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BORDERS AND BADGES: HOW ARIZONA'S CHILDREN MAKE SENSE OF DETENTION AND DEPORTATION THROUGH ART

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BORDERS AND BADGES:
HOW ARIZONA'S CHILDREN MAKE SENSE OF DETENTION AND DEPORTATION THROUGH ART

A thesis submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for a Masters in Chicana & Chicano Studies

By
Silvia Patricia Rodriguez Vega

2014
ABSTRACT OF THESIS

Borders and Badges:
How Arizona’s Children Make Sense of Detention and Deportation Through Art
By
Silvia Patricia Rodriguez Vega

Masters in Chicana and Chicano Studies
University of California, Los Angeles, 2014
Professor Leisy J. Abrego, Co-Chair
Professor Judith F. Baca, Co-Chair

ABSTRACT

Currently, about 20% of the young people in the United States are born to immigrant parents (Chaudry, 2010). There are an estimated 5.5 million U.S. children who grow up in immigrant homes (Passel, D’Vera Cohn, & Center, 2011). While the population of children in immigrant families continues to increase, anti-Latino immigrant sentiments and record numbers of deportations by the Obama administration are creating traumatizing experiences for the next generation of U.S. citizens.

This study examines 115 drawings, poems, and letters by predominantly Mexican-American children ages 5-18 from immigrant families in what is known as the laboratory for anti-immigrant legislation--Phoenix, Arizona. This work provides a compelling look into the harrowing lives of children growing up in hostile anti-immigrant environments by using an artistic medium. Some of the themes found in this work include Family Separation, Respect/Racism, Sheriff Joe Arpaio/Authority, and Hope. This study can be useful for teachers, academics, policy makers, and community organizations in assessing the needs of immigrant children experiencing the threat of family separation.
Thesis of Silvia Patricia Rodríguez Vega is approved.

Leisy J. Abrego Committee co-chair
Judith Baca Committee co-chair
Carola Suarez-Orozco

University of California, Los Angeles

2014
DEDICATION PAGE

I dedicate this work to immigrant community in Arizona and for all migrants crossing physical and symbolic borders.

Y para mi familia.
# Table of Contents

Abstract.........................................................................................................................................................iii  
Introduction....................................................................................................................................................11  
Background....................................................................................................................................................3  
Literature Review...........................................................................................................................................8  
Theoretical Framework......................................................................................................................................13  
Methods..........................................................................................................................................................16  
Findings.........................................................................................................................................................21  
I. Deportation & Separation............................................................................................................................22  
II. Authority & Arpaio........................................................................................................................................30  
III. Violence, Racism, Respect, & Rights..........................................................................................................36  
IV. Agency, Hope, & Resilience.......................................................................................................................39  
Conclusion.....................................................................................................................................................43  
Discussion.......................................................................................................................................................44  
Appendix A. Code Definitions.........................................................................................................................47  
B. Code Frequencies.........................................................................................................................................50  
Work Cited......................................................................................................................................................51  

v
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First, I would like to thank the immigrant community in Arizona including the various community centers that work so hard on so little budget to provide children in immigrant communities with a safe place to learn, study, and play. I would also like to thank the community organizations, Puente Arizona and ACLU of AZ, that aided me in finding information about what Arizona is experiencing. Finally, this project would have not been possible without the guidance from dedicated faculty at University of California, Los Angeles. I am particularly grateful to my advisors in the Cesar E. Chavez Department of Chicana and Chicano Studies, Leisy Abrego, Judy Baca, and Carola Suarez-Orozco from the Graduate School of Education and Information Studies. Lastly, a very special thanks to my family and communities in Arizona, Boston, and California that supported me emotionally, spiritually, and intellectually to do this work.
INTRODUCTION

Children’s drawings are powerful windows with which society can see into the lives of young people (Driessnack, 2005; Eaton, Doherty, & Widrick, 2007; Gardner, 1990; Golomb, 1993; Kellogg, 1969; Smokowski & Bacallao, 2011). A family of smiling stick figures, balloons, suns and flowers are representative of our most common notions of childhood art. It is against this backdrop that children’s drawings in Phoenix, AZ, as seen in figure 2 stand out for their colorless, long frowning individuals, tears pouring out of people’s eyes, and the presence of a variety of enforcement officials.

These images are alarming because society strives to create and enforce adequate sanctions against those that attempt to harm children, often perceived to be the most vulnerable members of the population. However, immigrant children in the United States do not receive equal protection.

One example that garnered national attention is that of Katherine, a nine-year old who likes playing with her cousins and design clothes. On what was otherwise an ordinary day, Katherine was watching the evening news with her grandmother. She saw the local sheriff’s department conducting an immigration raid at a nearby carwash. A

1 Katherine’s story became a national and local news story. Her parents have condoned the use of her real name in the media and in this work. For all other child participants I will use pseudonyms when referring to them.
moment later, she realized the carwash on television was the same one where her mother and father worked. As she watched the news story, Katherine witnessed the sheriff’s deputy handcuffing her father and mother and putting them into a sheriff’s bus, which took them to a detention center where they were for three months. She describes the treatment of her parents as being “worse than animals” and the separation she experienced from them as traumatizing. Stories like Katherine’s are common as thousands of children in Arizona face similar situations on a weekly basis, particularly since 2002, when Arizona’s legislation became more anti-immigrant.

According to a report by the Urban Institute, there are 5.5 million children with undocumented parents (Chaudry et al., 2010). Additionally, the National Council of La Raza (NCLR) found that on average one child was affected for every two adults detained, sometimes leading to an intervention by Child Protective Services (CPS) (Capps et al., 2004). Scholars predict that the number of children entering the foster care system due to their parents’ detention/deportation will increase from 5,100 to 15,000 after 2010 and continue increasing in the upcoming years (R. Capps, 2007; Dreby, 2012a). Under the direction of President Obama’s administration, draconian anti-immigrant measures are separating more children like Katherine from their parents. Despite the high rates of deportations, few scholars have examined the effects of immigration policy and enforcement on the lives of immigrant children. Moreover, with few exceptions (J. Dreby & Adkins, 2011), there are almost no studies utilizing an artistic medium to understand the experiences of this population. To fill this void, this study draws on a visual content analysis of over 115 drawings from children in Phoenix, AZ. The research questions this study seeks to answer are: 1. How do children of immigrants in Arizona make sense of living in an anti-immigrant state? 2. What types of narratives are emerging in children's artwork?

Through this research, we can ascertain directly from children the ways that they are trying to make sense of living in a “deportation nation” (Kanstroom, 2007), in a state with a virulent anti-
immigrant rhetoric, and county with an exceptionally aggressive deportation policy. The first part of this paper will present background information on the national immigrant context. Then, I explain the specific political context and the legislative history towards the undocumented community in Arizona. The next part will be a literature review on the demographics of immigrant children and family separation. The last section will focus on the artistic expression of children, specifically in difficult life circumstances that will lead into the theoretical framework in which I situate this research.

BACKGROUND
NATIONAL CONTEXT

As this section will demonstrate, migrant labor has been crucial throughout the history of the United States, both at a national and local level. In fact, some argue that the U.S. economy is addicted to immigrant labor (Kandel & Massey, 2002). Before the construction of the southern wall, Mexican workers referred to as “birds of passage” would seasonally migrate to the U.S., and return to their homes in Mexico during the winter months (Guerin-Gonzales, 1994). The construction of the U.S.-Mexico border began in 1904 with the purpose of deterring Chinese immigration into the U.S. through Mexico (Tichenor, 2009). However, the construction of the wall put an end to the previous seasonal Mexican migration. Then in 1947 the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) passed—which created a multilateral agreement that regulated international trade, setting the stage for further policies that opened the borders to commerce and not to people. In 1994, through the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), the U.S.-Mexico markets (except labor) were fused together, creating a situation in which the U.S. increasingly relied on undocumented labor while simultaneously attempting to restrict its flow (De Genova, 2004; Kandel & Massey, 2002; Ngai, 1999, 2006; Nicholas & Genova, 2002). Post-NAFTA, undocumented migration into the U.S. would increase and at the same time become highly restricted and dangerous.
With the exception of the Great Depression era, the number of undocumented immigrants has steadily increased since the founding of the border. In response, immigration policy has grown more exclusionary (Massey, Durand, & Malone, 2002). First, in 1993 the Clinton administration began a series of programs aimed to “get serious” about border enforcement (Cornelius, 2001). In 1994, Immigration and Naturalization Services (INS) implemented “Operation Gatekeeper” in three phases. Phase one focused on the Imperial Beach area of the Pacific Ocean. Phase two targeted the San Diego Mountains, and phase three sought to end smuggling in the east part of the border. By the implementation of the final phase in 1998, Operation Gatekeeper resulted in the funneling of most undocumented migrants through desolate areas of the Sonora desert in Arizona. The Clinton administration believed that they would deter immigrants by cutting off access to California and Texas; nonetheless, migrants continued to take the chance of crossing through the dangerous conditions of the Sonora desert. Since then, thousands of bodies have been found and two-thirds of them are still unidentified (Slack, Martinez, Whiteford, & Lee, 2013).

Concerns with the removal of criminals and political threats to U.S. sovereignty have been around since the founding of this nation (Kanstroom, 2007). Yet, at the turn of the 21st century, Europe, the U.S., and other nations became more preoccupied with border control and deportation (Walters, Cornelisse, De Genova, & Peutz, 2010). In 2001, the perceived threat of foreigners became ever present in the wake of 9/11. Coupled with the “Great Economic Recession”, immigrants became the targets for legislative repression all over the country. Despite the fact that the 9/11 hijackers entered the U.S. through the northern border with Canada, the militarization of the southern U.S./Mexico border became a top priority and immigration enforcement in the U.S. increase significantly. Notably, the same level of military focus has not been present along the Canadian border. This is important to note because the racialization of the immigrant brown body
has a lasting consequence on the immigrant children along the Arizona (McDowell & Wonders, 2009; Sandoval, 2008).

Further, instead of keeping the promise of legalizing the immigration status of the 12 million undocumented people present in the country after 9/11, the Obama administration deported nearly 2 million people in the course of five years (2008-2014)—more than any other administration in U.S. history (Nava, 2014). Two-thirds of the people deported by the Obama administration had only minor infractions such as traffic violations or no criminal record at all (Thompson & Cohen, 2014). The pattern of incremented deportations began during the last two years of George W. Bush’s presidency (Hagan, Castro, & Rodriguez, 2009).

Additionally, the record high number of deportations was part of a strategic ten-year plan titled *Endgame*, which came into fruition during Obama’s second term (Shahani & Greene, 2009). Implemented in 2003 by the Removal and Deportation office of Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), *Endgame*’s goal was to remove every “removable alien” in a ten-year period. With this plan, came a 200 percent increase in ICE’s budget (Shahani & Greene, 2009). DHS allocated $1.6 billion to enforcement both within the U.S. and along the border while only allocating $161 million to immigration services.

The unequal distribution of funds is due, in large part, to intense lobbying by private prison contractors and county jailers. Two of the main lobbyists and policy writers are Correction Corporation of America (CCA) and the GEO Group. These corporations receive 10 percent of ICE’s budget (Doty & Wheatley, 2013). The for-profit model applied to immigrant detention has generated “the creation of a detention industry totally divorced from public safety” where making a profit from each immigrant is the main priority (Shahani & Greene, 2009). The construction of

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2 On March 1, 2003, INS (Immigration and Naturalization Services) became ICE (Immigration and Customs Enforcement).
detention centers has boomed since *Endgame* began. Since then, immigration detention has become the fastest form of incarceration in the U.S., and in 2008 approximately 33,400 people were detained in 350 detention centers nationwide (Rabin, 2008). Arizona is one of the places that has built detention centers along the border and contracted local jails to hold immigrants. In this state, on any given day, there are 350 immigrants in detention waiting to see a judge or forced on a bus back to Mexico (Rabin, 2008). As the next section will describe, Arizona—where this study is situated—became the national spotlight for the anti-immigrant movement.

ARIZONA SPECIFIC CONTEXT

As the country deported more immigrants than ever before, Arizona earned the notorious identity of the “laboratory” and “ground zero” for anti-immigrant policies. Aligned with the national goal of the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) to create “attrition through enforcement,” Arizona has passed measures that make immigrant life unbearable and impossible in the Grand Canyon State (Michaud, 2010). Multiple punitive measures have passed in the last decade, starting in 2004 when Arizona lawmakers made already restricted resources unavailable to undocumented immigrants. In 2005 the “Coyote Law” passed making the already federal felony of smuggling someone across the border (including smuggling of one’s self) a local felony (Szkupinski-Quiroga, Medina, & Glick, 2013). The political climate intensified in 2006 when six propositions that directly targeted the livelihood of undocumented individuals passed. Included in the local ballot were laws that denied bail to people accused of a crime, and made undocumented children and youth ineligible for head-start programs and instate tuition. Another law made English the official language, and another prohibited undocumented immigrants from taking English or GED classes that were subsidized by the state. In 2008, the “Employer Sanction Law”, Proposition 208, passed. Prop. 208 penalized any business that knowingly hired undocumented workers (Campbell, 2011). However, rather than punishing businesses, worksite raids became the norm as local law enforcement took the
place of federal immigration officers through the 287 (g)\(^3\) agreements and raided businesses, detained undocumented workers, and handing them to ICE. In 2009, House Bill 2008 required that if an undocumented person applies for services through any public program the state employee must report them to ICE. Lastly, and perhaps most infamously, in 2010 lawmakers passed Senate Bill 1070, which aimed to legalize racial profiling of anyone suspected of being undocumented (Szkupinski-Quiroga et al., 2013).

From 2002 until the present, immigration raids have continued in Arizona on a daily basis (O'Leary, 2014). Arizona is also home to the self-proclaimed ‘America’s Toughest Sheriff,’ Sheriff Joe Arpaio of Maricopa County. In 2014, Sheriff Arpaio was elected for a sixth term and prides himself on detaining and deporting undocumented immigrants by the thousands. With support from the Department of Homeland Security and federally funded programs like 287 (g), Secure Communities\(^4\), and the Criminal Alien Program\(^5\) (CAP), immigrants in Arizona of various legal statuses live in fear of being taken away and separated from their family members (Berk & Schur, 2001; Menjívar, 2006; Menjívar & Abrego, 2012).

The palpable anti-immigrant sentiment in Arizona is making its way to other parts of the country. From 2010-2012 more than 31 states proposed similar measures to AZ Senate Bill 1070 or more severe measures, such as Alabama’s House Bill 56 which makes “harboring” (i.e. living or driving with) undocumented people a crime (Locayo, 2011; Szkupinski-Quiroga et al., 2013). Thus,

\(^3\) The 287(g) agreement is one of ICE’s top partnership initiatives. This program allows and funds state and local law enforcement to enter in agreement with ICE under the joint Memorandum of Agreement (MOA). Under the 287(g) agreement, state & local entities receive authority to act as federal immigration enforcement within a local jurisdiction.

\(^4\) Secure Communities “S-Comm” is a biometric sharing database between ICE, the FBI, and local law enforcement, which captures biometric information of any immigrant that any of these entities meets. Importantly, if an undocumented immigrant is getting questioned for a crime, or is detained due to a broken tail light, his or her information will be sent to ICE and federal authorities.

\(^5\) The Criminal Alien Program (CAP) allows ICE to use and fund local facilities to interview, investigate, and hold undocumented people.
paying particular attention to Arizona is vital, not only in the context of this study but also in understanding the direction that the country is headed and how policies like these impact immigrant communities and young children of immigrants.

**LITERATURE REVIEW**

**CHILDREN IN IMMIGRANT & UNDOCUMENTED FAMILIES**

Children with undocumented parents constitute almost one-third of all children with immigrant parents and eight percent of all children in the U.S. (Passel, Cohn, & Lopez, 2011). Demographers project that immigrant youth—“those children under age eighteen who are either foreign-born or U.S.-born to immigrant parents”—now account for one-fourth of the nation’s 75 million children (Passel, 2011). By 2050, they are projected to make up one-third of the more than 100 million U.S. children, making children of immigrants the fastest growing segment of the child population in the U.S. (Passel, 2011, p. 19; Rong & Preissle, 1998). Currently, 5.5 million children in the U.S. have at least one undocumented parent (Chaudry et al., 2010; Rong & Preissle, 1998). Of that number, 4.5 million are U.S. citizens by birth. (Yoshikawa, Kholoptseva, & Suárez-Orozco, 2013). The immigration status of the parent has lasting consequences on the children’s wellbeing.

According to a study of 200 children born to immigrant parents, “Parent undocumented status harms children’s development, across early childhood, middle childhood, adolescence, and the transition to adulthood” (Yoshikawa et al., 2013, p. 12). Some of the consequences were lower levels of child cognitive development due to limited access to governmentally funded programs for health and mental wellbeing (Yoshikawa, 2011; Yoshikawa et al., 2013). Later psychological distress of possible deportation, especially in harsh state environments, created chronic and toxic stress for parents and care givers (Yoshikawa, 2011).

Indeed, children in immigrant families live with an ever-present threat of family separation. Estimates suggest that for every two adults detained there is at least one child left behind (Capps et
al., 2004). As parents face deportation, children left alone are referred to Child Protective Services (CPS). These children are considered neglected because of their parent’s immigration hold. As of 2010, there is an estimated 5,100 children in the foster care system because of immigration raids and deportations (Wessler, 2011). Even more egregious are the results of recent reports from the National Immigrant Justice Center, stating that from 2008 to 2012, the U.S. government detained more than 1,300 children in adult facilities—sometimes for more than a year, including a 15-year old held for a period of ten-years (National Immigrant Justice Center, 2012).

Because of record high deportation rates, children experience detrimental outcomes vis-à-vis familial disintegration. In 2008, as a result of a massive immigration raid in Iowa, over 50 percent of schoolchildren were absent and 90 percent of the Latino children reported being scared to attend school due to the raids (Becerra, Androff, Cimino, Wagaman, & Blanchard, 2013). Even when children did not experience a deportation, they often feared for the security of their family (Dreby, 2012a). Additionally, children often conflate immigration agents with local law enforcement resulting in a fear of any public official (Dreby, 2012a). Likewise, children assume all immigrants are undocumented to the extent of seeing themselves as undocumented despite having U.S. citizenship (Dreby, 2012b; J. Dreby & Adkins, 2011).

Apprehension of parents during an immigration raid or a routine traffic stop creates harmful situations for children. While detained, most undocumented people refrain from telling authorities they have children for fear that the children can end up in foster care (R. Capps, 2007). At times parents have no access to phones, unable to communicate with neighbors or caretakers. Occasionally, children reported not knowing what happened to their parents (R. Capps, 2007). The psychological and practical effects on children are many and include fear, distrust, depression,

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6 At the current rate of deportation, the Center of American Progress predicted that by 2016 there will be an increase of 15,000 more children entering the foster care system (Dreby, 2012a; Garcia, 2013).
anxiety and financial instability (Ayers, 2013). On a day-to-day basis caregivers reported frequent crying, loss of appetite, sleeplessness, clingy behavior in addition to increased fear and anxiety (R. Capps, 2007). Children and their guardians also confronted food and housing insecurities due to loss of income. When it came to their academic wellbeing, children often missed school and were seldom able to concentrate when they attended, resulting in the slipping of grades (Chaudry et al., 2010). All of these factors can affect children’s ability to transition into healthy and productive adolescents.

Coupled with the risk factors of living in poverty and inadequate education, as children in immigrant families come of age they receive a series of societal messages about their cultural, ethnic, and racial group. These messages can be positive (“Chinese kids are smart and hard working”), neutral (when there are no stereotypes about a particular group or the stereotype is benign) or negative (“Mexican kids are all “illegal”). Through societal treatment, media representations, and political sentiments—this social mirroring—can influence children’s identities in detrimental or positive ways (Suárez-Orozco, 2000). When the social mirror reflects negative images, “adolescents may find it difficult to develop a flexible and adaptive sense of self” (Suárez-Orozco & Qin, 2006). It is vital that society approach the future generation of this country with more care and harness the resilience in this population for the betterment of the country (Suárez-Orozco, 2000). As I will demonstrate in my findings, the children in Arizona artistically express how they are receiving overwhelmingly negative messages through social mirroring. As the next section will illustrate, through using art as a tool for expression, some children may be able to talk back or counter the messages they receive through their peers, media, and the educational system’s social mirroring.

ART AS A VEHICLE FOR EXPRESSION

As children in immigrant communities become adults, negative social mirroring can weigh heavily in their lives. Due to stigma, language barriers, and age, expressing one’s self can be difficult especially for children in immigrant families. Traditional forms of qualitative research such as
interviews may be biased to best serve adults, prompting an increasing interest in using art as a way to communicate with children (Crivello, Camfield, & Woodhead, 2009; M. Driessnack, 2005).

Children go through stages of artistic development that range from scribbles to caricatures (Eccles, 1999; Gardner, 1990, 1994; Milbrath, 1998). Stage one is scribbles; stage two is basic forms; stage three is human forms; stage four is realism; and stage five is pseudorealistic (Piaget, 1959). These stages of artistic development are aligned with cognitive development that occurs from age 7-12 years old (Bresler, 1992; Gardner, 1985, 1990; Golomb, 1993; Piaget, 1959). Howard Gardner brings forth the idea of multiple intelligences. He argues that children possess various talents for ways of knowing, such as visual/spatial, logical/mathematical, verbal/linguistic, existential, interpersonal, intrapersonal, naturalist, bodily/kinesthetic, musical/rhythmic and the arts are what can reach across the multiple forms of intelligence to engage children at a deeper level (Gardner, 1985).

Not only can children use various ways of knowing, but through an artistic medium, children can process their thoughts, feelings, and relationships by translating them into images, poems, or figures (Ann W. Burgess & Carol R. Hartman, 1993). Art is also a useful vehicle in assisting children in expressing frightening and threatening information or perceptions about difficult events in their lives (Ann W. Burgess & Carol R. Hartman, 1993). For that reason, art making can become an emotional process.

According to Dewey (2005), an emotional component to the artistic process is a positive occurrence and something that children can easily practice. Additionally, it is the “what” that children draw rather than the “how” that matters. As children draw, they are reinforcing and continuing an interesting life experience. As such, what they draw is not merely an object but a lived experience, at times a condition of resistance and conflict with aspects of self and the world as consciously intended images (Dewey, 1896). Dewey ends his essay by stating that drawing is a natural language.
for children. It is in that language that the youth in this study construct narratives, which provide insight into their lives.

As children’s drawings serve to make meaning out of the world around them, it is important to understand that children’s art is based in physical movement and visual awareness (Kellogg, 1969). Some scholars have seen the value of art in research and have incorporated it into their methodology. For example, visual arts methods like PhotoVoice, drawings, and performance have been especially useful for children who have experienced traumatic events in their lives such as illnesses, war, and abandonment (Johnson, Pfister, & Vindrola-Padros, 2012). By conducting mixed-method studies that incorporate drawings into longer family interviews and ethnographic work, some scholars, (Bermudez & ter Maat, 2006; J. Dreby & Adkins, 2011; Linesch, Aceves, Quezada, Trochez, & Zuniga, 2012; Rousseau, Drapeau, Lacroix, Bagilishya, & Heusch, 2005; Rousseau & Heusch, 2000; Smokowski & Bacallao, 2011) have used children’s drawings to understand views on immigration and family formation.

In Being Bicultural (2011), Smokowski & Bocallo use children’s drawings—which they call “cultural maps”—to complement the interview data they have from bicultural children in the US. The drawings and interviews express the confusion and dilemmas that children have navigating two worlds. When giving more emphasis to the recorded interview these researchers find that children are often caught between two worlds. Similarly, in Dreby & Adkins’ (2011) The strength of family ties: How US migration shapes children’s ideas of family, the authors also use childrens drawings as complementary components to the mixed-methods study. Dreby & Adkins finds that children who are part of transnational families develop symbolic membership with those abroad by maintaining an idea about a specific role the person abroad serves in their lives.

Building on these two influential studies, I too use visual methodologies to access children’s experiences and meaning-making in Arizona. Methods that use visual data rather than traditional
interviews, foster close reciprocal relationships between scholars and community members (Goldbard, 2006). Additionally, this study takes into account broader perspectives of child populations, specifically for children who have had traumatizing and violent experiences in anti-immigrant regions of the country like Arizona.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

LEGAL VIOLENCE

Drawing from scholarship on symbolic and structural violence, Menjivar & Abrego (2012) developed the term legal violence. Legal violence refers to the various forms of structural injustices in society that directly or indirectly harm people. Importantly, they point out that when positive intentions motivate violence or when it is a byproduct of larger goals, violence becomes socially acceptable in the specific circumstance. Scholars can use legal violence as a lens that captures the destructive consequences of otherwise socially “accepted” legal outcomes. For example, undocumented immigrants may become separated from their families, be denied access to resources that stall their upward mobility, or make their existence in the country unbearable as a means to punish them for their precarious legal status (Vaughan, 2006). Lastly, legal violence has a spillover effect on the lives of nonimmigrant community members, US citizen children or extended families, as well as individuals in the countries of origin.

Structural violence, on the other hand, is “rooted in the uncertainty of everyday life caused by the insecurity of wage or income, a chronic deficit of food, dress, housing, and healthcare, and uncertainty about the future which is translated into hunger” (Torres-Rivas, 1998). This form of violence, according to Menjivar and Abrego, is structural because it comes from exploitative labor markets and discriminatory educational systems that impose the inequalities which later become normalized. As such, the normalization eventually constrains agency to question society and can lead to the internalization of the problem.
Legal violence finds part of its roots in Pierre Bourdieu’s (1998) work on symbolic violence. Symbolic violence looks at the internalization of social asymmetries and the legitimization of social inequalities and hierarchies. These inequalities range from racism, sexism, class power, ableism, and legal status. When these disparities become internalized, people function from this framework of symbolic violence and thus perpetuate the same inequalities that have become socially acceptable. Once these inequalities become socially acceptable the marginalized individual also sees the structures as normalized and natural (Menjívar & Abrego, 2012). Hence, society diverts the focus away from the ideologies and structures that created these problems to the people that embody the condition. Overall, legal violence brings forth the legal system that creates the social conditions of violence perpetuated intentionally or unintentionally on immigrant communities. For that reason, I will use legal violence as a lens to examine the way legal structures create violent policies and practices that harm children in immigrant families. By using art, children demonstrate the way their lives intersect with the law on a daily basis due to their parent’s legal status. Legal violence can help to understanding the context in which lawmakers create, pass, and sometime repeal laws that violate children’s rights and create unlivable circumstances for their parents. Like legal violence, critical race theory also looks at the dominant structures that create undesirable circumstances on people of color.

CRITICAL RACE THEORY

Critical Race Theory (CRT) developed out of the legal scholarship at the UCLA law school; it is a movement of activists and scholars interested in studying and transforming the relationship among race, racism, and power (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). CRT scholars have called attention to “American institutions and their design and redesign to perpetuate white supremacy” (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). Specifically, CRT interrogates how notions of “neutrality, objectivity, and meritocracy” continually mask white supremacy (Buena vista, 2012; Solorzano & Bernal, 2001).
There are five central tenets in CRT: one, it foregrounds race and racism (as well as class and gender). Two, it challenges traditional (deficit) research paradigms and theories. Three, it is committed to social justice. Four, it centers on experiential knowledge. And five, it uses interdisciplinary knowledge to inform praxis (Solorzano & Yosso, 2002). Overall, CRT seeks to question situations, processes, and discourse. Some scholars like Matsuda (1991) view CRT as “the work of progressive legal scholars of color who are attempting to develop a jurisprudence that accounts for the role of racism in American law and that work toward the elimination of racism as part of a larger goal of eliminating all forms of subordination” (Matsuda, 1991).

To complement CRT I will utilize Latino Critical Race Theory (LatCrit). LatCrit is similar to CRT, however it deepens the analysis in this paper by bringing to the forefront aspects overlooked by CRT such as, language, immigration, ethnicity, culture, identity, phenotype, and sexuality (Solorzano & Bernal, 2001).

COUNTER-STORYTELLING

Situated within CRT, counter-storytelling developed both as a method of revealing untold stories and as an instrument for analyzing the experiences of those on the margins of society (Solorzano & Yosso, 2002). These hegemonic stories have historically blamed people who are subjected to racism for their own oppression (Horsman, 1981).

By analyzing the narratives of children in undocumented communities, we question the notions of childhood that society attempts to protect. Together, legal violence (Menjívar & Abrego, 2012) and critical race theory (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001) will frame the ways legal violence affects the lives of children in undocumented families. This research seeks to contribute to the field by revealing the experiences of children of undocumented parents through their drawings.
METHODOLOGY

DATA

As mentioned above, society often ignores the experiences of children, particularly the painful and traumatizing stories. We like to believe that all is well in the world and that the future will be replete with adults who have had healthy childhoods. Yet, for children, expressing oneself is difficult, especially for children in undocumented immigrant communities due to language, culture shock, and overall shyness. That is why drawing is a process by which people translate their thoughts, feelings, and relationships into concrete images (Ann W Burgess & Carol R Hartman, 1993). Art can reveal information that is difficult for adults to cue into. For example, the colors that are used and the size of an image can signal key aspects of their narratives. For that reason, art helps researchers understand children at a deeper level. Children’s drawings are the primary unit of analysis in this study. From 2008-2009, I collected more than 150 drawings from 115 children in Phoenix, Arizona. This paper will only use 115 drawings, because some children duplicated drawings or deviated from the task by doodling. The children in this research were participants in a summer arts program created by a local not-for-profit organization with three community centers where students attended for after-school mentoring and extra-curricular programming.

COMMUNITY CENTERS

All three centers are located in Phoenix Arizona: Centro de Apoyo is located in the downtown area, Comunidad Unida in South Phoenix, and Empowering Community is located in North Phoenix. Centro de Apoyo mainly serves younger children. Their goal is to integrate mothers and children in gang prevention programs. They also offer smoking cessation workshops for youth and adults. It is located across the street from a local high school and in the center of a Mexican immigrant community facing gentrification. Comunidad Unida is located across the street from a trailer park.

To protect the organization’s identity, I will use pseudonyms when referring to them.
community where Maricopa County sheriffs conducted multiple immigration raids from 2006-2008. Most of the children in this area qualify for a free or reduced lunch (www.azed.gov), and in 2010, Arizona ranked second in the country with the highest rate of poverty (Bishaw, 2010). Empowering Community was located next to a day labor center that closed in 2010. This center faced daily harassment from anti-immigrant protesters and sheriff’s deputies who intimidated the day laborers and immigrant residents. Occasionally, members of the group United for Sovereign America—an anti-immigrant biker group—would camp outside the day labor center to yell and harass people. The hostility of the community context deeply shaped the experiences of the immigrant residents and children in the three different communities.

PROCESS

I gained access to the non-profit that manages the three community centers by being an afterschool mentor for the South Phoenix center in 2008 where I worked helping students with homework and organizing extracurricular activities. Later, the organization asked me to create a two-month summer arts program where all three community centers could participate. Each week’s curriculum was themed after an art form, and students participated in a number of activities, including field trips, conversations with guest artists, and hands-on creating. The program’s curriculum was scheduled to conclude with a community art exhibit and an uncovering of the mural created by the youth.

The first part of the workshop was that the facilitators of the day (two other mentors and I) split students into groups where they discussed important issues affecting the community. The children brought up topics like pollution, identity, gangs, and immigration. The youth also discussed color schemes and themes that they would like to see in the mural. Then, the entire group got together and reported what the small groups discussed. As a large group, they narrowed down the main ideas. Most of the children felt that immigration was at the forefront of everyone’s mind. A
nine year-old boy said, “Let’s have Arpaio (Maricopa County Sheriff) shaking hands with a Mexican” then someone said, “Yes, that can represent peace!” The children went on to talk about when sheriffs detained their parents in the trailer park, or when the police impounded the car of a family member because they did not have a driver’s license. Others spoke about their older siblings not being able to go to college because they did not have “papers.” Most kids stated that they were fearful that ICE could take away their parents while they were at school, and consequently, they would have to stay with extended family members.

The youth developed the sketch of the mural collaboratively. Everyone was ambitious in designing a 35 X 30 ft mural that would depict the experiences of immigrant families, including: undocumented students in cap and gowns, children without their parents, and incarcerated immigrants. In the center would be the Sheriff and the immigrant shaking hands as a symbol of peace, and on the left side of the wall would be families united, youth graduating, and children playing. The location of the mural would be on a wall behind the Comunidad Unida center. This location was important because gangs and crews constantly tagged the wall with graffiti. Facing the basketball courts, the wall was a symbol of the environment where youth gathered after school and, like many other murals in the city that prevented unwanted graffiti; the wall would create a new space and place for hope.

However, in spite of the approval of the first sketch by the staff of the organization, some of the board members stopped the mural project the day the outlining started due to their concerns the controversy the mural might create and the fear of losing funders and grants. When the youth found out the mural was not going to happen, they were visibly distressed. Seeing their body language, I first prompted them to write or draw a picture about why this mural was important to them. The response was overwhelming and revealed that the experience of drawing the issues these youth face was therapeutic for them. Using crayons, color pencils, and markers they shared stories of their
families’ fears regarding ICE raids. They addressed letters to President Obama asking him to intervene in Arizona. Others pleaded to Sheriff Joe Arpaio to stop separating families. As they drew their pictures, they began to share with each other and listening to what their friends were experiencing. Children later approached me and said that their cousin or friend also wanted to make a drawing “about the mural.” Overall, the youth wrote poems, letters, or made drawings about their identity, growing up in Arizona, and their reflections on immigration policies, which later became the basis for this research.

After the experience of collecting the first 120 drawings and letters, I worked throughout the summer with other youth at other community centers in expressing their experiences through art. By the end of 2009, I had facilitated the same workshop with youth in the other community centers had collected over 150 documents of which I will use 115 in this study. The study excludes 36 drawings because they were scribbles, sketches of the same drawing, or rough drafts for letters. Initially, the purpose of collecting these drawings was not to conduct research. My interest in this work was not academic but simply as a mentor, community artist, and activist. It was not until graduate school in 2010 that I became academically interested in the work I did with the youth in the community centers. While finishing my master’s thesis, I researched immigrant children, art therapy, and anti-immigrant policies. I then decided to utilize these documents, with the permission of the non-profit, to conduct a secondary data analysis for research that would become available to the public in order to provide an overlooked but important perspective on immigrant life in Arizona.

PARTICIPANTS

The children in this study are mostly second generation Mexican-Americans. The range of age is large (six to eighteen). Therefore, for the purposes of analysis, I grouped the children into three educational categories: Elementary School, Middle School, and High School. Some of the children had just arrived to the US a few years earlier and felt more comfortable speaking and
writing in Spanish. However, most of the children at all centers navigated their community and relationships in *Spanglish* (Spanish/English hybrid language). Many of the children attended schools near the community centers and lived in the vicinity. Consequently, many of the children’s lives intertwined with similar challenges such as: repeated cycles of poverty (Zhou, 1997), attending less than optimal schools (Suarez-Orozco, et al. 2009), and facing developmental issues due to parents’ lack of access to early childhood educational programs (Yoshikawa, 2011). They also face lack of access to educational resources and limited college options because of undocumented status (Tseng, 2004; L. J. Abrego, 2006) and being at risk for poor health outcomes due to a lack of access to healthcare (Ziol-Guest & Kalil, 2012).

**METHOD OF ANALYSIS**

To begin analyzing the data I consulted with Professor Carola Suarez-Orozco and a advanced doctoral student Dalal Katsiaficas who advised me on how I could code the data using a combined inductive and deductive strategy (Ryan & Bernard, 2003). The suggested deductive strategy began with the broad organizational categories of 1) subject matter, 2) actors, and 3) emotions. The inductive codes emerged directly from the data. Subject matter themes included: deportation, family separation, authority, protest, violence, respect, racism, rights. Actors themes included: Sheriff Arpaio, authority, parents, friends, and unspecified/unclear. And the coded emotions themes included: sadness, fear, anger, other.

In order to make sure I executed the coding process in the best way possible I met with a trained psychologist and a doctoral student who had experience with coding and analyzing children’s drawings. I created a coding mechanism where we would look at each drawing and go through the checklist of coding categories. To ensure that the process was operationalized, we coded the same images on our own and compared results. Once coding was complete, I analyzed the results entered

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8 To see a complete list of codes please see appendix.
into a database. Then, once I had all the codes quantified, I grouped the various drawings by common themes in order to understand the narratives told by children. The codes led me to conduct what I call a Visual Content Narrative Analysis, meaning I looked at the common stories children drew in order to understand their experience at a macro level. I will elaborate in the finding section on the four common narratives found.

**FINDINGS**

I divide this section in four parts. The first begins with the major overarching theme pervasive in the children’s artwork—Deportation and Family Separation. Then, I present images of concerns with Authority & Arpaio. The third section, Violence, (Dis)Respect, Racism, & Violations of Rights will explore some of the reasons behind the concerns with authority and deportation. The final section, Agency, Hope, & Resilience will demonstrate how children take agency regarding the problems they see in their community and how art has provided them with the tools to think about change and empowerment.

**FINDINGS I: DEPORTATION & FAMILY SEPARATION**

Detention and deportation were the most common recurring topics by children of all ages in this study. Indeed, over one third of children in this study from Phoenix AZ were most preoccupied with thoughts about family separation. In the following section, I lay out some of the drawings that young people created. The topics of the narratives in the drawings include: taken away, incarceration, two sides of the border, and being alone.
DEPORTATION & SEPARATION: TAKEN AWAY

To begin, we look at the drawing presented in the beginning of this paper. Alex, a seven-year-old boy in elementary school, made figure 2. Many of the children drew images of authority figures taking someone away. At times, children expressed that they thought the police would take them away, too.

Upon zooming into figure 2, one can see that there are three stick figures and a vehicle with lights on top. Two of the individuals have long streams of tears running down their faces along with frowns. The third figure closest to the car is wearing some kind of headset with wires. On one side, they are holding one person by the arm and with the other hand is touching the car. It is unclear if Alex drew himself in this picture or someone he knows, but researchers affirm that if children live within a mixed-status family, they too internalize the fear of being undocumented even if they are U.S. citizens (Dreby, 2012a, 2012b).

Alex’s drawing informs readers about the counterstories in immigrant communities when it comes to the role and perception of authority figures. This image is reminiscent of the work of CRT scholars who write about the dangers of color-blind thinking when it comes to interactions between communities of color and police officers (Crenshaw & Peller, 1992; Patton, 1992). They demonstrate that in some communities, enforcement officers represent a threat rather than a source of safety (Bornstein, Charles, Domingo, & Solis, 2012). Lastly, Alex’s drawing illustrates how
authorities exercise legal violence in immigrant communities. Policies like the 287(g) agreements rupture family cohesion, creating lasting consequences for children. A 2010 report demonstrates that children’s academic, emotional, and physical wellbeing decrease when a parent is detained (Chaudry et al., 2010). Arrests, detention, and raids were common themes in the drawings.

The following (figure 3 and figure 4) are additional examples of children’s drawings related
to family separation, specifically focusing on being taken away. The word bubbles on figure three created by Cynthia (10 years old) state, “Don’t take me I have a family to take care of.” The other figure responds, “I don’t care!!!!!!!”

Figure 4 made by Luisa (age nine) depicts a nighttime arrest by Sheriff Joe Arpaio where he is taking a Mexican dad and a Mexican mom, on the bottom right corner are a son and daughter crying and left alone. There are people witnessing the arrest on the bottom left saying “OMG” and surrounded by hearts within their word bubble.

Figure 4, Luisa (Elementary School)
DEPORTATION & SEPARATION: INCARCERATION

The theme of incarceration is apparent in the next images. The first is when a child believed the authorities were going to arrest or detain them. The second is when a child already felt incarcerated. The following are examples of each circumstance. The first image is figure 5, made by Isela, a elementary school student. Isela set the scene of the drawing as during the day, as indicated by a large sun and a blue sky. Most of the action in this image is near a house where there is a large character labeled “Sheriff” holding two girls on either side. Not far from them is another unlabeled character. Lastly, on the bottom left are three other kids playing near a pool with slide. Again, as in the previous image the sheriff exhibits a large smile as the two little girls “niñas” cry and frown. Isela also drew a police car and a sheriff’s deputy, a common point of confusion by this group of children.

The following image (see figure 6) represents the idea of Gabriel—a fifteen year-old high school student—feeling incarcerated. A large cage/cell is the outside image with a home in the center. The subtitle of the image describes the theme of the drawing, due to the immigration status of the family, there is a feeling of entrapment. The immigrant family feels trapped by the fear of leaving the home. This sentiment was a finding in the 2010 Facing or Future report that described the anxiety and fear experienced by children with undocumented parents, because they could be arrested...
and removed from the country at any time (Chaudry et al., 2010). Additionally, children affected by immigration raids felt a pervasive sense of insecurity which lead to problems with anxiety (R. Capps, 2007).

DEPORTATION & SEPARATION: TWO SIDES OF BORDER

Children also drew images about separation by the U.S./Mexico border. Some of the youth shared stories of their family members attempting to cross back into the U.S. or about ICE taking their mom or dad from the trailer park across the border.
street from the community center. One example is Joseph’s image (see figure 7). Joseph is a high school senior who is seventeen years old and drew a family of five with a line between them. Three of the stick figures have names, which is telling of the realistic example of bi-national families that children in this community witness. The three people on the left have a home and a car and appear to be frowning. The two individuals on the right seems to be far away depicted by the small cloud and are smiling. Sometimes young children feel abandoned in the country of origin when their parents migrated to the U.S. (L. Abrego, 2009). When a sudden separation occurred such as a deportation, children expressed feelings of abandonment, post-traumatic stress disorder, and aggression (R. Capps, 2007).

Fernando in elementary school created (see figure 8) the next image on border representations. On the left is Mexico and on the right is the USA. Between the walls of the border are bodies drawn in a brown marker labeled—hiding. Down the center of the drawing, there is a red car labeled as “cop” with the sirens on. The next drawing is a similar drawing of cops on the borders.

Figure 8, Fernando (Elementary School)
The preoccupation with the border is not difficult to understand when one takes into account the geographical proximity to Phoenix of the Sonoran border Arizona shares with Mexico.

The following (figure 9 made by Angel, figure 10 by Mario, and figure 11 by Julian) are other examples of drawings related to the two sides of the border. Figure 9 depicts a cop near a border fence with barbed wire. The presence of police officers on the border is not a usual sight because borders are not police jurisdictions.

Figure 9, Angel (Elementary School)

Figure 10 also has a large border fence with barbed wire on top. We know the setting is at night by the bright yellow/orange light coming from the helicopter. Below the helicopter is a bus full of detainees crossing the border. The last image (figure 11) depicts a swat team helicopter, police car, and bus headed towards the border of Mexico.

Julian, draws the border as a single webbed panel with barbed wire along the top. It is likely

Figure 10, Mario (Middle School)

Figure 11, Julian (Elementary School)
that Julian has never seen what the border looks like. Many scholars and demographers have stated that most children in mixes status families are U.S. citizens by birthright and due to the legal status of the parents rarely come across the border (Passel, 2011).

DEPORTATION & SEPARATION: LEFT ALONE

Children in this study also drew pictures centered on loneliness and abandonment. The coding for this section distinguished between sentiments of sadness, anger, and fear. Pedro, a middle school student made the first drawing (see figure 12) of a boy sitting on the bottom left corner of the paper with his hands on his face. There is nothing else in the drawing except for this boy on the corner of a blank page. The image portrays feeling of sadness and desperation; emotions repeated in reports about children who have been separated from their families. In reports from 2007 and 2010, children separated from a parent experience anxiety, nightmares, bed wetting, and depression (R. Capps, 2007; Chaudry et al., 2010).

The following image (see figure 13) also aligns with the aforementioned reports. Maria, a middle school student drew a girl in the center of the page with three word bubbles coming from her head. Each bubble has one word in it: mad, sad, and angry. The person in the
A drawing was made with no mouth, indicative of a voiceless inability to express their feelings. The rest of the page is colored in a blue hue, which resonates with the popular saying of “feeling blue.” Deportation and family separation were the main preoccupations of the children in this study, although not the only ones. As the following sections will demonstrate, deportations do not exist in a vacuumed and children are well aware of the various systems that operate in the criminalization of immigrants and efforts of mass deportation.

**FINDINGS II: AUTHORITY & ARPAIO**

As deportations increase, children become hyper vigilant of authority figures in their neighborhoods and included them in many of the drawings. This section was established to make sense of the pervasiveness of these characters. The analysis of characters included Sheriff’s deputies, police officers/”cops”, Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) agents, highway patrol, border patrol/“migra”, SWAT team, and security guards. When analyzing the frequency of characters in all the drawings, Sheriff Joe Arpaio of Maricopa County was mentioned more times than any other category of authority, parent and/or family member, peer, and other.
The first image (see figure 14) in this section is by Mayra, a middle school student that decided to do a write up about the prompt rather than a drawing. The prompt was a set of three questions: What is the problem? How do you feel about this? What can be done to change this? Mayra quickly narrowed down “the problem” to Sheriff Arpaio. She first described him and labels him as “doesn’t care about separating families, raises (raicist), and pansa de burro (donkey belly).” Then she addresses the question of what can be done about this problem. She suggests to “fire him, send him to jail, send him to Mexico, and even to put him in the electric chair.” Mayra even includes an extra section where she presents the effects of the Arpaio, “kids get hurt, doesn’t respect people, and treats Mex (Mexicans) like animals.” The feelings she expresses (see figure 15) are similar to the previous section of, “angry, sad, scared, mad, crying, and strange.”

The next image (see figure 16) is also about Sheriff Joe Arpaio. Twelve-year-old Daniel draws a large image that looks like a campaign poster of Sheriff Arpaio. A large Sheriff is placed in the center of the page with the words “FREEDOM IS AMERICA YEAH RIGHT!” as the backdrop. The Sheriff holds two signs one reads “100% RACIST” and the other “Mexicans are not Humans.” Arpaio wears a tie with the word Mexicans crossed-out. The tie evokes a similarity to the confederate flag and there is a Mexican flag under his left foot. Daniel’s image is rich with messages about belonging, racism, thoughts on the “American Dream”, and the perception of Sheriff Joe Arpaio in the immigrant community. Daniel’s drawing is a reflection of what sort of messages he receives from society about his identity as a Mexican American youth. This series of negative societal messages creates difficulty in children’s ability to create an adaptive and positive sense of self (Suárez-Orozco, 2000). This image also demonstrates the type of counterstories that
children in Arizona have. “FREEDOM IS AMERICA- YEAH RIGHT!” in a red, white, and blue color scheme provides an important critique about the notions of American Exceptionalism, The American Dream, and The Frontier Spirit. Daniel inserts a sarcastic undertone to the ideas every child is told at school. An important question is posed by these counterstories: what does it mean to

Figure 16, Daniel (Middle School)
recite the Pledge of Allegiance at school and return to a home under threat of familial disintegration by the authorities that are suppose to represent security, freedom, and peace of mind? The next image is also another counterstory about living in the U.S./Arizona as a child in an immigrant family.

The following document (see figure 17) is also a written response to the prompt: What is the problem? How do you feel about it? What can be done to change it? Sergio a middle school student states that immigration is the major problem in Arizona. Sergio provides context for the reasons why people migrate, then he pinpoints the problem when he writes, “In Arizona the Sheriff, Joe Arpaio, arrest any person that looks like Mexican no matter if they are U.S. citizens or not…That leaves there kids alone in the U.S.A. away from there parents and get adopted by a family if lucky.” Sergio’s testimony of who is in danger of deportation points to the legal violence that immigration laws perpetuate. He states that in Arizona, looking Mexican is enough reason to be arrested even if you are a U.S. citizen. The result of policies like 287(g) is hostility upon groups that are not the target of these laws but bystanders affected by racially motivated policies. Likewise, the counterstory Sergio presents, like Daniel’s image above, is about the double standards of American patriotism. His point is most evident in the sentence, “I feel like a slave living supposedly in a free country.” A claim that is timely considering the number of children in foster care, detention centers, and deportation proceedings (National Immigration Justice Center, 2013).
One major problem in Arizona is immigration. People all over the world is immigrating to USA to have a better life and education for themselves and family. But most of immigrants come from Mexico to close states like Arizona. In Arizona the sheriff, Joe Arpaio, arrest any person that looks like mexican, no matter if they are U.S. citizens or not. He then send them to jail were they get beat up and treated like animals. In desperation they sign there own deportation and get send back to Mexico. That leaves there kids alone in U.S.A away from there parents and get adopted by a family if lucky.

This make mexicans and other people score sad, unfair and worried. If you ask me I would say I feel like a slave living supposedly in a free country. Now there is almost nothing to do about this but if we get anough people to be against immigration and sheriff Joe Arpaio now the people that come for a better life won't continue to be slaves.
Additional examples of authority figures, specifically the Sheriff, are in figure 18 made by Jaqui in elementary school and figure 19 by Sarai in middle school. Jacqui’s drawing has a city scene of a car with sirens behind three people (a young girl, a female, and a male) and in front of the people is another car. Above that is a statement in Spanish that reads, “el arpayo es malo con los mexicanos y los trata mal. No es justo me ase sentir mal, quiero que lo corran para que lla no fastidie!” This statement translates to, “Arpaio is mean with the Mexicans and treats them bad. It’s not fair, he makes me feel bad, I want them to fire him so he wont bother us!”

The next image by Sarai is an answer to the prompt that also deals with Arpaio and his treatment of Mexicans. In English Sarai’s answers are: “1. In the night Arpaio stops the
Mexicans and takes them to Mexico. 2. I think that it’s not fair that he treats them like that because Mexicans are also people and deserve respect. 3. I want them to send Arpaio to Mexico so he can suffer what Mexicans suffer.”

Overall, children included authority figures in the drawings they created over other characters like parents, family members, and peers. Most often it was a depiction or statement about Sheriff Joe Arpaio and their view on his effect on the community. Children regularly confounded the various kinds of authority figures. For example, they would include a sheriff’s deputy and a police car in the same image. Examples of children’s confounding of authority include figures 4, 5, 8, 9, 11, and 20. Another kind of confusion is the difference between immigration and anti-immigration. Children would make statements of immigration being the issue, but only talk about anti-immigration as the main dilemma. Examples of term the confusion between immigration and anti-immigration are figure 6 and 17. Finally, children also confounded the terms Mexican, immigrant, and undocumented, and used them interchangeably. Examples of this confusion are figures 4, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 24, and 25.

FINDINGS III: VIOLENCE, RACISM, RESPECT, & RIGHTS

The images in this study often intersect the various sections in which they are categorized. Previous images may have also portrayed the narratives of violence, racism, respect, and rights. However, the images below most obviously exemplify these themes. First drawing (see figure 20) is by Eduardo, an elementary school boy, that depicts a nighttime arrest by Sheriff deputies in a cop car. We know it is nighttime by the positioning of a half moon on the top left corner. The scene is of a man wearing a shirt that reads, “I’m Mexican” on his knees with both hands in the air and his face looking down. Pointing guns at him are two smiling authority figures labeled “Sheriff.” This image demonstrates the violence and racism that the Mexican community encounters in Arizona. At
age seven, Eduardo knows that during the night Sheriff’s deputies will use their weapons against unarmed Mexicans.

Sandra a high school student created the next picture (see figure 21). Her image is set on the U.S./Mexico border. This image provides insight into her view of how race (ethnicity) affects a group of people in the U.S. On the Mexico side are three splayed bodies with frowns and straight faces. On the U.S. side is a large stick figure wearing a large hat similar to the one Uncle Sam wears.

![Figure 20, Eduardo (Elementary School)](image)

This figure is signaling the border to another person on the U.S. side. The other figure is much smaller and has a perplexed expression on their face. A short dialogue between them is illustrated
with two word bubbles. As the Uncle Sam figure point to the border the smaller figure says, “But I’m a citizen” and Uncle Sam replies, “you look Mexican.” Despite the fact that U.S. citizens are protected from deportation, historically there have been violations of that right. During the great depression in an effort to repatriate Mexicans, hundreds of Mexican Americans were put in trains and repatriated to south of the border against their will (Balderrama & Rodríguez, 2006; Hoffman, 1974).

In 2006, (now ex) Arizona Senator, Russell Pearce suggested that Arizona should revive “Operation Wetback.” This operation marked another time in history (1954) where U.S. citizens were “deported back to Mexico” in violation of their birth-right citizenship (Hernández, 2006; Jimenez, 2011). A year later, Pearce—the creator of Senate Bill 1070—circulated an email to neo-Nazi and White Supremacy groups like the Ku Klux Klan to request their support in his efforts to pass this infamous bill (Greene, 2013; Jimenez, 2011). These are but a few examples of how children report what they see in their community through counterstory images where racism, violation of rights, and legal violence is palpable.

The following image also demonstrates the sentiments children have about racism and respect in Phoenix, Arizona. Julio in elementary school created (see figure 22)
below. He writes, “The Sheriff Joe Arpaio will realize that we want him to respect us and our family just like we respect him. I want Joe Arpaio to stop hating us for our skin color.” To Julio, the Sheriff is not a symbol of safety or order, but a representation of disrespectful and racist.

Carissa a high school student made figure 23. Although it is difficult to see, the image is informative on the violations of human rights in Arizona. The drawing depicts a man in a cell on the left side of the paper and on the bottom right is a home with three people inside. There is pink text along the top that says,

“No rights to have clean clothes.
No rights to have shower.
No rights to call home.
No rights to food or be with his kids.”

Although young and uninformed about the history of human and U.S. citizen rights in this country, children drew scenarios on topics of violence, racism, disrespect, and violation of rights. The children in Arizona are also intuitive and very aware of the possible solutions to the problems outlined above. The following section will demonstrate how children in Arizona are full of agency, hope, and resilience.

FINDINGS IV: AGENCY, HOPE, & RESILIENCE

The drawings shown in the previous sections paint a gloomy picture of children’s lives in Phoenix, Arizona. Even under draconian anti-immigrant policies and threatened living conditions,
these children nonetheless demonstrate agency, hope, and resilience. The following images represent what children believe could be the answer to the third part of the prompt: What can be done to change this?

The first image (see figure 24) is an imaginative representation of how “WORLD Peace!!” could be achieved. Lupe, a middle school student drew Sheriff Joe Arpaio on the left looking towards “Pancho” a Mexican. There is a short dialogue between them where the Sheriff says, “Hi, How are you!” and the Mexican responds with, “Hola.” There is a large blue cloud and a bright sun on the corner. The colors and positioning of the characters invoke a happy day between two equals.

Another example of this same idea is figure 25. Chris a high school student was one of the first people to draw Pancho as the Mexican Joe Arpaio would make peace with. Chris talked about Pancho being a jornalero day laborer who would shake Arpaio’s hand.
To Chris and other youth, this handshake is not only a symbol of amicable resolution, but of “WORLD PEACE!!” as written as a subtext to both drawings. Although most of the anti-immigrant policies of Arizona are especially sever in Maricopa County, to the children in this study the community climate represents their entire world. If Sheriff Joe Arpaio and a Mexican would shake hands all would be well in their world.

Jason a nine-year-old elementary school student made the next image (figure 26). The drawing is split in two sections. The one of the left shows two individuals fighting each other with fists in the air and a large cloud overhead. Contrarily, the image on the right has a clear sky with half a sun and a large rainbow, as if to say that this image takes place after the storm. The two stick figures on the right have their hands extended to one another and on the outside of their hands is a large heart.

The final image of this section is figure 27. Javier a middle school student created this image when debates about Senate Bill 1070 became commonplace. The drawing’s focus is La Virgen de Guadalupe in the center with the Mexican flags placed above and below. This iconic figure is reminiscent of the Mexican Revolution, the United Farm Workers movement, the Chicano student walkouts, and most recently, the post-2006 immigrant marches (De Paola & De Paola, 1984; Espinosa, 2007; Mendel-Reyes, 1994; San Miguel, 2009). The Virgen continues to be an important symbol of hope and faith in the people’s movement for equality and dignity. Surrounding the Virgen
are masses of stick figures with sign that read, “No More Sheriff, 3 words that represent Guadalupe 1 peace 2 love 3 hope, and Stop Arpaio and his […] and the top banner, Stop the Sb 1070.” The protest signs in this image seem quotidian to people in the immigrant community during protests and rallies that took place all over Phoenix, AZ. On the periphery of the Virgen there are other symbols that indicate peace, like hearts, white doves, and peace signs. In addition to those symbols, Javier included a symbol that looks like the do not smoke sign, but with the word “ARPAIO” in capital letters.

Most of the children in Phoenix, Arizona that participated in this study not only mentioned the hardships created by family separation, but they also provided the avenues for solutions. They took agency in exploring what peace in the community would look like, and demonstrated the many key lessons society teaches them at a young age but seems to forget with time: kindness, respect, friendship, and love. These children are critical thinkers, well aware of the legal violence that
surrounds the community. The images they created provide counterstories of the mainstream information that most Americans are not exposed to. These narratives are stories about family bonds being severed, and a reality that threatens not only immigrant families or Mexican-Americans, but also future generations of maladjusted young people that will be a sizable portion of the population in his country (Passel, 2011; Passel, Cohn, et al., 2011).

CONCLUSION

As previously stated, children of immigrants are the fastest growing segment of the U.S. child population. By 2040, one in three children will be growing in an immigrant household (Passel, Cohn, et al., 2011; Rong & Preissle, 1998). Despite the increase in numbers, anti-immigrant policies targeted towards adults and undocumented immigrants at the national and local level have lasting consequences for the children of immigrants (Dreby, 2012b; Yoshikawa, 2011). In states like Arizona, immigrant communities have felt the heavy-handed immigration enforcement that the Obama administration has implemented since 2008 (Nava, 2014; Szkupinski-Quiroga et al., 2013). At the national level, after more than two million deported immigrants, children of those immigrants find themselves separated from their families, adopted by family members, or waiting for adoption in foster care (Chaudry et al., 2010; Nava, 2014).

This research provides insight into the lives of children who live at the nexus of an immigrant addicted economy (Kandel & Massey, 2002) and draconian anti-immigration policy enforcement along with a failing approach to foreign policy in countries south of the border. The visual narratives told via the drawings in this research attempt to answer the primordial questions of this work. How do children of immigrants in Arizona make sense of living in an anti-immigrant state? What types of narratives are emerging in children's artwork? By coding 115 drawing with a Visual Content Narrative Analysis, we see how children of immigrant families living in Phoenix, Arizona relate to the blatant anti-immigrant sentiments and policies of the state.
The narratives portrayed by the children in Arizona tell a distinct story from the primary images that come to mind when thinking about childhood drawings. The drawings in this research are not pictures of happy stick figures with fluffy clouds and a bright sun. The drawings and letters presented in this paper showcase themes categorized between four groups. The first and most prevalent group of findings is on Deportation & Family Separation: Taken Away with almost half of all drawing dealing directly with these topics. The second group is on Rights, Racism, Respect and Violence where twenty to thirty percent of children speaking about these themes. The third group is on Authority & Sheriff Joe Arpaio, which were the most mentioned people in the actor codes. Finally, the fourth group is on Agency, Hope, and Resilience with a low frequency of numerical representation, however those few are indicative of the optimism for a different reality.

The fate of this country depends on the children of today. It is unclear how the separation of families in this context will affect children in their transition to adults. However, by centering the voices of immigrant children, this research provides a perspective that we know little or nothing about and often goes ignored. This work also provides a different methodological avenue for working with children using art. Epistemologically, centering the stories of immigrant children and their communities using art helps scholars, policy makers, and the public understand this population in a innovative way that is more accessible to the communities from which it came.

DISCUSSION

Currently, thousands of Central American children, mostly from Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador, are in detention facilities along the border. Since October 2013, 52,000 unaccompanied
minors have been apprehended at the border (Hesson & Fabian, 2014). In 2013, there was an increase of 90% in the number of children apprehended at the border. Most of them are housed in large warehouses, military bases, and oversaturated detention center where the conditions are reported as unsanitary, inhumane, and ill-equipped to handle children (Hennessy-Fiske & Carcamo, 2014).

There is a need for an immediate reform to immigration policy coupled with a family reunification program that prioritizes parents and children particularly those in the foster care system or who have been given-up for adoption. Rather than adding more children to an already over-burdened system, I believe it would be better for families to never get separated in the first place. Additionally, there is a need to better fund programs to aid in the physical and mental wellbeing of immigrant children and families, which include the child welfare system and non-profit organizations. Realistically, the aforementioned recommendations would be temporary solutions to treat the symptoms of a problem, which is foreign policy in developing countries. NAFTA and other international polices that propel people out of their communities and into the U.S. for survival, must be understood as the catalyst for migration.

Another important takeaway is to further research on art methodologies available for scholars and communities, particularly within marginal populations. An expansion of epistemological ways of involving communities in scholarship through art would help researches understand communities in a different scope. One proposal would be to create more sustainable art projects for children using Community Cultural Development methodologies (Baca, 1996; Goldbard, 2006; Sonn, Drew, & Kasat, 2002).
APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: CODE DEFINITIONS

CONTENT CODES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CODE</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Deportation</td>
<td>Concerns with deportation, detention, &amp; border issues. Includes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Family Separation | Family members missing, children separated from parents.

Authorities | Police, sheriff car, helicopter, truck, highway patrol.

Protesting | A statement or action expressing disapproval of or objection to something.

Physical violence (hitting, beating) | Behavior involving physical force intended to hurt, damage, or kill someone or something.

Treated Badly/Humiliate (like animals) | To make (someone) feel ashamed and foolish by injuring their dignity and self-respect, esp. publicly.

Xenophobia/Racism/Discrimination/Prejudice | An intense or irrational dislike or fear of people from other countries.

Rights (e.g., we are like everyone else) | A right that is believed to belong justifiably to every person.

**ACTOR CODES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CODE</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arpaio</td>
<td>Sheriff Joe Arpaio of Maricopa County in Arizona. Infamous for his harsh policies on undocumented immigrants.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Authority- ICE/Police/Highway Patrol/Sheriff Deputies</td>
<td>Any public safety official.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents</td>
<td>Mother or Father, including stepmother and/or stepfather.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friends</td>
<td>Children/Peers/Friends.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Family Members</td>
<td>Extended family, aunts, uncles, cousins, grandparents, and siblings.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Adults</td>
<td>Adult not part of family.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unclear</td>
<td>Unclear.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**EMOTION CODES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CODE</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fear</td>
<td>An unpleasant emotion caused by the belief that someone or something is dangerous, likely to cause pain, or a threat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sadness</td>
<td>The condition or quality of being sad. (crying/tears).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anger</td>
<td>A strong feeling of annoyance, displeasure, or hostility.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unclear</td>
<td>Unclear.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
WORKS CITED


Rong, X. L., & Preissle, J. (1998). Educating Immigrant Students. What We Need To Know To Meet the Challenges: ERIC.


Szkupinski-Qiroga, Medina, & Glick. (2013). IN THE BELLY OF THE BEAST: DIFFERENTIAL EFFECTS OF CHANGING IMMIGRATION POLICY ON LATINOS.


