And I said, no, I am still interested in this information. And I still believe under the law I have a right to that information. And then Cowlitz County decided to sue us, the University of Washington and myself are named in the lawsuit as defendants.

Although it was clearly in my function as Director of the Center for Human Rights, the University of Washington and I we were named as defendants in state court. So basically, Cowlitz had ICE telling them: you cannot give this information. And I was saying, well, I think that you should give me the information. And so, Cowlitz decides to go to state court to resolve that matter. But the minute that they did that, ICE elevated the case to federal court. And so, it became that much more complex. And that is the case that is still proceeding to this day.

ICE elevated the case to federal court to prevent Angelina and the Center for Human Rights from having access to the records of youth who had been detained in Cowlitz County on behalf of ICE. I was outraged again during Angelina's retelling of the story, even though I had talked with Angelina at the time when this was happening, and I knew how it unfolded. The events that followed gave me a chill, which is precisely what they were intended to do: the chilling effect of harassment, in court or otherwise, to discourage similar action by others, in academia or elsewhere, to pursue transparency and access to government records. It was especially outrageous given that it was about detention of children, minors in a juvenile detention, and the Center was just asking for more information about what was going on. The Center for Human Rights had already taken on the CIA in a lawsuit, when the CIA did not disclose existing records pertaining to the civil war in El Salvador. At that time, the University of Washington had been entirely supportive of the suit, as it was initiated by the university as the plaintiff. That was the first time a university sued the CIA for access to records. In the case of Cowlitz County and

ICE, in relation to records about the detention of minors in Washington state, the university was a defendant, not the plaintiff, and the response was not as supportive as it had been before. Angelina is gracious about it, though:

> *It was a very difficult process, to be honest. Very difficult for me personally, and I think unprecedented also in the nation, because as far as I am aware, this was the first, and remains the only case of a university researcher being sued by ICE under this particular interpretation of the law. What I mean is that ICE was then, and continues now, advancing an interpretation of this federal statute 236.6, which ICE interprets to mean that no entity other than ICE itself can disclose any information about anyone detained for ICE. And I would say that is a dangerous interpretation of the law, because it is essentially saying there can be no transparency about ICE detainees, and that ICE itself will be the entity that decides what they make public about their own detainees, their own situation of detention. So that is the statute that ICE invoked to tell Cowlitz, that Cowlitz could not release that information to me.*
>
> *I then asked for that same information from ICE. We asked ICE, okay, so you give us the information instead of Cowlitz, and they said, no, we are not going to give you the information. So, it was just a full-frontal opposition that turned Cowlitz County's juvenile detention center into essentially a black site. A black site, in the sense that no information can come out, is being allowed to come out, about the people who are detained there. So, there's people, in this case, there were children, deprived of their liberty under uncertain circumstances, it is not clear why, who they are, or any of that. And the government is saying, nobody can know, nobody can even disclose that information or talk about it. And moreover, if somebody insists on trying to use the transparency laws to obtain that information, we will go after them using the law as aggressively as we can on our side, to create a disincentive for people to do that research. This was the first case of its kind, as far as I am aware, where a university researcher was faced with that kind of lawsuit. I did not expect it, nor did the University of Washington expect it. And it was a difficult process figuring out how we were going to respond to it. Fortunately, we were able to. The university initially said, we do not have the funds, the resources, to defend against a lawsuit of this sort. So therefore,*

the Center for Human Rights is going to have to pay for that. Either drop the case or pay for your own defense.

I found that to be unacceptable. But we got out of that problem because we were fortunate to have relationships with attorneys who were willing to represent us pro bono, which cleared one of the obstacles. And they have continued to represent us, for which we are very grateful. In this case, we are represented by Eric Stahl of the legal group Davis Wright Tremaine, and without his participation, we would be in a very different place. I shudder to think what place we would be in, so I am very grateful for that.

When I learned about this response from the University, I was furious. I went to the Chair of the Faculty Senate, who happened to be a friend and a colleague, to find out why the University was not standing behind Angelina and the Center for Human Rights and refusing to pay for the legal defense of this in this lawsuit. I would expect the University to stand behind me as well, and any other member of the faculty who is sued for doing their work as a researcher. My intervention helped to move the conversation further, but still did not change the basic stance. The case was unprecedented, in that no other university had ever been sued by ICE for requesting access to public records, so the University had no policy nor any procedures to deal with this. The legal representation of both Angelina and the University of Washington continues to be the generous donation of time by an incredible attorney and legal team, and I continue to wonder how the University will stand behind the next member of the faculty who does something that causes the wrath of the police state.

Figure 43: Cowlitz County Youth Detention Center in Longview, WA

In the meantime, the case of Cowlitz County did get some publicity after Angelina started speaking to the press. There was a breakthrough when news about the case was reported by CNN. Angelina had an interview with the well-known journalist Anderson Cooper, and this opened up Pandora's box. Angelina could speak to people who started calling her with information, including lawyers who had represented clients at the detention facility. She learned that the kids held there were not from Washington State, but they had been taken from their families in other parts of the country. They were not unaccompanied minors. In fact, ICE had gone into people's homes and taken their kids, or kids had somehow had an encounter with local law enforcement, and their families were trying to get them back, but they were instead handed off to ICE who transported them all the way to Cowlitz County to have them held there instead of close to their families.

By April 2020, Angelina and her team were able to put together a better picture of what was happening in the Juvenile Detention Center, and published a report called Immigrant Family Separation in the Pacific Northwest. The report discusses

what the Center for Human Rights had learned about the kids in detention at both Cowlitz County and at Norcor. They describe the numbers, origins, and trajectories of some of the kids being held there for ICE, and how they are held for longer times, with fewer legal protections, and in more social isolation than other juveniles detained there, contrary to existing laws about legal protections for minors. Furthermore, the report discusses the unacceptable secrecy about youth detention, and the efforts by ICE to suppress any investigation or oversight of their practices. The report concludes recommending the termination of ICE contracts with the detention facilities and immediately releasing immigrant kids held there due to COVID-19 precautions, as well as asking ICE to stop family separations, reunify families, and, if that is not possible, transfer custody of kids to the Office of Refugee Resettlement, as mandated by law. Finally, the report asks ICE to comply with federal transparency law, hand over the information requested under FOIA, and cease its litigation against the University of Washington and the Center for Human Rights Director Angelina Godoy.

At the same time, people in Cowlitz County had started to hear more about what was happening in their own community, and their outrage started to be heard by local and federal government. They did not know that their own local jail was holding kids for ICE, given the secrecy with which all this has been done, and given that the immigrant kids held there were not local but were brought in from other regions of the county. People in the local community started to organize to do something, and to demand action. Some were faith-based organizations, others were local immigrant rights organizations, and others were not activists or community leaders but local residents who became outraged by the knowledge of what their hometown was doing to kids. Moral outrage mobilized many into action. Some started going to county commissioners' meetings to demand an end to the detention of immigrant kids on behalf of ICE; others held protests outside the jail; others tried to do humanitarian actions on behalf of the detained kids. For example, some people tried to send books for the kids in detention, who were bored with no stimulation, but the jail said they do not receive books; others wanted to put money into the commissary accounts of the kids, to give them some extra food or resources, but the jail does not have a commissary. In this context, in February 2021 the Cowlitz County Superior Court judges finally made the decision to end their contract with ICE and announced that they would no longer

hold kids in their facility on behalf of ICE. This was a huge victory, and it started with the initial public records request. Angelina recalls how hearing the news was so gratifying: "That day I felt it's all worth it. The lawsuit, everything, it has all been worth it. Many times, in the thick of it, I felt like, is this even worth it? It is taking up so much of my time and mental energy and emotional energy, what if we never get anywhere with this? But I clung to it on the principle that it was the right thing to do. And in this case, it turned out to be worth it. So I'm happy."

Cowlitz County was the last juvenile detention facility in the country that was holding kids for ICE. The initial list released by ICE in 2017 included nine facilities, but only three were actively holding minors: one in Pennsylvania, and the two in the Pacific Northwest: Cowlitz in Washington and Norcor in Oregon. The detention facility in Pennsylvania had stopped receiving minors for ICE in 2018 and, in 2020, Norcor ceased its contract with ICE as well. Since then, only Cowlitz remained holding immigrant kids for ICE. After all this work and following years of activism by many local organizations and activists, on April 8, 2021, Cowlitz County was no longer holding immigrant minors in prison for ICE. We celebrated it briefly that afternoon, during the weekly meeting with the team at the Center for Human Rights, then we carried on with the work.

The Center for Human Rights continues to monitor compliance with laws that afford a minimum of protection to immigrants in Washington state, even though those laws, KWW and COTA, don't have any teeth and their enforcement seems to be left to the whim of local authorities. A new season of fruits from the Columbia Valley is being picked by immigrant farmworkers, whose children increasingly attend the University of Washington, and organizations such as CAMP continue to support them so they can thrive. Resilience continues to fuel the rich tapestry of life in Washington state.

Acknowledgments

I am grateful for the contributions of the students and alumni I interviewed for this project and the ones I spoke to but who chose not to have their stories included. I ended up focusing on the stories of students from Eastern Washington, though I interviewed a few from other regions, especially the Skagit Valley, north of Seattle, where there is also a high prevalence of migrant farmworkers. My thanks to Adriana, Ariana, Claudia, Daisy, Elias, Emely, Francisco, Israel, Keren, Luis, Lupe, Marcela, Mayra, Melissa, Minelli, Monica, Monserrat, Myrella, Natalia, Nayeli, Nora, Roberto, Sally, Sandra, Xitlalit, Yocelyn, and Yoni. I am thankful to the UW Center for Human Rights staff and students, who carry out the important work of obtaining and analyzing human rights records, and who graciously agreed to be interviewed for this project: Angelina and Phil, and students Ana, Israel, Tara, Thomas, Yubing. Furthermore, I acknowledge the enthusiasm of my colleague, Geno, who offered early on to do some of the interviews on my behalf.

Many people participated in discussing the ideas included in this book, including transcription, translation and revision of interviews, preparation of background documents, coding of data, and analysis and interpretation of the findings. In particular, I thank students in the Graduate Assistant pool at the Information School—Emma, Adelina, Shelby, Kathryn, and Jessie—who helped revise transcriptions and copy edit drafts of this work. I also thank Master of Library and Information Science (MLIS) students in my class on Information and Social Justice, who took on different aspects of this work as part of their class projects: Brit, Bryn and Bee on information sharing and law enforcement; Caitlin, Dot, Elle, Emma, and Olivia, on how Latinx students define resilience; and Allison, Claire, and Sidney, on illegal information sharing and migrant arrests. I appreciate the work of doctoral students Yubing and Itza, who supported these teams of master's students to code, analyze, and report on their topics. Last but not least, I am thankful to MLIS student Andrew, who prepared some of the background and supporting research, and who designed the map of Eastern Washington and the Columbia River Basin that is included in the introduction.

I first visited Seattle 25 years ago when I was finishing my PhD at Cornell Univer-

sity, and I won a free ticket to fly anywhere west of the Mississippi. I chose to visit a friend in Seattle that I had not seen in many years. We walked around the city and talked without stop during three glorious days in spring. Little did I know that a decade later I would move to Seattle with my family, that my wife Claudia would be treated and die of cancer in Seattle, and that in Seattle I would meet new love and rebuild my life. I have migrated for ideals, for education, and for work. In Seattle I stayed for love. I remarried and started a blended family with five kids, and I joined the faculty at the University of Washington. Seattle is now my home. With this book I seek to extend my home beyond Seattle and to make Eastern Washington my home as well.

I thank my wife, Mary, who went with me on several trips to Eastern Washington as I was preparing this work, and my family and friends, who humored and put up with my single-minded focus on this new project, conducted in the middle of the COVID-19 pandemic.

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Introduction

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Chapter 1: Columbia River

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The full collection of declassified documents from US government agencies pertaining to El Salvador civil war are available at ResearchWorks Archive (no date). UWCHR El Salvador Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) Documents https://digital.lib.washington.edu/researchworks/handle/1773/38709. The National Security Archive in Washington DC is one of the pioneers using FOIA for human rights research. Some of the publications about impactful records obtained and made public by the National Security Archive include "Family Jewels," a set of reports with details of illegal or inappropriate activities by the CIA between 1959 and 1973 (Prados, J. (2014). *The Family Jewels: The CIA, Secrecy, and Presidential Power*. University of Texas Press); extensive documentation of atrocities under Chilean dictator Augusto Pinochet (Kornbluh, P. (2016). *The Pinochet file: A declassified dossier on atrocity and accountability*. The New Press); and a comprehensive collection of documents pertaining to the Cold War (Kramer, M., Byrne, M., Yuxing, H., Kaplan, L. S., Keating, V., Keylor, W. R., ... & Wheeler, N. (2013). *The legacy of the cold war: Perspectives on security, cooperation, and conflict*. Lexington Books). More information about the National Security Archive and its digital collections is available at https://nsarchive.gwu.edu/.

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Resistencia – A grassroots organization in Washington state working to end the detention of immigrants and stop deportations. http://laresistencianw.org/. Northwest Immigrant Rights Project (NWIRP) –a nonprofit legal services organization that promotes justice by defending and advancing the rights of immigrants through direct legal services, systemic advocacy, and community education. https://nwirp.org/. OneAmerica –the largest immigrant and refugee advocacy organization in Washington state, founded immediately after 9/11 of 2001 to address the backlash, hate crimes and discrimination against immigrant communities. https://weareoneamerica.org/. Washington Defender Association (WDA) – an organization that seeks to be the voice of the public defense community and supports zealous and high-quality legal representation that promotes dignity and equity. https://defensenet.org/. Washington Immigrant Solidarity Network (WAISN) – an immigrant-led coalition of immigrant and refugee-rights organizations that seeks to protect and advance the power of immigrant and refugee communities. https://www.waisn.org/.

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Chapter 2: Okanogan River

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Coda: Cowlitz River

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