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In Lak'ech from the Ivory Tower to the Prison Tower: Connecting Latina 'Disposables' to Latina 'Exceptionals' across Neoliberal Institutions

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

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in Sociology

by

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My Love Letter to the Barrio

When I think about my dissertation, I think of it as my love letter to the barrio. My intentions in doing this study were grounded in my love for working class Latinxs and more specifically, my commitments to upholding the significance and dignity of the working class Latinx communities that dot the San Joaquin Valley. These communities- colloquially referred to as "fly over cities" and "the middle of nowhere" are in fact home to gente that live in the trenches and battle the types of precarity that liberals love to posture about and conservatives love to scapegoat them for. Yet, despite it all, they (we) are rendered invisible by not only these factions but also by those that face similar conditions but are much more legible in the public imaginary as worthy and deserving of interest- much less actual support.

Despite the problematics of worth (as explicated across this study), the denigration of multiply marginalized communities as the cause of their own suffering and unworthy is hegemonic. It reflects paradigmatic coalescence where whiteness, wealth, citizenship, hegemonic masculinity and heternormativity reign supreme. Unfortunately, my loved ones don't fall into that matrix of worth. My family, friends, and neighbors live lives marred by being in the crossfire of devaluation and selective divestment. Crumbling schools, a deathtrap of a hospital that is only intermittently open, policing and hypersurveillance, cancer clusters, homelessness, and in the case of my siblings, death. And despite it all, you (we) are so much more than the labels of disposability imposed upon us when all we were trying to do is survive.

Early on, it became clear to me that my ascension in higher education meant battling estrangement from my people. This didn't start in the PhD but in the K-12 system. It just became more apparent the further I went. Yet while I took this lonely path just know that you were there with me to motivate this work, to keep me honest, humble, and do this work with integrity and respect. More than anything, my gente, take this dissertation as a love letter to you to refute everything in the world that tells us that we don't matter and that the struggles that we face are of our own design. The angry cholas, the judged teen moms, the desperate addicts, the underpaid grocery store workers, the frustrated Latinx continuation school and lonely AP students, those on probation, those that don't know where they are going to get their next meal and the exhausted undocumented dads that go from one 8-hour job to the next to make sure that they can put that next meal on the table… you all matter. I know this dissertation may not read like a love letter because it's using all of this 'fancy language' but know that at it's core, it is. If ever you want it broken down I will, but it lays out how twisted it is to judge the worth of one another as we are navigating complex systems of power that constrain our chances. Ultimately it says that there are no "good Latinas" nor "bad Latinas;" simply Latinas whose fates are connected with one another. Thus, I offer this piece to let you all know that my time away from back home wasn't in vain, I was putting in work and will continue to do so until the rest of the world outside of the valley understands how layered, multidimensional, and expansive the consequences of racial capitalism can be. We aren't done yet, especially you westside Tulare.

I would also like to acknowledge and thank my family for supporting me through the struggle in big and little ways. My parents, Jesse and Diana Salinas, lit that match to create the scholar-activist fire in me. I truly believe that knowing how you struggled growing up- from living in boxcars to not having shoes to the outright academic racism you experienced- all of those stories instilled in me a thirst for justice that cannot be found in a book or a classroom. For that, I thank you for your sacrifices that you don't even realize were instrumental in my academic success. My sister and best friend Anjelica has supported me in ways that she will never understand. Between helping to take care of Sonny when I need to get work done but more so for being that soldier I can lean on when tragedy strikes, she is the person in this world that I know I can always count on for strength. Through it all, I know I can get through anything because you're there next to me and we have done it before. Consider my wins your wins because as we move through life I will always take you with me. To Anthony, I've always sought to stride in a way that served as a solid role model for you. Having your eyes on me has pushed me to achieve my dreams so that I can prove to you that you can achieve yours too. I also want to show love to the rest of my family. Even though I don't get to see you often, know that I miss you and keep you in mind in the work that I do. I love you all and thank you for support.

To my siblings that have passed, Sonny and Sheena, my heart breaks that you weren't here to see me get my doctorate in person. There are no words to describe the pain I have experienced in losing you both. As I write this now I oxymoronically feel a profound sense of numbness, the disassociation is real. Like those in my study that I relate so much to, it's my tool to survive in a world where I can't find you both. I just want you to know that I love you, mourn you, and will always celebrate you. I know you're with me everyday. One black morning.

Finally, to my Sonny, mama loves you so much. To do research, write and become a doctor while carrying you (you were with me doing research) and raising you has undoubtedly been hard but it has been the most fulfilling experience in the world. I prayed for you hard son. One day I will tell you about the story of your life. I want you to know that all of the decisions I have made have been for your best. As we both transition to this new life I know it might be rough but we have one another and mama will never leave your side. I love you more than you'll ever know… and this doctorate is so that you don't have to painstakingly terrain being "the first" at anything. You can achieve anything baby.

There are far too many to name, and I wouldn't forgive myself if I forgot any of you, but I want to thank my friends and loved ones across various capacities. Whether you were near or far, your support has meant so much to me. Between the personal and professional spheres, you have been there for me and I am SO grateful for the compassion you have showed me. You reminded me of my worth when I forgot and you cheered me on to keep going when I grew tired. Whether it was in encouraging me that this project isn't crazy but critical, hearing about my parenting woes, pushing me into the job market, or giving me tough love talks, I love you and am grateful to have you in my life. You remind me how important it is to find your people no matter how foreign the space is. We are here, you just have to look.

I want to thank my committee for whom this dissertation and overall study would not have been possible. George, you will never know how much of a light you were/are to me. I remember how nervous I was to speak to you for the first time on the phone… little did I know how much of a trusted cornerstone in my life you would be. We come from different backgrounds but I never have felt judged. I have been able to lean on you for support both personally and professionally in ways I never imagined. You inspired me to keep pushing, to tell the story of people like me and why it is important, and have pushed me to think and write in ways that balance both compassion and radicalism and for that I am grateful. Furthermore, I walk with a little extra confidence knowing that if I got something past George Lipsitz's desk, I can have the audacity to send it to others'. Denise, I thank you for your relentless support. Your work is what brought me here. To read the work and then become the friend of the same brilliant Chicana intellectual whose work mesmerized me and called me has been so rewarding. I thank you for always supporting me, for making me second guess my imposter syndrome, and for showing me that a Chicana mamascholar can contribute and change the academy. Bill, I thank you for your recommendations and insights. In itself, your work has been formative in my own intellectual development and have helped to always ground the micro and meso in the macro. Altogether, I see my work as a combination of the training I received from the three of you and I am honored to pass on your intellectual traditions to the next generation of multiply marginalized scholars trying to produce meaningful and subversive work.

I would like to acknowledge the support that my colleagues and department have given me along the way. This includes not only my colleagues and the faculty in my department but also the office staff/administrative team and those that provide the upkeep of the department building and classrooms we teach in. I will never forget the support you gave me when tragedy struck my family and I am eternally grateful for that. My family echoes that gratitude.

I want to thank all of those entities that financially supported this work: UCSB Graduate Division, the Chicano Studies Institute (CSI), and Sociology for Women in Society (SWS). Each of your contributions helped me as I was trying the impossible to balance motherhood with academia. I appreciate your support.

Finally, I would like to thank the participants/my collaborators in this study. I leave this for the end because you truly were/are what kept me going. When folks scoffed at such an 'ambitious' (ie. unnecessarily complicated and difficult) project, I thought of you and dug my heels in the ground and remained committed to the vision. From both sides of the project- you have no idea how much you motivated me to keep pushing. I kept thinking about how your stories and experiences deserved to be told with dignity and integrity and how much the rest of the world could learn from your lives. I appreciate you allowing me to bare witness to both the dark and light parts of your lives. With sincerity I honor you and mean it humbly with nothing but love, cariño, and respect. My greatest intentions with this work is to represent you and your lives with accuracy and integrity. I strive to always do my best to bring you along with me in this work, because we have work to do and we have to do it together.

In Lak'ech Ala K'in.

VITA OF MARISA D. DURAN SALINAS
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Racial Capitalism
Neoliberalism

ABSTRACT

In Lak'ech from the Ivory Tower to the Prison Tower: Connecting Latina 'Disposables' to Latina 'Exceptionals' across Neoliberal Institutions

Marisa D. Duran Salinas

Sociological scholarship on Latinx education and incarceration has been largely bifurcated, vexed by the seemingly incommensurable experiences of Latinxs that have attained their Ph.D.s and Latinx adolescents that have been pushed out of academia via the school-to-prison pipeline. This tendency of studying in isolation of what can be considered the poles of what might be considered a Latinx exceptionality and disposability continuum has led to the segmented study of each of these populations as separate and isolated processes.

In an attempt to address this practice, my research reorients the lens to not see only one population as a site of inquiry but instead pans out to look at how two seemingly oppositionally construed groups of the same gender and racial strata navigate the institutions that they find themselves in. More specifically, my research seeks to establish parallels in how formerly incarcerated Latinas (those deemed 'disposable') navigate the Prison Industrial Complex and how Latina professors with Ph.D.s. (those deemed 'exceptional') navigate the Academic Industrial Complex and how these institutional operate despite having seemingly opposite functions. Utilizing a mujerista portraiture methodological framework, I conducted interviews/critical narratives with twenty formerly incarcerated Latinas and twenty Latina professors with Ph.D.s from carceral communities. Grounded in an Althusserian state apparatus framework informed by the intersectionality of the multiple layers of marginalization of these Latinas, my study asks the following questions: 1) What are the

continuities in the gendered racialization of Latina prisoners and professors? 2) How do the sanctioned socialization processes of carceral and educational institutions socially control the parameters of these scripts? 3) In what ways do these State Apparatuses benefit from the disposability of Latina prisoners and the exceptionality of Latina professors? Finally, I ask 4) what is the shared ideological constellation that could facilitate a union between Latina faculty and incarcerated Latinas. The areas of inquiry that I connect are violence, social embeddedness, and institutionalization.

I argue that despite socially constructed as opposites, Latina professors deemed as exceptionals and criminalized Latinas deemed as disposables are deliberately situated as such within the public imaginary to serve a powerful narrative about worth. The individualizing of professoriate success obscures the intense struggles that working class origin Latinas overcome and the village of support that these women rely on to reach that point. Meanwhile, the individualization of Latina criminalization conceals the hyperbolic interpersonal and structural violence that these women contended with that catalyzed their trajectories of criminalization. Working in conjunction, this construction preaches a neoliberal meritocratic narrative that puts the onus of human behavior and outcomes on the individual all while enacting policies and practices that have devastating consequences in the lives of Latinas inside and outside of carceral communities. Regardless of where they are situated along the exceptionality and disposability continuum, Latinas are forced to navigate institutions whose formal and informal protocols contribute to the reification of Latina devaluation and replication of the existing neoliberal social order. Thus, the many parallels in experiences before and after entering the carceral and educational institutions and the interconnectedness of fates between both groups provide a strong basis for these two groups to unite against their

collective struggle. Such a union would demonstrate powerful praxis in refuting the veracity of the exceptionality and disposability continuum.

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CHAPTER 1:

INTRODUCTION

> Finally, I would like to dedicate this thesis to the countless women of color- Latina and otherwise- that have had aspirations... but have fallen victim to the academic pipeline. Your efforts have not been in vain. Every engagement I have had with this research has always been with you in mind. We are in this together until there are no more casualties within this industrial complex. Until then... our personal will remain political.
>
> —Marisa D. Duran Salinas, *Mestizas in the Academy*, 2013

It was a brisk Santa Barbara night. I was sitting outside of a popular local pizzeria in what might be considered the epicenter of my college town. I rarely went there. It was not because I did not care for the food but the atmosphere and the patronage made me feel so foreign despite having pursued both my undergraduate and graduate studies at the adjoining institution. Yet tonight was different. A friend that shared in the aspects that made me foreign to that space as a working class Chicanx academic from a carceral community joined me.

We sat outside and discussed my next scholarly venture. I had finished a Master's thesis where I interrogated the contradictions in the personal and professional lives of Latina professors. As a junior scholar in my Ph.D. program, I was feeling the pressure of committing to a dissertation topic that was meaningful enough for me to devote the next few years of research to. I loved what I studied and I was good at it. I had profoundly intimate moments with Latina professors that left a lasting impression on me as a young Chicana academic. Their trajectories into academia and their experiences within it resonated strongly with me as they seemed to be an extension of the experiences of Latinas at earlier stages in the Latina higher education pipeline. "But I feel like I'm missing something," I told him. "I can't help but feel like I'm only telling part of the story… what about all of the Latinas that

never make it, that get pushed out?" As a Chicana whose adolescent peer group included teen moms, cholas, and other adolescents of color deemed deviant and often pushed out of school and prevented from attaining even a basic level of education, I felt like I was one of the blind men in the ancient Buddhist parable whereby they approach an elephant and only touch one body part and have wildly different interpretations of the animal (Goldstein, 2010). From a snake to a tree trunk and a rope, their perceptions were limited by the scope of what they could touch. While honing in on Latina faculty was important, I could not help but feel like there was a bigger story I was missing. In the introductory quote above I dedicated my Master's thesis to the women of color that were casualties in the higher education pipeline. For as long as I was doing this work I wrestled with a sense of guilt for omitting their struggles. Lamenting this I said, "I wish I could include both of them [groups]… I know I would feel as at home interviewing homegirls as I do professors." He looked at me and told me to just do it- that if there was ever someone that could do that project it would be me. We passionately discussed parallels in the structures of the academy and prison from hyper-surveillance to bureaucracy as we scribbled notes across a napkin. This vision of loyalty to those left behind by exploring stories untold and embracing a relentless commitment to making visible the profound connections between those denigrated as disposable and those heralded as exceptional catalyzed this project into existence. That is how this study was born.

BACKGROUND

Because of the multiple constraining structural impediments at play in the Latino educational pipeline, less than seven of every one thousand Latinos in the United States have earned a Ph.D. (US Bureau Current Population Survey; Educational Attainment in the United

States, 2020). While 4.5% of Asians, 1.8% of whites, 1% of Blacks have doctoral degrees, only .65% of all Latinos aged 18 and older have PhDs (Table 1. Educational Attainment of the Population 18 Years and Over, by Age, Sex, Race, and Hispanic Origin: 2020). Despite significant increases in the last two decades in Latinx educational attainment, gains at the doctoral level have been modest. In a play on W.E.B. Du Bois's famous description of educated Black leaders as "the talented tenth," Latino scholars with PhDs are colloquially referred to sarcastically as the talented .6%.

While a very small percentage of the Latinx population, Latinxs en route to and with Ph.D.s have been studied in diverse ways. (Urrieta & Chávez, 2009; Ponjuan, 2011; Carrillo & Mendez, 2016; Zambrana, 2018; Gonzalez, 2006). Latinx sociological scholarship on education has largely been bifurcated, vexed by the seemingly incommensurable experiences of, on the one hand, Latinx Ph.D. students and recipients who work as professors (Delgado-Romero et al., 2016; Garza, 1992; Padilla & Chavez, 1995; Peréz, 2004) and on the other by the Latino adolescents who fall victim to the school-to-prison pipeline (Rios, 2011; National Council of La Raza, 2011; Rios, 2017; Flores, 2016; Castillo, 2014; Valles & Villalpando, 2013; Seroczynski & Jobst, 2016). This large body of greatly needed research speaks to the over-representation of Latinxs in the carceral system and their simultaneous under-representation in the educational system. Yet these seemingly opposite outcomes emanate from the same social conditions. They are structurally produced even though they are represented most often in scholarship and civic discourse as the cumulative consequences of isolated individual choices. The effects of under-representation of Latinxs in one sphere and over-representation in the other shapes the very nature of how education and incarceration are experienced.

This distinction between the few honored as exceptional and the many dismissed as disposable is a central feature of Latino life chances and outcomes, just as it is a central feature of neoliberal society at large (Camp, 2016; Lipman, 2011). As the Golden Age of Capitalism commenced, postwar Keynesianism gave way to neoliberalism. Neoliberalism uses free market principles as a basis for organizing all aspects of society- including value based judgments about people and the dissemination of resources allotted to them. Notions of meritocracy, free will, choice, and coercion are all neoliberal principles used to frame people as deserving or not (Camp, 2016; Lipman, 2011; Stanton-Salazar, 2001; Valenzuela, 1999). This notion of the exceptional being worthy of resources and the disposable being unworthy has profoundly entered into the public consciousness as a form of "common sense" hegemony (Gramsci, 1971). While the nature of hegemony is to benefit the ruling class, it often entails the creation of historical blocs that unite potentially antagonistic groups together by making limited concessions (albeit structured in dominance) to the aggrieved, this has meant often these groups are only able to gain favor when prioritizing high performing members of their community. Those members who can exhibit excellence using hegemonic constructs of success are the only people of color deemed worthy within the neoliberal framework. We see this in the construction of contemporary immigrant rights debates around high performing Dreamers. While having the potential to produce structural benefits for their entire community(ies), the fixation on high performing, college educated, undocumented students as opposed to their overwhelmingly uneducated, working class parents expose the limits of neoliberal notions of worth. Nonetheless, as Lipsitz's (1988) work on fighting for hegemony rather than merely against it might suggest, taking advantage of culturally

contradictory concessions is an opportunity to gain victories in the war of position that have the potential to heighten insurgencies beyond the scope of Dreamers (p. 149).

Nonetheless, neoliberalism depends on and maintains notions of exceptionality and disposability to maintain legitimacy. Why? Because they help reinforce that there are no sorting mechanisms at play that discriminate amongst the masses. This is particularly why analyses that deconstruct arbitrary distinctions of worth or differentiation are important- because they contest the categorization that common sense discourse imposes. Such analyses are able to highlight the shared harm that this does to both groups. While this process may seem to serve the needs of those deemed exceptional in the short run, in the long run both those pejoratively deemed exceptional and disposable are limited by social controls that constrain their life chances and outcomes. The limited life chances and opportunities that are experienced by those categorized as disposable are more salient than the injuries experienced by those deemed exceptional. The few exceptionals allowed to enter arenas traditionally reserved for the elite, however, are forced to dis-identify with the communities that nurtured and sustained them. They are allowed to be exceptional as novelties and signs of difference rather than accepted as full participants and decision makers, and are given only a subordinate inclusion because they lack the networks that their more privileged exceptional competitors have. Thus, such inclusion is predicated on a liminal membership where the label of exceptionality is always tied symbiotically to their marginalized and therefore disposable origins.

While there has been much attention to both ends of what I call the Latinx disposability and exceptionality continuum, little scholarship has been directed towards linking the two. Invoking Althusser's concepts of repressive and ideological "state apparatuses," I deploy a comparison of the Prison Industrial Complex and the Academic

Industrial Complex to demonstrate that the persistently different experiences of both Latina professors and Latina former prisoners are related and interdependently situated with one another (Althusser, 1971). Rather than studying the effects of the rise of the neoliberal university on Latina faculty or the growing neoliberal Prison Industrial Complex's effects on Latina prisoners in isolation, I show how the continuities among the two function as part of a racial script that, "highlight[s]the way in which the lives of racialized groups are linked across time and space and thereby affect one another, even when they do not directly cross paths." (Molina, 2013, pp. 6-7). At the most basic level, In Lak'ech From the Ivory Tower to the Prison Tower asks and answers: what are the continuities in the gendered racialization of Latina prisoners and professors? To answer this question I analyze the prevalence of violence and neglect in the lives of these women that led up to their involvement in either the Prison Industrial Complex or the Academic Industrial Complex in an effort to determine how their social locations preceding these institutions materially and ideologically inform their positionality once in them. I build on this by asking how the socialization processes of carceral and educational institutions control the parameters of those scripts and answer this by looking at social embeddedness and formal and informal institutionalization procedures. Finally, I theorize the ways that State Apparatuses benefit from both the disposability of Latina prisoners and the exceptionality of Latina professors and discuss how a shared ideological constellation could unite Latina faculty and incarcerated Latinas against the inequities they face. This study shows that these disparities are systemic and structural, that they flow from channeling mechanisms that reveal how an ecology of raced and gendered power punishes both what it deems to be success and what it designates as failure. For as long as "human value is made intelligible through racialized, sexualized, spatialized, and

state-sanctioned violences[1]," racialized and other aggrieved communities will suffer the consequences of devaluation and differential inclusion regardless of where they fall along the exceptionality and disposability continuum (Cacho, 2012, p. 4; Espiritu, 2003).

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

> A crisis of hegemony marks a moment of profound rupture in the political and economic life of a society, an accumulation of contradictions… Such moments signal, not necessarily a revolutionary conjuncture nor the collapse of the state, but rather the coming of "iron times"… Class domination will be exercised, in such moments, through a modification of the modes of hegemony… and the powerful orchestration… of an authoritarian consensus… The forms of state intervention thus become more overt and more direct.
>
> —Hall, et al., *Policing the Crisis*

Capitalism has relied on racialization and racial projects to legitimize the violent hegemony embedded within capitalist domination for centuries. From resource extraction to slavery, from colonization to immigrant detention, the racialization of those deemed oppositional to the interests of the ruling classes has rationalized and excused not only their material dispossession but also justified the moral imperative of their exploitation in the eyes of the dominated masses. The maintenance of these legacies of racialization- often in the form of portrayals of people of color as lazy savage dependents who are morally and intellectually inferior has been critical in sustaining capitalist accumulation domestically and abroad. In the context of the U.S., racialized (and gendered) communities of color have consistently been a source of cheap and devalued labor that is easily rendered as surplus when capitalists have extracted their labor and fulfilled their profit quotas. In constructing a

[1] I situate carceral and educational institutions to be within the reach of state-sanctioned violence considering the transformative potential within each; with the criminal justice system directly diminishing the life chances of incarcerated people and their communities and education having the possibility to improve the life chances of minoritized groups yet with a power that is instead wielded discriminately.

segmented labor market that hierarchizes labor by race (Barrera, 1979), and a combination of race and gender (Segura, 1984), whiteness reigns supreme. Therefore, the construction of whiteness in itself has historically been an asset to the capitalist class to distinguish and distance the white working class from workers of color to avoid class consciousness beyond racial and gendered divisions (Lipsitz, 2006; Roediger ,1992). Such solidarity among working class laborers might invoke rebellion and threaten not only the racial ecology of the United States but the economic system as well.

While such divisive tactics have long-term reach, capitalism must reinvent its devices every 40-50 years. During these periods, capitalism undergoes a restructuring process whereby obstacles to pushing the margins of profits and accumulation are overcome with the economic system being an insidious chameleon that adapts to the social structure. For instance, despite conquest and slavery forming the crux of a booming American capitalist economy, such overtly oppressive, racist exploitation could not be sustained in the 20th century. Still, the residue of the racial regimes that previously defined these exploited groups lingers contemporarily and is present in adapted form in the construction of purportedly race neutral and color-blind approaches by capitalism's successor stage in the latter half of the 20th century.

The World War II era fostered the Golden Age of industrial capitalism. The production of wartime goods produced jobs, job security, high wages, available credit, and widespread consumer purchasing power. By the 1970's the Fordist-Keynesian economy was characterized by, "high wages, mass production, industrial factories, assembly-lines, bureaucratized unions and mass-based popular culture" (Camp, 2016, p. 9) bolstered by social welfare programs that sought to regulate the market. However, this system of capital

accumulation slowed when the US dropped the gold standard and OPEC implemented an oil embargo. Suddenly as profitability waned, inflation rose and underconsumption ensued. As William Robinson explains "dominant groups sought ways to liberate themselves from the social democratic, redistributive forms of class compromise from the previous decades. Analytically speaking, capital sought to free itself of any reciprocal responsibility to labor and capitalist states thought to shed themselves of the social welfare systems that were established in previous decades" (Robinson, 2016, p. 5). Domestically, this meant that working class people and especially communities of color bore the brunt of capitalist restructuring. Not only were their jobs the first ones terminated, but the austerity measures that cut the safety net of public health and wellness social welfare programs had the greatest impact on the impoverished communities of color that relied on them most.

If the capitalist class took aggressive measures at home to overcome the crisis, measures at a global scale were outright ruthless. Jobs were sent to unregulated low wage work sites overseas and transnational production proliferated across the globe. Robinson notes that "deregulation, informalization, deunionization and the flexibilization of labor" fostered a transnational capitalist class (TCC) that profited from the surplus value that accumulated when workers were paid meager wages with little to no employer accountability for work conditions (ibid, 7). Departing from the skilled labor required of workers, Taylorism combined with flexible accumulation and just in time production strategies that allowed production of items to be compartmentalized and assembled globally. This unskilled, exploitative labor market contributed to the alienation of workers mostly from the Global South, followed by the private takeover of their public works services. The TCC replaced the local elite as the most powerful in these countries.

Meanwhile, an ideological war was brewing on the home front. By the 1960's the contradictions embedded within capitalist hegemony were exposing themselves as marginalized communities were connecting the dots between their subordination and the exploitation of their peers in the Global South at the hands of U.S. empire. Cultural nationalism was soaring in the Black Power and Chicano Movements, women resisted patriarchal domination in the Feminist Movement, worker struggles united labor across race and ethnic lines, and anti-war sentiment mobilized the educated and uneducated alike. These freedom struggles for accessing a social wage- for dignity, health care, equal access to equitable education, jobs and real wages, affordable housing, anti-colonialism and the liberation from systems of oppression- were granted more legitimacy than capitalism and exacerbated the crisis of legitimating the capitalist superstructure. Between the assassination of Dr. King, the Tet Offensive, and the massacre of Tlatelolco, American imperialism disguised as American exceptionalism had lost its cloak of legitimacy and inevitability and tensions came to a boiling point. As the visionary Stuart Hall said, "The racist ideology of the ruling historical bloc, and alliance between the dominant class forces and sectors of the subaltern strata to maintain control over the political economy, had worn thin" (1978). While the crisis to capital accumulation was menacing to the ascension of the ruling class, the unveiling of capitalist hegemony could bring the entire system to its knees. Capitalists would soon resort to counterinsurgent neoliberal regimes of security that would grant legitimacy back to the state via a combination of coerced and consensual domination.

As Marx (1843) said, "Material force can only be overthrown by material force, but theory itself becomes a material force when it has seized the masses;" neoliberalism would respond to the undermining of capitalism's ideological grip by seizing the masses with

the imposition of moral panics. First, the ruling classes would position freedom movements and those advocating for revolutionary action as enemies of the state. By characterizing these people and their involvement in political, economic, and cultural protest as disorderly, they shifted the ideological script of their insurgencies away from fighting neoliberalism for the social wage from below to those that are chaotic and need to be contained from above. Yet, disorder and chaos were only one part of the narrative. Neoliberalism would shift the crisis of capitalism to a manufactured crisis of race and criminality and the "first permanent warfare apparatus" was born (Hinton, 2016; Gilmore, 1998, 175; Gilmore, 1999, 176; Oliver et al., 1993, p. 126).

Because insurgency threatened the very foundation of neoliberalism, it too served as the justification for mass incarceration from the very beginning. Poor Black and Latino communities were racialized by the state and its agents using cultural pathology models of ignorant, violently aggressive people incapable of containing themselves heightening racist and classist fears and anxieties. Jordan Camp demonstrates how "moral panics around race, crime, disorder, security, and law and order became the primary legitimating discourse for the expanded use of policing, prisons, and urban securitization in the state's management of social and economic crises…," (Camp, 2016, p. 15) diverting attention from pathetically low wages, mass unemployment, and soaring inequality. By constructing multi-level protest as the cause for decaying social conditions, mass incarceration becomes taken for granted as necessary and the counterinsurgent state's security apparatus becomes reified.

While the carceral state's functions became naturalized via the production of this crisis, the neoliberal state was able to accomplish three major objectives. First, the state rolled back progress made from the freedom struggles that preceded and coincided with the

era, Camp argues that neoliberals embraced the mission of the "undoing of the historic gains of Black freedom, radical labor, feminist and social movements between the 1930's to the 1970's" (16) preventing the "long civil rights movement from realizing its most radical visions" by dismantling its ideological legitimacy with the larger public (10). Second, neoliberals physically and politically repressed those dispossessed by the crisis (Gilmore, 2007, p. 113). By locking up Black and Brown poor men, domestic employment numbers could be falsified, hiding mass unemployment, and containing social unrest regarding stagnation, the decline of real wages, unemployment, the shipping of jobs overseas and the evisceration of the social wage. With the hysteria consciously generated by Nixon's "law and order" campaign, attention could be diverted away from the racially charged economic shortcomings of racial capitalism, rendering invisible legitimate critiques of the system. Finally, increasing surveillance and punishment by means of a heightened police state and the proliferation of prisons dotted across disposable communities enabled a profit making carceral-security apparatus that would generate millions of dollars. Between private contracts, the exploitation of nearly free prison labor by major corporations, bond sales in prison erection, administration expenditures, and flipping vacant farmland into exurban sites of development, the Prison Industrial Complex is a money-making machine that provides the capitalist state incentives for keeping prison cells filled to the brim (Gilmore, 2007).

Yet neoliberal social control was two-fold. Aggressive policing and mass incarceration represented only the repressive aspect of coercive consent. While the momentum of the liberation movements was hijacked by neoliberal diversions about disorder and chaos, the system also used cooptation as the accompaniment to repression. By coopting potential leaders within radical circles of these struggles and making them a comprador elite

of sorts (i.e. professional managerial class across various institutions) they could: neutralize their politics, get them invested as stakeholders within the system, have them mitigate the discontent within their marginalized communities, and have them represent stories of "success" to their larger communities affirming meritocratic neoliberal colorblind constructs (Johnson, 2007). Perhaps nowhere is this clearer than in the neoliberalization of education.

Scholars have long written about how the educational system functions in the interest of capitalism by teaching subordination, obedience, and the skill set necessary to be complacent capitalist laborers (Bowles and Gintis, 1976). While Fordist-Keynesian capitalism beckoned an independent oriented, semi-and highly skilled, critically thinking workforce; global capitalism today relies on an unskilled labor force with less autonomy in their rote completion of tasks (Robinson, 2016). Secondary institutions are increasingly becoming privatized as schools are being run using business models and teachers are being forced to teach to the test as opposed to building critical thinking skills to their students. Low performing public schools that coincidentally are most often Predominantly Minority Institutions (PMIs) are shut down and sold to the highest bidder that hires corporate entities with little to no experience in education to run them, and gentrification of the surrounding areas swiftly follows (Lipman, 2011).

In higher education, neoliberalization takes place two fold. The commodification of higher education is quickly turning these institutions into a service sector industry whereby their value is determined by the "employability" of their students. Schools are quickly becoming privatized. Whereas public schools used to be financed using public dollars and run as public entities, schools are increasingly being financed privately. Students are relentlessly being charged higher rates of tuition- effectively turning higher education into a

gate keeping apparatus in service of the middle and upper class students that can afford to attend. With a dwindling percentage of the campus community being comprised of tenure track professors, an increasing pool of adjuncts and administrative staff, and an ever growing pool of students that are given the authority to evaluate their professors, professors are pressured to rely on standardized tests to determine student performance. Additionally, corporate entities are increasingly making their way into the Academic Industrial Complex as there is a growing number of private subcontractors competing for student loan accounts and companies have a vested interest in subsidizing studies whose results support their corporations.

The other counterinsurgency tactic was to grant calculated concessions to aggrieved groups contingent on the accompaniment of mechanisms of ideological and cultural hegemony attached. While the demands of the liberation movements were collectivist approaches to social justice, anti-capitalism, and oriented on the material inequities of racial and ethnic class struggle; the integration of Black and Chicano populations on the Left, "led to a disavowal of materialist analyses of racism and class struggle in exchange for concessions from the state apparatus" (Camp, 2016, p. 149). One of these concessions was the implementation of Ethnic Studies departments. Yet as Angela Davis famously said, "the Civil Rights Movement had to be declared dead in order for its legacies to be celebrated by the dominant culture" and so the radicalism that accompanied the multiple movements of the era was divorced from the hegemonic ideological constructs across campuses. "Multiculturalism" and "diversity" quickly became the buzzwords of the 1980's and 1990's, yet celebrations and tolerance for difference were devoid of institutional critiques of racism. Such colorblind approaches embraced the integration of difference into the hegemonic

structures in place as opposed to using universities as hubs for critical intellectual production that could work to emancipate the masses from systems of oppression and exploitation. The very same universities that had previously barred Black students' attendance and produce(d) research in favor of eugenics, closed borders, and had long histories of harming people of color as experimental subjects became champions of diversity erecting cultural centers and special programs across campus. Yet neoliberalism's diversion of radicalism fixated on oppression as opposed to turning the lens on exploitation. By directing indignation to compartmentalized racially based personal injuries, the connection between class exploitation and racial oppression gets lost rendering the capitalist class innocent of culpability (Robinson, 2016, p. 18).

THEORY

Gramsci (1971) ascertained that the capitalist state relied on cultural hegemony in order to control the masses- many of which lived in direct contradiction to the material conditions of the elite. By controlling the ideas- or ideological values- of the masses, the proletariat was encouraged to consent to their own domination by believing that they shared the same interests as those that control the means of capitalist production. This was done by deliberate compromise in granting some concessions to grant buy in by the masses via coercive consent. Althusser (1976) built on Gramsci's notion of hegemonic control by the state by articulating that the (Capitalist) State Apparatus functions by the co-constituency of the violent Repressive State Apparatus (government, courts, police, and prisons) with securing ideological legitimacy through controlling ideas via the Ideological State Apparatus. These institutions (religious, educational, familial, political, etc.) enable the interests of the

ruling class to permeate the private sphere and be absorbed as common-sense values. I utilize Gramscian and Althusserian theory to demonstrate that Latinas in the Repressive State Apparatus and Latinas in the Ideological State Apparatus are interdependently situated and share a gendered racial script that advances a neoliberal social reproduction of racial, gender, and class inequality.

The erection of the Academic Industrial Complex (AIC) and the Prison Industrial Complex (PIC) serve neoliberalism through profiteering and coercive consent. As the ideological superstructure, hegemony is shaped in the AIC via co-optation. On one hand the Academic Industrial Complex as an ISA maintains an illusion of inclusion as Latina scholars are differentially included and brought into the fold of the Ivory Tower for incorporation into a distinct secondary labor force to fulfill racialized and gendered service work that affirms Latina gendered racial scripts and reinforces Latina otherness and subordination in the academic social order. On the other hand, the Prison Industrial Complex as an RSA is legitimated as the criminalization of Latinas is the product of an abuse-to-prison pipeline of which the carceral system relies on to fill its beds. The PIC serves to maintain ideological hegemony via repression and containment but also through affirming common-sense notions of perceived criminality, inferiority, and uncontrollability that is imposed on the bodies of those imprisoned. Whereas both institutions utilize hypersurveillance to discipline their subjects into their social roles, incarcerated Latinas are disciplined with punishment and Latina professors are disciplined with the potential of withholding of reward. These two state apparatuses work together to maintain a social order that inevitably lends to inequality in the potential outcomes of both. The reciprocal relationship between the two enable the capitalist system to persist- a system that political pundits on both sides of the aisle cosign as

beneficiaries despite farcical attempts to distance their political and moral leanings from one another. Such tactics are yet another diversion from the neoliberal mechanisms of social control.

I extend the carceral continuum beyond the school-to-prison pipeline link and the communities that house prisons, in an effort to demonstrate the interdependent connection between Latinas behind bars in the Prison Industrial Complex and Latinas that have shared the same neighborhoods with these prisons that are now in the Academic Industrial Complex as Latina professors with PhDs. These women share similar experiences as they inhabit these contradictory cultural sites that purport to benefit society but essentially maintain systems of inequality and racial projects as they mirror stratification patterns across society. The carceral continuum extends to Latina faculty from these communities within the context of the neoliberal university. Latina faculty bring their social understandings of survival from their carceral communities of origin into the professoriate. While the overwhelming majority of Latina professors have never stepped a foot in prison, Latina faculty are primarily experts in areas of research tied to their communities on topics –like Latino criminalization- of the racialized subaltern whereby their 'success' is contingent on notions of Latino marginality. Latina exceptionality in the neoliberal university is prefaced by Latina disposability (Cacho, 2007). Latina professors experience institutional discrimination while simultaneously are used to "buffer" relationships among those that the university fails to adequately serve via the construction of the "academic ghetto" in area studies departments, teaching undervalued identity and inequality based courses (both of which serve overwhelmingly marginalized students), and filling newly crafted diversity appointments that are responsible for providing damage control to diversity related concerns that threaten institutional stability for high

ranking stakeholders.

Theoretically speaking, I argue that Latina professors are in effect the "cheap insurance" against unaddressed "claims that the urban university in the US has, historically and systematically, underdeveloped the neighborhoods where the working poor live in the shadow of the ever growing master's house" (Gilmore, 1993, p. 73). The hiring of Latinas within academia serves as a shallow attempt to appease disenfranchised communities of color for systemic oppression in an effort to thwart larger concessions demanded from the larger Latino community. In hiring them for diversity purposes with an intent to try to co-opt Latina academics, academic institutions seek to have them serve as a sort of comprador elite-essentially mediators between the university and the Latinx community. The university gets neoliberal kudos for appropriating the research and discourse on Latinx communities conducted by Latinx faculty, yet their knowledge is only valued as a commodity of difference as opposed to the capability of that knowledge destabilizing hegemony (Ferguson, 2012). Still, because the illusion of inclusion undergirds the neoliberal university's notion of diversity, the visibility of Latinas and other people of color on committees and service oriented boards is important. Latina faculty and other women of color professors often take on numerous diversity oriented positions and roles in the university that allows for these schools to wash their hands of mitigating the treatment and service of the same communities these professors come from, making these women a safety net both catching underserved Latinx students but also shielding the university from having to serve them (Segura, 2003).

The very existence of highly educated Latinas from communities that Latina former prisoners come from reinforce myths of meritocracy and self blame as they cite such success stories as signs that no discriminating apparatus is at play in their own confinement. After all,

for an incarcerated or formerly incarcerated woman to see a family member or peer that experienced the same social milieu as they did achieve professional success might invoke the compulsion of comparison for them using hegemonic descriptors. Such a compulsion is what Barbara Tomlinson and George Lipsitz call a pedagogy of the neoliberal subject, "how people are made into neoliberal subjects able to overlook the contradictions of neoliberalism, the social conditions it creates, and its exploiting of racial arguments" (Tomlinson & Lipsitz, 2013, p. 7). Rather than make the realization of how a Latina with a Ph.D. is more of the exception than the rule and that Latina involvement in the criminal justice system in working class neighborhoods of color is fairly common across these asset-stripped neighborhoods, neoliberalism coerces people to individualize and privatize their experiences as, "individual entrepreneurs of their own selves" rendering insidious apparatuses invisible (8). These culturally persuasive tactics socially reproduce the interests of the ruling class by having marginalized social groups being, "recruited into their own subordination" via Althusserian apparatuses that rely on convincing those considered disposable that they are responsible for their own dispossession but also encouraging the few exceptionals with shared marginalized identities that their success is the result of their individualized effort. Such framing allows token ideologies to persist in freeing these people from public responsibility to their larger communities and 'private intellectuals' are born (8). As Gilmore contends, "Private intellectuals are both cheap insurance for these arrangements and 'pampered and paternalised,' a costly drain on the communities of resistance who require their labours" (1993, p. 78). While such tactics are employed across academia via individualization processes, for ethnic groups that rely on collective ways of being and strong attachments to the community, their feelings of responsibility to their communities provide a formidable

fight against this privatization process. They are not in academia in spite of their communities but because of their communities.

LITERATURE

School-to-Prison Pipeline

Schools have long been theorized as socializing institutions that prepare students for the social, cultural, and economic roles they are expected to fill into adulthood (Giroux & Penna, 1979; Apple & King, 1977). These institutions are believed to be one of the primary mechanisms responsible for reproducing the social order (Giroux 1981). While much of this work focuses on how schools affirm class divides to the detriment of the poor and working class students that navigate these institutions, schools also reproduce racial projects. There has been a relatively recent increase in literature analyzing the coercive forces at play pushing out young, working class, primarily Black and Latinx students from the k-12 system into the structures of containment via the school to prison pipeline (Rios, 2011, 2017; Morris, 2016; Jones, 2010; Conchas & Vigil, 2012). This is enacted through the criminalization and deficit models applied to these students via their school sites (Valenzuela, 1999; Stanton-Salazar, 2001). Such practices are not just practiced by teachers and school administration officials but by a range of agents that purport to support criminalized students at home, school, and in the criminal justice system but actually engage in what Flores terms as wraparound incarceration (Flores, 2016). Cloaked as well-intended support, these entities work together as a hyper-surveillance force that leaves marginalized students no refuge from the collaborative and multi-sited scrutiny of criminalization. Inevitably, many of these working class Black and Latinx students succumb to the school to prison pipeline (Flores, 2016).

While we know that schools coerce marginalized youth towards criminalization, there is far less work on how racial and prison regimes are enacted within school sites (Schnyder, 2010; Sojoyner, 2013). Such studies show that school sites are not simply distinct institutions where students of color get pushed out towards carceral facilities but rather sites where these racial and prison regimes are rehearsed and practiced (Sojoyner, 2013; 2014). Sojoyner (2013) elaborates, "the enclosure of public education foregrounds the expansion of the prison system and consequently, schools are not a training ground for prisons, but are the key site at which technologies of control that govern Black oppression are deemed normal and necessary" (p. 241).

Thus, like other institutions, schools enact, maintain, and reproduce the systems of power that are pervasive across society. Accurately described by critics as inequality regimes, these interlocked practices and protocols rely on existing power differentials of gender, race, ability, and other markers of identity to replicate uneven relationships among institutional actors for manifesting differential outcomes (Acker, 2006; Acker, 1990, Reskin, 1993). For marginalized youth of color in k-12 education, this can mean being forced to navigate punitive educational enclosures or being pushed into the school-to-prison pipeline. Yet for women of color faculty and Latina professors more specifically, this can mean traversing academic institutions that have pre-existing gender and racial hierarchies which they fall on the bottom. At the intersections of various forms of minoritization in the academy, Latina professors traverse an academic landscape that is experienced very differently than their peers.

Latina Professoriate Marginality

Urrieta and Chavez argues that because “The origins of academia, depending on the contexts and in degrees, function with tacitly understood social, cultural, and economic synchrony that promote well-to-do if not wealthy, white, male, heterosexual cultural norms,” Latina faculty often find themselves both underserved and needing support in navigating institutions that are often the perpetrators of structural violence on marginalized faculty whose identities and experiences are outside of these norms (Urrieta & Chavez, 2009, p. 571). In “Navigating between two worlds: The labyrinth of Chicana intellectual production in the academy” Segura argues that the construction of Chicanas as an ‘Other’ is, “a socially constructed synthesis of their social and intellectual distance from the Eurocentric masculinist professorial center of their departments and the marginality of their disciplinary discourse from the intellectual centers of the established canon” whereby this ‘otherness’ is highlighted when Chicanas are working towards building apparatuses that fall outside of the bounds of supporting the status quo (Segura, 2003, p. 34). This entails often painful tokenizing experiences for Latina faculty that require their estrangement not only from their communities, but also from other faculty of color because of unwritten “one-minority-per-pot” policies (Niemann, 1999). Segura refers to Chicanas in the academy as taking place within a bifurcated labor market whereby, “Chicanas’ participation in intellectual work includes tokenism, the typecasting syndrome, differential standards, and a racially gendered hidden workload” (Segura, 2003, p. 33). As previously mentioned, this ‘racially gendered hidden workload’ includes their juggling research, serving on multiple diversity oriented committees as multiple marginalized faculty, having to reconcile the ways in which their identities skew student evaluations, students questioning their abilities as scholars and professors and their work as mentors of students which rarely gets rewarded adequately

within the university (Harlow, 2003, p. 16). I argue, among many others, that that this differential workload contributes to Latina faculty's lopsided disbursement into second tier positions within the professoriate as opposed to filling the full professor positions, as Latinas only constitute 1% of all full professors (Gutiérrez y Muhs, Gabriella, et al., 2012; National Center for Educational Statistics, Characteristics of Postsecondary Faculty, Figure 1. 2020).[2]

In spite of the burdens and constraints placed on Latina faculty, they use their positions to engage in transformative change for those inside and outside of academia. Like Mehan's (1994) study of Black and Latinx students' educational navigation techniques, Latinas are, engaged in institutional praxis that "combine[d] a belief in achievement with a cultural affirmation, becoming more critical than conformist" (p. 113). Their ideologies are reflected in the research and intellectual production that is critical to informing policies impacting their community(ies) (Segura, 1984; 1989; 1994; 2003; Yosso, 2006; Gandara & Contreras, 2009; Contreras, 2005). While their social locations do elicit heavy invisible workloads, Latinas push back at the institution by often engaging in social justice oriented research that benefits their community(ies), mentoring underrepresented first generation students of color, and taking advantage of their diversity committee service to ensure that those marginalized within the campus community are supported. While being in the university, Latina professors are not of the university and while a small demographic, represent a critical counterhegemonic force in the academy.

[2] For context, according to the National Center for Educational Statistics' (NCES) National Study of Postsecondary Faculty (NSOPF), as of Fall 2018 there were only 2,420 Latina full professors, 3,345 Latina associate professors, and 4,460 assistant professors in the United States (National Center for Educational Statistics 2020, Table 315.20).

Women of Color and Crime

In The Philadelphia Negro (1899), W.E.B. DuBois referred to crime as the, "open rebellion of an individual against its social environment" (235). In connecting criminal acts to the social environments they arise in, DuBois set a precedent in criminology scholarship that demarcated crime as a social problem as opposed to a symptom of personal biological or psychological deficiency. This approach would not gain traction, however, until the latter half the 20th century (235; Jones, 2009, p. 246). While the genealogy of criminology in the US has emphasized biological and cultural deficiency theories, I situate this project under the supposition that crime is a social construct. As Marxist criminologist Richard Quinney states, "Criminal definitions are formulated according to the interests of those segments (types of social groupings) of a society which have the power to translate their interests into public policy. The interests- based on desires, values, and norms- which are ultimately incorporated into the criminal law are those which are treasured by the dominant interest groups in the society." Such policies not only contain the dispossessed but also obscure acts that would otherwise be criminalized had they not been perpetrated by the elite (1970, p. 16). The combination of the frequency of these actions, the sheer number of people affected, and the scope of physical, mental, emotional, and financial harm caused has contemporary criminology scholars to be critical of mainstream approaches to the study of crime (Potter, 2015, p. 35).

Poverty and punishment theorist Wacquant (2010) attributes the contemporary selectively punitive carceral state to neoliberalism. Political ideologues found common ground in increasingly punitive measures and policies in the 1960's allegedly to protect women and children from the threat of violent crime. While embraced by the Left and the

Right as a good measure for social welfare, the face of victims remained white, middle and upper class women and children, while the stereotype of offenders were poor, mostly Black - but also Latino- men. This racial project was a strategy that Wacquant believes was, "not a response to criminal insecurity but to social insecurity" (208). While the number of punishable acts and the severity of sentences- and thus the incarcerated population- began to skyrocket in the United States, Europe's number of both increased more modestly. He deems this move to penalization as a deliberate social control measure to remedy the loss of blue collar and low wage jobs and the shake up in the racial order that ensued. By increasing the selective surveillance and policing of marginalized groups (i.e. poor communities of color), neoliberalism "remake[s] the nexus of market, state, and citizenship from above" showing its influence reaching further than simply economic and political realms (213).

Similarly, Beth Richie locates one cause of the rise of the prison nation in the ruling classes taking advantage of hysteria generated by the feminist antiviolence movement of the 1960's to implement draconian policies (2012). From grassroots efforts that inevitably led to governmental pressure, the narrative of all women being potential victims of male violence became a public issue and soon the movement of violence against women was co-opted by the government. "All women" legally was recognized as "white, middle and upper class women" in practice, rendering women of color not only unprotected as victims as but also criminalized as offenders when they resisted intimate partner violence. For white women, reporting domestic violence and being protected by mandatory punishment seemed like a progressive step. Yet the partners of women of color faced harsher treatment and longer sentences than the partners of white women, incarceration did more damage to their social

networks, and the mere act of reporting or resisting domestic violence could make them susceptible to being treated as suspects and even perpetrators by law enforcement officers.

Intersectionality and Criminology

While Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989) presented the first fully theorized arguments developing the concept of "intersectionality" in her seminal piece, "Demarginalizing the intersection of race and sex: a Black feminist critique of antidiscrimination doctrine, feminist theory and antiracist politics," the concept of Black women specifically and women of color more broadly bearing the cumulative brunt of multiple interlocking oppressions had a long history in anti-subordination literature and practice as evidenced by women of color battling marginalization on multiple fronts for over a century from Sojourner Truth (1851) in "Ain't I a Woman?" to "The Combahee River Collective Statement" (1977), to This Bridge Called My Back (Moraga and Anzaldúa 1981). In an effort to refute additive models that simply compound notions of marginality based on the membership of oppressed identities, intersectionality seeks to complicate how systems of power intersect to render those at the margins of structural hierarchies (race, gender, class, etc.) multiply and relationally disadvantaged, "as each person has an assortment of coalesced socially constructed identities that are ordered into an inequitable social stratum" (Potter, 2015, p. 3). By using Collins' (2000) matrix of domination, the pitfalls of feminist criminology's singular analysis centering gender become evident because interlocking oppressions shape variations in women's experiences depending on the "location of their identities within the various identity hierarchies" (Potter, 2015, p. 67).

Despite sharing identity markers, certain aspects of peoples' identities may be more salient than others in a specific context, rendering them hypervulnerable to prejudice and

discrimination (and others void of it). For example, Jessica Vasquez (2011) found that despite Latinas/os sharing a common ethnoracial identity, Latinas' gender facilitated greater acceptance among whites than Latinos for assimilation as their controlling images were perceived as less threatening than those of men who shared their ethnoracial identity. Additionally, Vasquez also found that lighter skin also allowed for more fluidity in ethnoracial assimilation among both groups as darker skin is tied to negative outcomes in income, education, and increased involvement in criminal activity. While Latinas/os are all members of a marginalized group, a diversity of experiences shapes their opportunities and life chances. Inside aggrieved groups with a linked fate in general, some segments have more power and prestige. Yet the linked fate of oppression creates a reactive solidarity. Elijah Anderson illuminates this dynamic in his discussion of an "'n' moment" which he defines as the situation when highly accomplished Black people are degraded by random white people. In those moments, their prestige is lost and race becomes more salient for these Black people because white people have inscribed their bodies with derogatory meaning. While mainstream feminists may center gender as the sole marker impacting experience, proponents of intersectionality refuse to privilege one identity marker over another as in actual practice and experience identities comingle in various ways under different circumstances to produce different experiences (Sandoval, 2013).

The inseparability of identities is one of the central contributions of Critical Race Theory/Feminism (CRT). It is for this reason that single axis approaches that give priority to race, gender, or singular notions of identity based traditions conflict with the premise of the theoretical paradigm. While the genesis of CRT has traversed a variety of new contexts, the five tenets have remained: the intercentricity of race and racism, the challenge of dominant

ideology, the commitment to social justice, the centrality of experiential knowledge, and the interdisciplinary perspective (Bell, 1995; Yosso, 2006). This unequivocally social justice orientation is coupled with Black Feminist theorizing of the various identities that Black women specifically- and women of color more broadly- possess that are inextricably bound together and cumulatively contribute to their experiences. This enables intersectionality to be a key tool for conducting critical criminology research.

It is for this reason that I advocate for an intersectional criminology approach in not just this project but across all criminology projects. This method essentially incorporates, "the intersectional or intersectionality concept into criminological research and theory and into the evaluation of crime or crime related policies and laws and the governmental administration of 'justice'" (Potter, 2015, p. 3). This is critical in that, prevailing theories that have been guiding research in criminology fail to encapsulate both the specificity and diversity of experiences that women and girls of color live. I find it also important to note that while I originally entered into this project with the intention of advocating for the construction of a Latina Feminist Criminology theoretical framework, I no longer move forward under such naiveté. Having a far more thorough understanding of intersectional criminology and its basis in CRT/F and Black Feminism, I now understand how the paradigms by nature of Black feminism allow scholars to account for a multitude of identities beyond Black women including non-Black Latinas. Because these theories make space for kaleidoscopic identities incorporating all facets of experiences, they make space for formerly incarcerated Latinas as well. I find advocating for an offshoot of criminology for Latinas would be redundant as despite there being a range of experiences that may be more recurring among U.S. Latinas' (i.e. crimmigration concerns, ESL issues, etc.), intersectionality - the

Black women that have informed the framework- have been deliberate in ensuring that it encapsulates the full gamut of experiences for multiply marginalized people (Crenshaw 1991). While there has been a tendency in the academy to hijack the framework as it has been, "commodified and colonized for neoliberal regimes," Potter, among others, has applied it beyond the experiences of Black women to other people of color (Bilge, 2013, p. 407). Despite most studies that have explicitly adopted the framework being focused on Black women, increased studies are focusing on non-Black women of color (Garcia, 2012; Fregoso, 2003; Deer, 2015; Cho, et al., 2013).

METHODS

Using Michael Burawoy's extended case method to develop the 'macrofoundations of a microsociology' (1998), I use the experiences of those in my case study not to make claims about generalizability, but rather to use those experiences to understand how, "the social situation is shaped by external forces" (Burawoy, et al., 1991, p. 6). Given that my qualitative study has a small sample of twenty for each population, I am using the Burawoy method not for 'statistical significance' but for 'societal significance' (Burawoy, et al., 1991, p. 281). This is important because the approach demonstrates how microinteractions are mitigated through the meso institutional level and are shaped by macropolitics. Additionally, in analyzing trajectories to either criminalization or the professoriate, the experiences of the women in my participant pool show how structures of dominance such as racism, sexism, poverty, coerced migration, among others coalesce to constrain their choices and shape their outcomes. In juxtaposing formerly incarcerated Latinas and Latina professors using this extended case method, an even broader landscape emerges that ultimately illuminates racial

capitalism as the undergirding force behind the oppressive mechanisms of social control both groups navigate.

I recruited participants from this study by using snowball sampling that started out with outreach using social media accounts. Because I interviewed one population at a time, I had separate calls for participants. Given my personal and professional relationships with both a formidable number of formerly incarcerated people and those that advocate for this community, I secured great interest in my call from formerly incarcerated Latinas. My call was shared widely among personal and professional organizational profiles and interested participants contacted me through social media messaging, email, and phone. After vetting them for eligibility, participants were informed about the study, sent consent forms, and later scheduled for critical narrative/interviews that ranged from 45 minutes to 4 hours with some participants being interviewed multiple times. I conducted interviews/critical narratives with 20 formerly incarcerated Latinas through in-person interviews in their homes, public libraries, coffee shops and others by zoom, Facetime, and phone.[3]

Despite sharing such similar experiences, my formerly incarcerated sample was diverse. Participants ranged from their 20's to their late 50's and largely spent a formidable amount of time in four major areas (Bay Area, Central Valley/Central Coast, Los Angeles metropolitan area, and San Diego metropolitan area). While participants overwhelmingly identified as Chicana/Latina, most were of Mexican descent with a few participants having Central and South American backgrounds. Ten percent of the sample was Afro-Latina and forty percent were either immigrants or the daughters of immigrants. Only one participant was married with two others divorced/separated and the remainder single, while three-fourths

[3] See the index for demographic information of this sample.

were mothers. The offenses they were incarcerated for ranged from unlawful entry into the United States as undocumented people to being charged for serial bank robbery and homicide. Whereas one participant was incarcerated once, nearly all were incarcerated multiple times with many participants replying that they had been incarcerated more times than they could recall -- on at least twenty occasions. Educational attainment across this group ranged from less than high school to holding a Ph.D.

Latinas have disproportionately been impacted by the carceral system, not just through personal experience with being charged, convicted, and jailed for a crime. The prison is a total institution that shapes the lives of those touched by it indirectly through the experiences of friends, relatives, and neighbors, and through the ways in which mass incarceration shapes social structures and culture in rural and urban carceral communities. Choosing to examine how Latinas raised near carceral institutions have navigated their trajectories from carceral communities to institutions of higher education and how they utilize their skills acquired from navigating the social ecologies of their own regions, my second call was for Latina faculty with Ph.D.s that were raised in California carceral communities.[4] Again, I used a social media call from my personal social media account and targeted it to relevant accounts that had high visibility amongst Latina academics. Initially I

[4] In the context of this study, I operationalize carceral community to be in reference to communities within 30 miles of a carceral facility. This includes but is not limited to: state and federal prisons, youth detention facilities, and immigration detention centers. While other studies reference terms similar to carceral communities as urban sites with high rates of carceral recidivism and or involvement within the carceral system (not limited to incarceration but including parole and probation) (Clear, et al., 2001; Lopez-Aguado, 2016) or an imagined community of incarcerated individuals (Reinhart & Chen, 2021), this study is focused on the symbiotic effects of carceral facilities on the communities that house them. To iterate, within the context of this study, carceral communities are defined as the ecological formations in the geographic sites within 30 miles of a carceral facility. While the 30-mile measurement may seem too expansive given the abruptly changing social ecologies within Californian urban frameworks, the distance needed to accommodate the disparate rural landscape of small towns along the golden gulag that share in the same ideological and material conditions as carceral communities but are distanced from one another.

had a great amount of interest but I found this population much more difficult to secure interview/critical narratives with than the first population. Given my prior work on Latina faculty, this did not come as a great surprise considering the personal and professional workload of these prospective participants. After familial circumstances required me to take a significant hiatus from this work, I returned back to this work yet was met by the pandemic. As a mother, partner, and scholar myself, I was really hesitant to reach out during the early months of the pandemic. The last thing I wanted to be was 'that person' but after realizing that the pandemic was lasting much longer than anticipated I opted to reach out via email to Latina professors based on recommendations from Latinas in my professional network. I had interest but a significant portion of those inquiring came from carceral communities outside of California and a few from upper middle class suburbs far from facilities of containment. Those that met eligibility were informed about the study, given consent forms, and twenty Latina professors participated in critical narrative/interviews ranging from approximately 40 minutes to 2.5 hours.[5] Unlike the meetings with formerly incarcerated Latinas, these were mostly conducted via Zoom and Facetime with a few in person meetings in their offices and coffee shops.

Like my formerly incarcerated sample of participants, my Latina faculty pool was diverse. Participants ranged from their 20's to 50's and either grew up or spent their formative years in one of four regions (the Bay Area, Central Valley/Central Coast, and the Los Angeles and San Diego Metropolitan areas. Most of these women grew up in Los Angeles. Three-fourths of participants identified as Chicana/Latina but there was an overrepresentation of Central American women in the study. Unlike the formerly

[5] See the index for demographic information on this sample.

incarcerated sample, there was nearly double the proportion of first and second generation women at 75% of the participant pool. Additionally, three-quarters of these women were partnered. 30% of the sample were child-less with most having 1-2 children.

While my extended-case study allowed me to connect the experiences of participants to larger structures, and my use of semi-structured interview/critical narratives allowed me to describe the format of my collaborative interactions with my participants, I utilized muxerista portraiture as my methodological theoretical device when interacting with my participants. Lawrence-Lightfoot and Davis (1997) define portraiture as a "method of qualitative research that blurs the boundaries of aesthetics and empiricism in an effort to capture the complexity, dynamics, and subtlety of human and organizational life" (1997). Like the significance of the relationship of the painter and that of the person being painted, the roles of researchers and those being researched are co-constitutive in nature as one another impacts the other. Thus, Lightfoot refers to those she studies as collaborators as an ode to how their symbiotic interactions come together to erect knowledge. Like Chicana Latina Feminist Theory (CLFT), A. Flores' approach emphasizes the role of the researcher's positionality in utilizing cultural intuition to actively refute deficit framing and make visible the goodness of their collaborators with the assumption that affirming qualities can and do manifest alongside that which is flawed (2017). Thus, muxerista portraiture utilizes the researcher's cultural intuition with the person researched to co-construct a portrait of them that honors their lived experiences, sees that which is good in them, and is committed to challenging oppression.

Muxerista portraiture is comprised of the various elements of portraiture yet with a Chicana/Latina Feminist sensibility (2). These include: The Borderlands as Context, Translating Voice, Relationships and Spirituality, Cultural Intuition and Emergent Themes

and the Aesthetic Whole-Piecing Together Coyolxauhqui. Using the Borderlands as Context means that the researcher/portraitist essentially takes into consideration the nuanced intersectional identities that their Chicana/Latina collaborators have in navigating their life choices in resisting systems of oppression. This third space challenges the dichotomous ways of thinking and categorizing the experiences of their participants and instead acknowledges the constrained and complicated decisions participants have made. This was critical in that I often listened to detailed accounts by formerly incarcerated Latinas that engaged in what would be considered as violent, treacherous, and immoral acts. While these acts might be considered deviant, they were almost always responses to abuse, to trying to survive, and to resilience. The element of Translating Voice means that I as a researcher have a responsibility to my participants to determine what and how much to interpret for academia. This was important for both populations of participants for different reasons. In my criminalized Latina pool, we share the type of Chicanx working class vernacular most associated with Caló. Because of warm comradery in dialogue, they often assumed that I understood their colloquialisms and although I mostly did with the exception of some of the particulars of legal codes and jail/prison infractions that criminalized people know very well, I sometimes had to ask them to expound so that I had direct quotes for my readers. The other aspect of translating voice that is absolutely critical for me is to constantly determine the things that some participants may not disclose or might be of harm in disclosing. With my formerly incarcerated sample, there were the type of gruesome and heavily detailed accounts of experiences that are heralded in the ethnographic world but are incriminating for my participants. Because the well-being of my participants sits at the center of my research ethos, I do not share most of these instances despite my participants being very forthcoming

and boastful about their experiences. Additionally, my positionality as a working class, carceral community origin Chicana makes me sensitive to not reproducing the types of narratives that pathologize those from aggrieved communities. This includes cultural deficit discourse that is harmful to communities of color, immigrant communities, working class and poor communities, and the criminalized that are often at the intersections of these matrices. Therefore, part of translating voice is being deliberate and thoughtful in what I am incorporating into the manuscript. Similarly, my Latina faculty participants share candidly about their experiences in the academy in ways that I know would be reprimanded by this prejudicial institution. Given the small number of Latina professors, I constantly considered how what I translate might disclose their identities to readers in this small world of Latinx scholars. I continuously evaluated what I incorporate and how I say it in an effort to protect the identities of my participants. The Relationships and Spirituality of muxerista portraiture is grounded in a sense of connectedness between ourselves and those we collaborate with. For me, I see so much of myself in them and they in me. I feel that the free flow of thoughts and feelings only abounds when there is a reciprocal relationship between ourselves and those we collaborate with. The vulnerability I share with them of my own experiences whether it be with my own relationship to poverty or something as deep as discussing losing my siblings during graduate school enables them to offer their unvarnished selves. Cultural Intuition is to be used in Emergent Themes as we, as muxerista portraitists, pull from our own arsenals of cultural ways of knowing to situate how we make sense of data. At times, academic traditions do not reflect how we comprehend social milieu. We must trust our intuition and rely on our understanding of Chicanx/Latinx epistemologies to better understand Chicanx/Latinx experiences. Finally, Flores' final element to the muxerista

portraiture process is focusing on the Aesthetic Whole by Piecing Together Coyolxauhqui. She acknowledges the violence that fragmenting peoples' lives is the researcher's compulsion to pick and choose themes to highlight over other experiences. This is a deliberate move to make our collaborators "whole" by crafting stories that feature the goodness within them. Giving a holistic and multi-faceted account of who my participants are is important to me. The study seeks to disrupt exceptionality and disposability discourse, and so it is critical that I show the fullness of who they all are and not let them be defined by either their highest accomplishments nor the worst thing they have done in their lives.[6]

Data was coded using both qualitative software (Dedoose) for clear outlining of relationships between descriptors and demographic relationships as well as manually coded. The manual coding helped me become more intimately connected to my data as I coded for trends in the data with the most frequent and salient becoming the themes of my findings. While I started off with knowing that I would look at institutionalization and social embeddedness as areas of inquiry, I used a grounded theory approach to ascertain relationships in the phenomena based on what manifested in the data.[7] Thus, as I met with these women, they led their autobiographies with stories filled with violence and trauma from their communities of origin. This is how chapter two was developed in an effort to set the stage for giving a sense of the life trajectories that shape this research.

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

[6] See the Appendix for additional methodological considerations.

[7] Additionally, I also included familial relationships and health and wellness as areas of inquiry. These two areas will be expounded upon in future research.

In the second chapter I trace how experiences with neglect, abuse and violence contributed to either formerly incarcerated participants' criminalization or Latina faculty's positioning in academia. Given that the overwhelming majority of participants across the study lived in the selectively divested neighborhoods that are carceral communities, most of these women grew up navigating both dire material and ideological conditions. These conditions led to their facing a range of forms of neglect and abuse that resulted in them coping in different ways. Depending on how their survival mechanisms were coded by neoliberal values determined if they were deemed disposable and funneled into the Prison Industrial Complex as incarcerated girls/women or celebrated as exceptional as they made their way into the Academic Industrial Complex.

In the third chapter I examine how their multidimensional identities and experiences impact their institutional categorization, how they choose to integrate amongst their peers, and how ontologies from their carceral community origins guide much of how they engage in political maneuvering in their respective institutions. I give an overview of how social ecology impacts social embeddedness and how that impacts the access of opportunity even within institutions heralded as equalizing in design and purpose. Using their experiences, I demonstrate how not only do demographic aspects shape social embeddedness, but also how far reaching the carceral continuum is for those raised in carceral communities.

In the fourth chapter I examine how both carceral and academic institutions have existing hierarchies and systems of oppression rooted in their foundations and how institutional members are socialized in ways that naturalize these relationships. Specifically, I discuss how formerly incarcerated Latinas and Latina professors are (and are not) socialized into their institutions and how this experience- and the subsequent reliance on peers to help

them traverse their institutions- sets the stage to the use of hypersurveillance, punishment, and reward to discipline institutional members. These institutional sanctions establish the parameters and expectations for the untenable and contradictory circumstances that these women are forced to navigate which ultimately contribute to their devaluation across both contexts.

The final chapter reiterates the themes of the three chapters preceding it by tying them to the theoretical framework of the study. I discuss how the juxtaposition of Latina faculty in the Ideological State Apparatuses and formerly incarcerated Latinas in the Repressive State Apparatuses benefit the capitalist state. I also discuss the benefits of destabilizing and refuting the exceptionality and disposability continuum by uniting those across it in the fight for dignity and equity.

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Appendix

METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Reflexivity

I was reluctant to do this work from the beginning because while I have been impacted by the workings of the criminal justice system, I am not formerly incarcerated. All of us from the San Joaquin Valley are system impacted as the prison system permeates our lives daily. The constrained choices before us were always clear: you either become a farmworker, a correctional officer (CO), or a prisoner. To most folks, CO positions represent the highest of possibilities and you do not need an education. This shapes the economy and social ecology in determinate ways. In addition, my family is heavily incarcerated. At any given time three to five members of my family are locked up. However, I have not been incarcerated myself, and so I am acutely aware of the power dynamic between me and those

presently or formerly locked up and how that imposes limitations on my standpoint. This understanding has led me to be extremely conscientious in how I traverse relationships with my participants. I try not to take up too much space in the events and conferences I get invited to about formerly incarcerated people. I have tried to reconcile my own apprehensions about doing this work by remembering that it was a formerly incarcerated Chicano scholar who does work on the topic that pushed me into this project when I told him that I did not feel that all of the parts of my identity and understanding were being summoned into the research I had been conducting in the past. Additionally, the numbers of scholars doing work on formerly incarcerated Latinas is miniscule: this work is male, white, and middle and upper-class dominated so I feel a responsibility to do this work as a system impacted Latina. If I wait for scholarship to emerge in the area- especially by formerly incarcerated Latinas- the work that comes in before then is likely going to render their experiences in limiting ways so I feel the pressure to act now because there is so much at stake. Ultimately, it has been the affirmation and encouragement by formerly incarcerated Latinas to do this work that has alleviated some of my reservations.

Still, this is something that I am reconciling as I witness problematic and short-sighted neoliberal interventions in conferences and publically funded reintegration programs. My need to point out the limitations of such approaches is always stifled by my knowing that these spaces are not meant for me, centered on me, and that I am not the expert of their experiences and so I simply note without offering a counterpoint. Friends that are previously incarcerated have expressed frustration with me for not taking up more space but I am still trying to figure out my place in this ecosystem of formerly incarcerated people, academics, and policy makers.

In terms of my positionality, this work has made me acutely aware of my privilege. I grew up in a working class neighborhood on the outskirts of a working class, predominantly Latino rural town. My front yard faced a canal and a corn field. However, the neighborhood I really grew up in was a few minutes away in the mixed race, immigrant-filled, working class neighborhood where my mom worked as a parent community coordinator in the low performing school that I (and 3 generations of my extended family) attended. Not only did I attend schools in that area, along with all of my cousins I would walk 'home' to my grandparents' house where we were cared for until our parents would pick us up in the evening. For all intents and purposes, we slept in our family home but lived, worked, and built community in the epicenter of what was considered the ghetto of Tulare. Perhaps I am romanticizing it or perhaps it was my naiveté at the time, but the social milieu of the neighborhood changed drastically by the time we moved into the heart of what was referred to as the 'hood' when I was an adolescent. It seemed as if migrant families moved to the newer homes that were being developed near the old homes of my former neighborhood. Hmong families migrated en mass to Minnesota and the Carolinas to follow projects that promised jobs, and the only ones that continued to live in the hood were 3+ generation Chicanxs (like my own family), Blacks, and a sprinkling of newly arrived immigrants.

Growing up around drug users, gangs, and violence was nothing out of the ordinary for me, but I did not experience criminal activities first hand. This is a key factor in my positionality. Second person accounts are drastically different than first person experiences. While I did not experience a precarious living situation until I was a young adult, many of my participants did, even prior to incarceration. Additionally, I have never been sexually abused. The vast majority of my participants have been. Because of this I tread delicately on

the topic and only until my later interviews did I have the hindsight to inquire about abuse in the home. With that being said, I have experienced a tremendous amount of survivor's guilt in interviewing these women. I feel like I am the one that got away and it could have easily been me. I have taken participants to breakfast and watched them devour huge meals in minutes while recounting giggled-filled stories of how when they are on the streets all night because they have been kicked out of their homes for tweaking (using methamphetamine), and how they are trying to 'come up' (steal in exchange for money) to support their addictions. The jackpot is finding a house with orange trees so they can eat the fruit off them. My former best friend was telling me how she was talking about my project in jail with other inmates. She was bragging about how I got out and was going to be a doctor. Her peers were so shocked and cursed her out telling her how dumb she was for destroying her future and that she could have been me. Hearing her story put everything into perspective. I also could have been her. In fact, statistically it would have more likely for me to be her. It has been emotionally painful to hear about the suffering of both participants I did not previously know and those with whom I have longstanding relationships with.

Other aspects of positionality that I have considered are my gender presentation, my being pregnant during interviews/critical narratives, and that I come from very similar cultural milieu as my participants. In terms of my gender presentation, I noticed that being hyperfeminine seems to elicit a receptive response from my participants. When they meet me they often remark that I am 'pretty' and while there is data to support that ethnographers sometimes appeal to participants using stereotypical gender constructs it seemed that they responded positively to me because of my gender presentation. My being pregnant also elicited tremendous interest among my participants and seemed to have acted as a form of

building rapport with them. They seem to let their guard down and ask many questions. I do wonder, however, if my gender presentation and pregnancy hindered them by leading them to downplay queer relationships and intimacy prior to, during, and post incarceration. Many of my participants seem to express disapproval of same sex intimacy ranging from remarks distancing themselves from it to disgust. I also consider how my being pregnant has impacted their transparency in discussing issues like abortion or child abuse. At one point I saw a very intelligent, socially conscious and politically involved participant in my research at a reintegration conference. She had not responded to me after our Skype interview and by the time I was at the conference I was visibly pregnant. She texted me while at the conference and said that she was grappling with finding out she was pregnant and deciding what to do. I told her I was available to talk and affirmed her feelings. She was warm in her messages and seemed to have interest in connecting. However, when I bumped into her a few hours later I sensed nervous energy and she did not express an urge to meet. I wondered if seeing me pregnant discouraged her from feeling free to openly discuss her reproductive options.

In my research with Latina faculty I have learned a great deal about academic life for minoritized women faculty. Given that they bared so much of their struggles on personal and professional levels, I really got strong insight as to the workings of academia along the entire professional spectrum, from junior assistant professors struggling to find their footing to celebrated full professors almost on their way out. These interactions really shape my own aspirations and how I navigate the academy as they gave me a sense of the realities of academic politics.

Finally, I am aware that my participants and I share many cultural understandings that are imbued in working class, Chicanx/Latinx culture. They often alluded to me understanding

their experiences and for that reason I often have to prompt them to expand and describe what they are talking about. We share many colloquialisms and speak the same (working class, Chicanx/Latinx) language and for that reason I often speak to them using colloquialisms that we share to lessen the boundaries between us and to make them feel comfortable but to also ensure that they understand what I am asking.

Demographic Information- Formerly Incarcerated Latina Sample

REGION	Bay Area 4	Central Valley 6	Central Coast 2	Los Angeles Metro 7		San Diego Metro 2
RACE/ETHN.	Chicanx 9	Latinx 6	Mex-American 1	Indigenous 2	Afro Lat. 1	Other 2
GENERATION	1^{ST}-2^{ND} Generation 8			3^{rd} Generation + 12		
EDUCATION	Less than High School 3		Less than BA/BS 11	BA/BS 3		Graduate School 3
GANG AFFILIATION	Sureño 7		Norteño 6	Bulldogs 1		None 6
AGE OF INITIAL INCARCERATION	<12Y 1	13-16Y 8		17-21Y 5	22-30Y 4	30Y+ 2
CUMULATIVE TIME SERVED	<1Y 6			1-3Y 6		3Y+ 8

KIDS	0 5	1 4	2 3	3 3	4 4	5 1
RELATIONSHIP STATUS	SINGLE 17		MARRIED 1		SEP./DIVORCED 2	

N=20

*Numbers do not equal sample size in the ethnoracial category as some participants identified with multiple categorizations

Demographic Information- Latina Professor Sample

REGION	Bay Area 2	Central Valley 3	Central Coast 3	Los Angeles Metro 12	San Diego Metro 1
RACE/ETHNICITY		Chicanx/Latinx 15		Central American 4	Other Latin American Origin 1
RELATIONSHIP STATUS	Single 4		Married 14	Sep./Divorced 1	Partnered 1
GENERATION	1st-2nd Generation 15			3rd Generation+ 5	
KIDS	0 6	1 3	2 9	3 1	4 1
1ST GENERATION COLLEGE STUDENT		Yes 17		No 3	
INSTITUTIONAL TYPE	Community College 3	Research I 6	Research II 10		Research III 1
TENURED	Yes 15			No 5	

N=20

CHAPTER 2

Latinas as Carceral Collateral:

Violence in the Lives of Latinas Across the Carceral Community

"…we probably wouldn't have been growing up in the hood where you have to fight for your life or fight for whatever the cause may be you know. Whatever it is, like whether you're in gangs or not, like you're in the struggle- shit just happens, you know? So if you're born in poverty, that's says it right there, you're gonna struggle your whole life."

-Alejandra, formerly incarcerated Latina mother from the San Joaquin Valley[8]

"I was one of the first in my family to leave the block area. The only other people that had left had been mainly because they were going to the military… or jail."

-Marina, Latina tenured professor and mother from the Los Angeles Metropolitan area

INTRODUCTION

[8] All participants have been given pseudonyms to protect their anonymity.

I first met Alejandra in a country-style pancake house in my hometown in the Central (San Joaquin) Valley. I had looked forward to this fieldwork trip because unlike trips to metropolitan areas to interview formerly incarcerated Latina participants, not only did I have close longstanding connections within the participant sample, but I would not have to use GPS devices to navigate between densely populated, heavy trafficked, urban spaces. I anticipated this leg of my fieldwork in the valley to be a breeze. As I sat with Deion, our shared contact and close friend and participant in the study, we waited for Alejandra to arrive. I tried hard to not be emotionally moved by the change in my friend's appearance but it was hard. It pained me to see her significant weight loss and the marks of methamphetamine addiction across her body. I wanted to know how her four kids were doing but given that I knew that she no longer had custody of them I did not want to bring up a sore subject so early on given that I knew we would privately be discussing these things later. I told her that I would buy her breakfast- she did the elongated, "are you sure… I got it" that we have always done to one another throughout our lives before addiction and then promptly snatched the menu and ordered a blueberry pancake meal. Alejandra finally arrived. Alejandra really looked like she could have been related to me. She had a thick build, cappuccino colored skin, long straight Black hair, and the kind of bold cat eyeliner that is specific to cholas of the underclass- not the delicate and refined ironic cat eye makeup aesthetic you see in hipster communities. She said hello and would not make eye contact with me. She was really quiet and I read her body and mannerisms as nervous and distrusting. I offered Alejandra something to eat and she replied negatively and only opted for something to drink. I pushed back and offered again because I knew they were starving. Before she got there Deion had nonchalantly mentioned how they had been on the streets for days on "the

come up," and that they were so hungry they were excited to find houses that had orange trees so they could eat.[9] By this point Deion's pancake platter was in and she was devouring it as if she had not eaten for weeks. Alejandra remained stoic and said no. I sensed Alejandra's reservation and thanked her for agreeing to be a part of this work and told her about myself and my connection to it. Solemnly, she remarked that she's never done anything like this but that our shared friend vouched for me and she trusted Deion not to put her in harm's way, and that if it could help me for my "class" she would do it.

I knew we needed to find a more private spot to interview. Just catching up on small talk Deion had already gone into talk about murder and drive-bys in her loud deep voice that was surely attracting attention from the elderly, white, middle class patronage of the restaurant. As three visibly under class or working class Latinas, we stuck out like a sore thumb, as hypervisible. We were not in the anonymous urban landscape of Los Angeles or the San Francisco Bay Area, we were in the rural Central Valley. Coffee shops here are few and far between and the prices are steep for working class people from the working class barrio. Knowing this, we had previously agreed to interview at a local park. Unfortunately, it was pouring rain so that was not an option. I suggested the small public library our hometown recently built, but because of austerity measures it was closed on most days. Deion offered to allow me to interview her in the backyard of the house she was staying at. I reluctantly agreed. Passing row after row of empty buildings, abandoned homes, liquor stores, and houseless people, I drove them to a dilapidated house in the hood. It felt familial but not safe because we were in a barrio on the other side of the tracks from my own. We

[9] Working class slang for stealing items to resell in the informal economy, usually to sustain addiction.

walked to the backyard and I couldn't set up properly because everything was wet. Against my better judgment, I found myself standing in a crack house 4.5 months pregnant surrounded by male addicts who were visibly uncomfortable with my presence. You could cut the tension with a knife. When we walked into a room to conduct our interview we were met with a cloud of methamphetamine smoke and a disheveled young Latino man hoping to get high in peace. I walked out immediately and was asked by my participants to leave and return for them so that they could ask yet again for permission from these men whom they had "come up with." When I returned I asked the women- whom I knew to have no romantic or familial ties to these men- why they would ask for permission to speak to me. They responded, "Because they don't trust the man... and right now, you're the man." It was in that moment that I felt the crushing constraint of the carceral system in the community and the vulnerabilities that the working class Latinas across these communities are forced to contend with in their everyday lives as they navigate hierarchies of power that more often than not render them unsafe. While this was only one account of how the structure of carceral communities put pressure on the interpersonal relationships and subsequent well-being of Latinas, I would soon learn that the violence that Latinas across these communities confronted was far more extreme and common than I had imagined.

THE SOCIAL ECOLOGY OF THE CARCERAL COMMUNITY

To better understand participants like Deion and Alejandra, it is critical to have an understanding of the intermingling of the structural forces at play that shape and eventually constrain their life chances and life outcomes and those of women like them. These formerly incarcerated women, like the women from the same or similar communities that eventually

go on to become Latina professors as chronicled in this study, spent all- if not a significant part of the formative years of their lives in carceral communities across California. While they share many characteristics with Latinas from other types of communities, their experiences growing up in carceral communities placed them in a distinct position at the intersection of a "perfect storm" of social problems that heightened their exposure to vexing social ills that adversely impacted them as youths and continue to have lingering effects for them as adults. Their diminished life chances and outcomes are the consequences of racialized economic, geographical, and political maneuvering decisions made by people from outside of their communities, people who secure unfair gains and unjust enrichments from policies that cause suffering and disempowerment inside aggrieved communities. The power rests with those who are arbitrarily advantaged who never have to take accountability – or even notice – of how the system that benefits them injures inhabitants of carceral communities.

Between the start of the California prison building boom in 1980 and its apex in 2006, incarceration of people in California increased by seven fold. By 2009 after a state of emergency was declared due to prisons being over capacity, federal courts intervened and demanded a sharp decrease in the numbers of incarcerated people. This decrease was realized a few years later by the lessening of life sentences enabled by a ballot proposition that amended California's "Three Strikes" law as well as by the reclassification of most non-violent offenses as misdemeanors. Yet the damage had been done. Prisons dot the landscape. Across the nation as a whole in the decade of the 1990's alone, "245 prisons were built in rural and small-town communities- with a prison opening somewhere in rural America every 15 days" (Huling, 2002, p. 198). Despite criminalized people being painted in the public

imaginary as a looming menace and threat to the well being of small town residents, small towns actively sought contracts with prison contractors to build carceral facilities in their communities in the hope of offsetting their dying agricultural economies (Huling, 2002; Eason, 2017; Story, 2019; Gilmore, 2007). Yet despite the promises of resuscitating stagnant economies by offering high paying jobs and promoting traffic into existing businesses, these small town local economies have received neither, as studies have found that not only do positions in prison employment overwhelmingly go to corrections staff from other sites first, and also that rural residents applying for these positions lack the educational experience and credentials necessary to access the high paying positions promised (Huling, 2002, p. 201; Gilmore 2007). Additionally, because of the destitute areas that many of these prisons are in, many corrections staff opt to live far away from the small agricultural towns where they work, taking their spending power elsewhere. Parks, Weigt, Lofting, and Linton (1990) found that in Corcoran, Alejandra's hometown, less than 10 percent of prison employees were hired to work from the town. Perhaps more striking is that 40 percent of prison workers came from a stretched out 75-mile labor market with the remaining majority of the workers from other regions even farther away.

Yet the placement of carceral facilities is not entirely determined by the level of economic interest of the communities they eventually reside in. Correctional facilities are placed in neighborhoods that have already been rendered as disposable as a result of selective divestment and asset stripping (Clear, 2007; Pardo, 1999). In 1984 the California Waste Management Board hired Los Angeles based consulting firm Cerrell Associates to determine what sites would present the least resistance to Locally Undesirable Land Use (LULU) projects. Among their findings, they recommended siting these facilities in rural,

conservative, working class Catholic communities with ranching and farming as key industries and that were disengaged with social justice traditions as being the least inclined to resist the construction of LULUs in their backyards. While the report does not explicitly cite race as a marker of resistance, it is of no coincidence that such characteristics closely describe the Latinx communities that house the prisons along California's golden gulag.

Because neighborhood socioeconomic disadvantage is not equally distributed according to race and ethnic background, Latinxs are more inclined to live in high poverty neighborhoods. (Jargowsky, 2009, p. 1129). These extreme poverty neighborhoods, defined as neighborhoods whereby 40 percent or more of their residents are classified as poor based on the national poverty measurement are home to high numbers of poor Black and poor native Latinx and immigrant populations (particularly Mexicans) (Jargowsky, 1997; Portes and Zhou, 1993). Due to the poverty-enhancing concentration of these communities, Black ghettos and Latinx barrios have much in common as sites of extreme disadvantage (Eschbach, Ostir, Patel, Markides & Goodman, 2004, p. 1,807). Yet it can be argued that the relationship between prisons and these communities have a symbiotic relationship of societal degradation; as despite these sites of extreme poverty having dropped by over a quarter nationwide, the major exceptions have all been communities in California that have pluralities of Latinxs residents and are homes to prisons. (Jargowsky, 2009, p. 1130). The 'concentration effects' of living in these extreme-poor neighborhoods "exacerbate the problems of poverty and limit economic opportunity" hosting a slew of social problems not limited to high crime, gangs, increased policing, defunded schools, dilapidated housing, a defunct medical infrastructure, and environmental issues (Jargowsky, 2009, p. 1129).

Ruth Wilson Gilmore contends that, "prisons wear out places by wearing out people, irrespective of if they have done time" as heavy state sanctioned surveillance in communities disintegrates the casual relationships that neighborhood and community well being requires and, "people stop looking out for each other and stop talking about anything that matters in terms of neighborly wellbeing" (2007, pp. 16-17). These resource deficient communities are shared by people that have spent some portion of their lives in the criminal justice system and are effectively barred from bodies of daily life that have the propensity to help secure their futures. A report led by the Ella Baker Center for Human Rights (2015) found that incarceration, "reinforces economic stress on impoverished families and limits the economic mobility of both formerly incarcerated people and their families" (11). Between being denied public housing access and having trouble accessing gainful employment due to their convictions, families are forced to contend with meeting the economic needs of the formerly incarcerated.[10] The women in the lives of those incarcerated bear the bulk of the financial burden of incarceration. Furthermore, family members of incarcerated people report the type of mental and chronic health issues that those incarcerated face. These negative health impacts persist past the release of formerly incarcerated people, and families and community members in these communities with high prisoner re-entry are forced to try to meet the wellness needs of these people. This creates an untenable situation where tensions arise between the formerly incarcerated and never incarcerated alike as incarceration disrupts

[10] In Rethinking Corrections: Rehabilitation, Reentry, and Reintegration (2010), Gideon and Hung-En found that 60% of formerly incarcerated people are still unemployed a year after their release with 67% of of formerly incarcerated people in the Ella Baker Center for Human Rights report still unemployed five years following their release (2015).

the familial ties and social networks that people rely on for support (Huling, 2002; Clear, 2002).

The communal bonds that value collective ways of being and a sense of shared entitlement over public space are destroyed and people become isolated, are distrusting of one another, and feel the pressure of constant surveillance. "We" becomes "me" and ruptured social cohesion serves as a form of carceral collateral consequence, "While ghettos become prisonized, prisons become ghettoized and the surveillance and social control around them constitutes a 'carceral continuum'" whereby they are connected to those behind bars (Wacquant, 2001; Lopez-Aguado, 2016).

In a study of three high incarceration Tallahassee neighborhoods, Clear (2002) found that the removal of residents via "coercive mobility," actually destabilizes neighborhoods and makes them more vulnerable to crime. He argues "high levels of incarceration concentrated in impoverished communities has a destabilizing effect on community life, so that the most basic underpinnings of informal social control are damaged. This, in turn, reproduces the very dynamics that sustain crime" (193). By creating a "we-versus-they" mentality among its residents, the carceral community pits friends, family members, and formal agents of control against one another (192).[11] The dissolution of collective ties exacerbates underlying tensions within these poor communities of color that are already at the intersection of many oppressive systems. This pressure manifests itself in

[11] What may exacerbate this relationship among community members is that law enforcement in these high crime areas often encourage residents to testify against one another, thus pitting neighbors against one another and isolating residents.

the form of unhealthy relationships, neglect, and outright violence across the community. Clear explains:

> there's no shortage of anecdotal evidence of increased rates of divorce, alcoholism and substance abuse, suicide, health problems, family violence, and other crimes associated with multi-generational prison communities, suggesting that below the surfaces of local power structures, people in these communities are suffering. (207)

The formerly incarcerated Latinas and the Latina professors in my study, have led lives filled with suffering from the abuse and traumas of growing up in carceral communities.

In this chapter, I draw on intersectional criminology and feminist research on abuse to demonstrate links between how the passive violence of oppressive material conditions precipitates the active violence women endure in their home lives and ultimately informs their paths to either prison or academia. I show how these trajectories to prison or professorhood alike are mitigated by the survival mechanisms they use to cope with the violence in their homes and communities. Finally, I argue that an abuse-to-prison pipeline and an abuse-to-academia pipeline coexist for the Latinas in my study in a society where a few are treated as exceptional in order to justify treating the many as disposable.

ABUSE AND VIOLENCE IN THE LIVES OF LATINAS

As I lay out the pervasiveness of violence and neglect across the carceral community, I am compelled to acknowledge the history of the pathologization and dehumanization of poor racialized communities (Lewis, 1966; Kelley, 1997; Ryan, 1971). I want to be clear that this is not that but instead an attempt to provide nuance and complexity to the adverse experiences of Latinas across carceral communities. Rather than saying that

some communities are unfit for freedom, I contend that society imposes intolerable, irrational, and unequal impediments in front of these communities and I admire what they (we) do and have done in resistance to these obstacles. While common sense discourse may blame the victim by criminalizing poverty, I contend that their actions demonstrate the symptomology of the poverty and divestment of aggrieved communities rendered disposable by state exclusion and capitalist exploitation (Cacho, 2012). The cultural scaffolding by the neoliberal state that individualizes disorder through repressive apparatuses like incarceration, make those who are victims of societal abandonment appear to be the creators of these conditions rather than the symptoms of it.

While there are strong parallels in the experiences of the formerly incarcerated Latinas and the Latina professors in this study, none are stronger than the presence of abuse and violence in their communities of origin. It is well known that girls experience childhood abuse at much higher rates than boys, with one out of seven girls having experienced an adverse childhood experience of this kind (ACE) (Wildeman, et al., 2014, Chesney-Lind & Shelden, 2004; Simkins, et al., 2004).[12] In this study, experiences with abuse and violence in the home were so pervasive across both sample populations that approximately 85% of participants reported experiencing some form of abuse.[13] Exposure to violence seemed to be

[12] The Centers for Disease Control (CDC) defines ACEs as potentially traumatic events including but not limited to: experiencing or witnessing violence, abuse or neglect, growing up in households with addiction issues and or parental stability as a result of separation or familial incarceration. (https://www.cdc.gov/violenceprevention/aces/fastfact.html?CDC_AA_refVal=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.cdc.gov%2Fviolenceprevention%2Facestudy%2Ffastfact.html)

[13] It is critical to note that this was not an area of inquiry at the start of the study and so I did not ask my first few participants/collaborators about experiencing abuse. After many interviews whereby participants led with narratives grounded in violence and neglect, I started asking explicitly about this. This leads me to believe that the actual proportion of women that experienced abuse and neglect in my extended-case study is higher than reported here.

the great equalizer for Latinas across the carceral community, cutting across but mitigated by levels of poverty and government assistance, race, skin color, gender display, urban vs rural geographies, familial citizenship and generational status, and more. Whereas nearly all participants that were directly asked about exposure and experience to abuse reported affirmatively, formerly incarcerated Latinas were more likely to have been the survivors of this abuse compared to Latina professors who reported higher numbers of only witnessing it in their households in contrast with those surviving it as first-hand victims of violence. Although formerly incarcerated Latinas reported much higher numbers of surviving physical abuse and witnessing domestic violence in their homes, the proportions of both formerly incarcerated Latinas and Latina faculty were identical for witnessing and experiencing sexual violence and psychological abuse in their homes and the broader communities in which they grew up.

In the next section, I provide three vignettes illustrating seemingly parallel although not identical experiences with neglect and violence. I will then follow with details contextualizing the various types of violence these women experienced across the general landscape of violence against girls and women. I utilize my cultural intuition and training in Chicana and Latina Feminist Theory (CLFT) to co-construct a portrait of their lives that honors the fullness and complexity of their lived experiences. By employing muxerista portraiture's final element: focusing on the Aesthetic Whole by Piecing Together Coyolxauhqui, I make a deliberate methodological intervention in the field (Flores, 2017). I diverge from the scholarly compulsion to pick and choose themes that highlight deviance,

delinquency, and dysfunction over other experiences, and instead choose to present rich and fully detailed accounts of their lives. This is an intentional move to make my collaborators "whole" by crafting stories that humanize them as opposed to reducing them to victimhood. Giving a holistic and multi-faceted account of who my participants are is important to me because as this study seeks to disrupt the exceptionality and disposability discourse, it is critical to not let them be defined by either their highest accomplishment or the worst act they have been subjected to or done in their lives.

Participant/Collaborator Profiles

Alejandra

While Alejandra was reserved in the pancake-house, she transformed into a completely different person when we were alone. I asked her to tell me about herself but before I could finish the question she blurted out:

> I was raised in Corcoran. I left Corcoran when I was 17… My dad's like, very abusive, I lived with my dad since I was little. He shattered my jaw when I was 17 and I just ran away and my mom she lives in Hanford. So that's where, that's where I went. I was always in and out of juvenile hall…

I sensed urgency in her feeling like she needed to get her story out so I slowed her down a bit and had her walk back her story to me.

Alejandra was born into a very poor, intergenerational drug dealing family. Both of her parents and one of her grandparents sold narcotics. Drugs were simply part of the backdrop of her life.[14] One of her earliest memories was at two years old of her home being raided by a Special Weapons and Tactics (SWAT) team. She vividly recalled the incident when she was knocked over as a toddler, banging her head and giving her a scar. She told me that she clearly remembered everything and that she had, "just seen all the shit" alluding to violence beyond the scope of what we discussed. When I asked what she meant, she took a deep breath and told me that by the time she was six years old she saw someone killed in front of her. By seven years old she was taken away from mother and put into her abusive, alcoholic father's custody. When I asked about her mother she nonchalantly told me that she was removed from her mother's custody because her mother's boyfriend had killed somebody.

Describing her dad as always drunk and abusive, she referred to herself as his punching bag. Alejandra said that she had seven siblings from her mom and two younger brothers from her dad. She told me that she was always fiercely overprotective of her siblings from her mother's side as they were separated early on and overprotective of her younger brothers from her father because he would come home drunk and beat them up. As the eldest child she felt an obligation to step in and save them from their dad. Extending her arm in a slow-motion punch across the face, Alejandra describes the exact day she fled from her home, "I'm always protecting my little brothers from him and when I was seventeen, it was I think, February 4th. He came home hella drunk and yea it was bad. He ended up shattering

[14] Walker-Barnes et. Al (2001) found that drugs sales represents a major money-making opportunity for communities that are unable to secure employment through the formal economy.

my jaw and I just remember leaving and it was raining and I just ran." I asked her about her first charge, assault with a deadly weapon, and she told me the story of how her little sister was bullied. I was confused as to how it was related to her charge. She then tells me that once she heard about her sister being hit with a skateboard so she went to the YMCA and knocked the teeth in of the girl who hit her. Her deadly weapon? Her hands registered by the state of California as a deadly weapon which gives her an automatic trip to jail if used combatively.

By 17, Alejandra met and married a correctional officer.[15] She describes this period of her life where she escaped abuse fondly, "Like I was a princess. I was his queen I guess. I was like a fairytale like it just felt like I was dreaming all the time… like it didn't feel real to me." Yet her husband and father of her daughter was unfaithful and it led to their divorce which she cites as the reason her life spun out of control. Retelling me her story she was still emotionally shaken. She would seek companionship with a new partner who had already done four years and was in the system being tracked for gang enhancement. Taking and selling drugs, she was apprehended by the police and took her partner's drug charges so he could avoid the enhancement which gave her a felony. Back to prison pregnant, she was forced to deliver her baby while shackled to the bed. Describing herself as "ride or die," Alejandra really ascribed to street politics that valued loyalty above all else. She told me about being locked up with the Manson sisters and one of the women depicted in the film Set

[15] Interestingly enough, many of the formerly incarcerated women in this study were engaged and/or married to correctional officers at points before and after their addictions took off. In journalist Ted Conover's 2010 ethnography of life as a prison guard, he found that the types of violence that pervade the life of multi-generational carceral communities are shared by correctional officers. The dehumanization that takes place inside the prison by guards and inmates alike spills over to those outside of the prison walls. The parallel experiences of formerly incarcerated Latinas and prison guards may be the common ground for the basis of relationships between the two groups.

It Off who was incarcerated for avenging her brother's death. She told me she admired her, Puppet, because of sacrificing herself for her brother. She then told me that her grand theft auto charges were a result of her stealing cars in a successful effort to secure a lawyer for her brother who was being tried for attempted murder. Her sacrifices and the price she had paid to protect those around her have been large. When I asked her about the case she said, "He gets out in seven more months. And see they were offering him 46 to life. What the fuck? Hell naw." I was dumbfounded by the difference between the sentence pre and post lawyer. "Wowwww." I said. She replied, "I would hope he'd do that for me but even if he didn't, like, I'd still do it if he needed me to." Alejandra is currently living in the streets[16], stealing to sustain her drug addiction, and hopes to eventually get custody of her children.

Alicia

Alicia is a 36-year-old self identified Chicana woman of native ancestry. Her family spans several generations in the greater Los Angeles area. Growing up in rampant poverty and collecting the crumbs offered by the public welfare system, Alicia lived in a motel throughout her childhood. Both parents were drug users with her dad an alcoholic and gangster who was in and out of prison. By the time Alicia was four years old, her father passed away at the age of 36 from cirrhosis of the liver, leaving 4 young children for his wife to care for. At 31, the mounting pressure of poverty and raising 4 children alone caused her mom to have a massive stroke. Alicia was 9 years old. Meanwhile, she was being sexually

[16] Staying between various homes housing addiction-afflicted people.

victimized by a neighbor. After telling me about the sexual violence she experienced, she talked about violence being a regular occurrence at the motel.

At this point I was jotting down notes but I could hear the tenderness of her voice change. I glanced up to really discern what she was feeling in the moment as it seemed to give her pause. Her bouncy curls were pulled tight in her trenzas (braids) but a few escaped at the temples of her head framing her bronze, oval shaped face. While she spoke in a regular cadence about her early years before, now she seemed to be thinking more thoughtfully about her past. I asked Alicia how she felt as she was speaking very slowly. As she responded she didn't make eye contact but seemed to be engulfed in her thoughts and was looking beyond me as she spoke,

> And you know over time and then- so I was just pissed. Pissed about being poor, about not having a dad, about everything that had happened to me in my family… I didn't have any models and have a fucking dad. And have fucking money. I didn't have a fucking car. I didn't even have my own bed! You know, these very simple things.

And so she started acting out, getting into fights by 11-12 years old. She was expelled from various middle schools and labeled as having behavioral issues which she internalized:

> I started to think fuck well is there something wrong with me then you know what I mean? Like so... so something's wrong with me? It's not like my external reality? That's what's wrong, right? No one's thought to be like, 'oh, what's happening with you at your house?' Or like, 'what are your living conditions?' I was like, 'Fuck, I live in poverty!!! We lived in a fucking single household led by a woman on welfare! The fuck you think?!' You know what I mean? And like not having my own space, not having things

that people take for granted every fucking day, no clothes, I got fucking secondhand clothes, secondhand shoes, you know, like it was just... there was a lot.

By 8th grade she was expelled from the Los Angeles Unified School District (LAUSD) and because she lived in the district and lacked the transportation necessary to access neighboring districts that might accept her, she stopped going to school for a while. She started using petty drugs like marijuana and graduated to acid and crack cocaine to escape her realities at home. Also bringing her reprieve was being a part of a tagging crew- the Down Ass Mexicans. Popularly conceptualized as graffiti artists, she described the group as providing "a way for me as a youth and my peers in essence, the kind of clap back out of our existence, right…like living in poverty, life in this fucked up neighborhood. But then also having community and having friendships and camaraderie and my brothers." At the time she was not formally a part of a gang, but she recalls the mid 1990's as being a time when the Mexican Mafia greenlit tagging crews. As turf designation and markers signify territorial parameters for drug distribution, Alicia, her siblings, and her crew would get shot at and jumped- resulting in the pressure to formalize gang affiliation for protection. She confided she did not feel the need to join because she already felt like she was living the lifestyle growing up at the center of gang culture. While Alicia always stole, because as she said, "we would steal shit because we didn't have shit," her stealing of petty items graduated to larger items, grand theft auto, and her criminal record escalated by the age of 13, including not only theft but possession of controlled substances, and as is often the case- probation violations that stacked up. Alicia inevitably was sent to the California Youth Authority (CYA) where she was surrounded by others that shared much of her social location, by poor girls of color that came from houses with single mothers that experienced violence and trauma in their

households and had mental health issues. While this persisted throughout her adolescence and early adulthood, Alicia would use these experiences to inform her own academic journey. She would eventually get her PhD and become a highly celebrated scholar studying the agency and resistance of poor women of color.

Michelle

Michelle is a new assistant professor at a university in the Pacific Northwest. She has a creamy deep olive complexion and big brown doe eyes. When I asked her to tell me about herself she immediately dove into her professional identity. As soon as I asked her who she was beyond the professional realm she got choked up. She told me that nobody ever asks about her life beyond her professional achievements. I consoled her as well as I could. Michelle then told me that she grew up very poor in a mostly Latino working class community with a small Black population in the Los Angeles area. In a family of four, her mother, father, and older brother all lived in a one-bedroom apartment. Her mother was handicapped and received social security: the family lived off of her $400 monthly check. Michelle told me that she slept on the floor and never actually had a bed until she left for college. She describes her father as a recovering alcoholic who verbally abused her mother and herself and would physically beat her brother who would in turn physically abuse her. "There were a few times that I thought he wanted to kill me… that he would kill me," she related. When I asked her about her relationship with her mother, she immediately tied it back to her abuse,

> So we've had a really rough relationship. A lot of times I was upset because she didn't defend me. But now as I've grown older, we've gotten a lot closer because I realized that

she was just trying to help us survive and she couldn't. She couldn't defend herself or me and what that meant was worse treatment.

Likely because of knowing about the exceptionality and disposability spectrum that I was studying, Michelle claimed that 'nothing set her apart from others in her community beyond liking reading and studying.' She told me the story about how in her early elementary school years she was having trouble with standardized tests and her teacher claimed she was developmentally delayed and wanted her IQ tested so that she would be removed from her class and placed in special education. However, Michelle was not developmentally delayed; her IQ test results showed that she was actually intellectually gifted English Language Learner (ELL). From that point on she was pulled from her teacher's class to attend classes for advanced students and many in the school were invested in helping her succeed, prompting her to excel. I assumed she always performed highly and she told me that during her middle school years she fell into a deep and dark depression and was failing her classes. She said that she had a boy that was her really close friend with whom she worked on group projects. One day she went to his house to complete the project and stopped by the corner store on the way home. Michelle's brother's friend's mother saw her and lied to her brother that she saw them purchasing condoms and saw them having sex. Her brother disowned her telling her that she tarnished the family name and hired people to keep surveillance on her on the playground. By that time her brother had become a professional boxer (due to gang intervention efforts that implemented boxing classes to get kids off of the streets) and so her peers completely ostracized her for several years out of fear of physical retaliation. Describing that time as "lonely," she eventually continued on her path of academic excellence by getting accepted to UC Berkeley and UCLA- two of the world's premier public

universities. Yet rather than attending these prestigious schools in her home state, she decided to go to a relatively obscure liberal arts college in the Midwest. Sensing my confusion for opting for the latter she explained,

> I didn't want to be close to family because my dad left like two weeks before I graduated, and I didn't want to be in California. So the one school that took me out of state was there and I went there. But then I experienced a lot of racism and I thought about dropping out of college because I thought, 'Well like if everyone's thinking I'm dumb.' I was doing pretty okay in the classes, but I just felt socially... because all the kids that went there their parents made at least six figures.

Michelle lasted a year at the college and then came back to California. The crippling weight of racism, classism, and imposter syndrome felt too much to bear but the UC schools would not take her at sophomore standing so she transferred to a less competitive state school where she eventually rose to the top of her class. Making sense of her experiences with abuse and her trajectory she said:

> I do think that I used it to get away from my family at least because of all the trauma and that's why I went to an out of state college. I never even visited the college before I went. It was just crazy. So I had really long hair, kind of like I do now, and I completely chopped it off. I was almost bald. And I went to this college, so I was clearly not okay. But yeah, I do think I did it to get away from my family. I did it to give me more of a sense of control in my life because I felt... I remember in high school, when I was going to graduate, I remember thinking about "How am I going to buy a house? And how am I going to do all these things that like my parents haven't been able to do?" And it just felt like the weight of structural racism finally made sense to me.

Despite Michelle's difficult journey, her own experiences would inform her research trajectory as she would get her PhD and study the psychosocial consequences of institutional racism for people of color.

Discussion of Abuse/Violence

Abuse and violence was not just pervasive across the study, but it was normalized across all populations as simply a fact of life in the carceral community. A formerly incarcerated, 43-year-old mother of 5, activist, and graduate of a prestigious university, "3M" (as she was adamant on being referred to) spoke at length with me about the role that structural oppression played in building climates of fear and tension in the households of Latinx communities. Describing it as so commonplace that it becomes a cultural phenomenon in itself, 3M discusses how oppression flows from the structural and is displaced onto the familial by eventually exploiting the hierarchical relationships in place there,

> Nobody talks about it- but the thickness in the room you could just cut with a knife even though there was nothing there. It was really hostile and I felt like from the men- and it makes sense- the men in the family were always kind of harsh on the women- and it was again, cultural, but then again if they were beat down by what has happened to them, you know, again, and you can't beat down the people who did it to you- who, who gets those repercussions? It's the wife and the kids, right?"

Many of the Latina professors that reported witnessing violence in their homes but not being the direct recipients of abuse kept referring to themselves as privileged, underscoring the

advantage(s) they had simply as a result of not being victimized by abuse.[17] Monique, a Chicana professor and mother of five discussed this shared understanding among those in her community that abuse was commonplace. I asked her if she went through multiple types of abuse and if she thought her peers did too, "Yeah. I mean, yes. And also the kids at school also were going through it. You could just tell or you heard about things where you just knew and then you could tell how it impacted their lives once they went to school." Whereas formerly incarcerated Latinas alluded to it, Latina professors were more likely to specifically refer to the violence in their homes and communities as intergenerational trauma. While they did not excuse the violence those in their families and communities perpetrated, they often indicated that the vices and violence exhibited- usually by men- was a perpetuation of generations of trauma experienced prior. Although many opened up about what the intergenerational trauma stemmed from, ranging from the Salvadoran Civil War to addiction and poverty in the generations that preceded them, it left me with questions about how classifications of violence are gendered and about the gendered politics of apology as men are given the space to be excused for violence as forgiveness is implied despite women having experienced violence at higher rates than men.

Neglect

Racially minoritized kids experience abuse or 'maltreatment' at higher numbers than white children (Wildeman, Emmanuel, Leventhal, Putnam-Horstein, Waldfogel, & Lee, 2014). With thirteen percent of Latino kids experiencing some form of abuse, 81 percent of

[17] Used reluctantly as those that witness ACEs such as violence and abuse in their homes are in fact survivors of abuse and trauma as witnessing violence in the home comes with long-term adverse consequences.

those cases are classified as neglect. While states have the discretion to determine the parameters of what constitutes child neglect, the Children's Bureau (2019) defines neglect as, "the failure of a parent or other person with responsibility for the child to provide needed food, clothing, shelter, medical care, or supervision to the degree that the child's health, safety, and well-being are threatened with harm" (2). This indictment of parenting under poverty impacted most of my participants given their low socioeconomic statuses. As aforementioned, as more than 85 percent of my sample reported experiencing abuse and/or violence, that would translate to approximately 69 percent of my participants experiencing child neglect.

Poverty was the driving force in many of the reports of neglect in my study, with single parent households, parent (dis)ability, addiction, and immigrant status as factors that largely contributed to financial insecurity. Whereas Alicia and Michelle discussed their not having beds, access to decent clothes and shoes, others like Giana, suffered with food insecurity. Giana, the "Hawaiian Rican Latina Pina" mother of four grew up in the Mission district of San Francisco. The daughter of a single mom, she spent her early childhood taking the coins from her mother's bartending tips and walking the streets trying to find something warm to eat for her and her sister. Eventually, the local pupuseria, taqueria, and panderia got used to seeing them scavenging and would provide them with something to eat, while the local corner store would give the girls milk. Many of the women that were daughters to immigrant parents talked about their parents never being home as they worked long hours away to make ends meet. As it is well documented that Latino immigrant communities make far less than their U.S. born counterparts (Bureau of Labor Statistics: Foreign Born Workers Labor Force Participation, 2019; Jargowsky, 2009; Chapman and Bernstein, 2003), Latino

immigrants must work more hours at depressed wages to make up the income necessary to provide for their families. Paola, a 26-year-old, formerly incarcerated, mom of 2 and recent college graduate reflects on her parents always being gone,

> …my parents were hardly ever home because they had to work a lot more in order to pay for this mortgage, ummm to be able to… for us to have a home. I don't remember them ever being home. We would wake up in the morning and they wouldn't even be there when we would leave to school. They wouldn't be there when we got back. They would probably be there at like by the time we were getting ready to go back to bed. By this time, we didn't have to stay at home anymore because we already knew what time they would be home.

Ana, a 49-year-old community college professor remarked that she felt that because of their work demands, her childhood was very much absent of parents and parenting, but she gave them the benefit of the doubt as "they did what they could." While many of the women in my study admitted to exploiting that lack of childhood supervision through rebellion in their adolescence, there was a resounding sense of wanting more of a thoughtful parenting presence in their lives. I asked Giana, whose mother was an alcoholic and bartender about the difference between her life and those that got the mothering she craved, she responded, "the parents drive them to school with their lunch and check all of their homework and talk to the teachers like… I had none of that, so, ummmmm that must be nice. I wonder how life is like that."

Parental Addiction

Approximately 12 percent of American children live with a parent that is addicted to drugs or alcohol (HHS, Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration [SAMHSA], Office of Applied Studies, 2009). Although alcohol is the primary substance abused, the opioid epidemic has changed the landscape of addiction as there has been a one-hundred-fold increase in the number of children under twenty years old that live in areas with high drug overdose death rates (Mather, Jarosz, & Slowey, 2018). During this time, the share of Latinx children living in these areas increased by 300%, with nearly one in four Latinx youths living in rural, economically depressed areas with high poverty and unemployment rates (Mather et al, 2018). Again, poverty and having trouble acquiring the basic needs for sustenance such as secure housing are strongly linked with addiction. Addiction often co-occurs with other social problems such as unemployment, isolation, domestic violence, mental illness and is linked to increased rates of child abuse and future drug use. (The Children's Bureau, 2014).

Six out of ten participants in this study reported having a parent or parents that had addiction issues, a ratio greater than the one in ten for the population as a whole. This number does not include the several Latina professors whose fathers were recovering alcoholics. Paternal alcoholism was rampant across the study. Whereas Latina professors were most likely to have functioning alcoholic fathers, formerly incarcerated Latinas most often had a parent or both parents addicted to illicit substances. Because formerly incarcerated Latinas were more likely to have one parent in the home instead of two, this was absolutely detrimental to their lives as youths. For instance, Alexis, a light skinned, formerly incarcerated mother from the Los Angeles area, who is half white with a thick calo accent

and identified as Chicana, took joy in chronicling her experiences as a serial bank robber to me. She described her childhood as a locus of dysfunction.

Researcher: What kind of dysfunction?

Alexis: Oh just rats, roaches, you know everything… the fighting, the domestic violence, the child abuse, the neglect.

Researcher: The abuse and neglect… was it primarily physical? Or was there also mental, sexual or any other types?

Alexis: All of the above.

Alexis's parents were addicts. They both were alcoholics and did a variety of drugs. Her mother was a heavy PCP user and her father was always "all cracked out" on cocaine. Although her father had a stable "boss city job," the family struggled for basic necessities because he would spend his entire income to get high. Alexis was unable to rely on her mother to care for her because in addition to struggling with her own addiction she was in a car accident that left her brain damaged and quadriplegic. Unlike Alexis, many of the Latina professors in this study had mothers that did not drink alcohol. This supports studies that suggest that not only is there an economic link to alcoholism and an abuse-related link to alcoholism, but also a cultural component to alcohol consumption as Latinas were found to be more likely than members of other groups to abstain from alcohol and illicit drugs (Lown and Vega, 2001). Azalea is a Chicana professor and mother from the Los Angeles area with a bubbly personality. The energy she evokes is strong and contagious, even behind a computer screen in an online conversation. She describes her father as a functioning alcoholic who steadily antagonized her mother. Describing his behavior, she said,

so there was a lot I definitely witnessed… a lot of his verbal abuse to my mom. He would humiliate her, put her down, make her feel like she was worthless, dumb, you know, everything. But he actually never treated me and my sister that way.

Others like Marina, a mother and tenured professor at a flagship university, were able to reflect on the significance in their lives of their fathers' recovering from alcoholism,

…my father was an alcoholic who stopped being an alcoholic. I think that was really consequential. I don't know what life would have been like if he wasn't. I definitely remember early fights, belligerence, my mother being sick in bed and being safe in the bedroom with my mom reading, my father drinking for sure.

While witnessing their fathers start conflicts with their mothers in such aggressive ways surely made a lasting impression in the minds of these women, the ability for them to find solace in a sober parent proved far more supportive of their overall well-being than their peers that went without such a presence in their lives.

Domestic Violence

Domestic violence is very much connected to substance abuse.[18] As the two professors in the prior section alluded to, their fathers engaged in antagonistic behaviors towards their mothers when they were under the influence of alcohol. Studies show that alcohol and other stimulants reduce impulse and inhibition control and facilitate violence (Zilberman and Blume, 2005). In one study, substance use by at least one person involved was present in nearly all domestic violence cases (Brookoff, O'Brien, Cook, Thompson, &

[18] Defined by the Australian Medical Association as, "Domestic violence is an abuse of power. It is the domination, coercion, intimidation and victimisation of one person by another by physical, sexual or emotional means within intimate relationships."

Williams, 1997). Additionally, studies point to alcoholism rates between 67% and 93% in cases of domestic violence (Bhatt, 1998). Because we know that substance abuse is positively associated with domestic violence and poverty is associated with substance abuse, it makes sense that domestic violence rates are higher in communities of color versus white communities because of the economic disparities present (Saez-Betacourt, Lam, & Nguyen, 2008, p. 131). Among Latinx communities, reports of domestic violence are approximately two to three times that of whites (131). Some have theorized that cultures that are rooted in the gender binary and put a high premium on masculinity, such as that in the Latinx culture, create a familial dynamic that is hypervulnerable to domestic violence (Flores-Ortiz, 1993). Unfortunately, the familialism that is found in 'honor cultures,' cultures that perceive familial honor as of the utmost value, works to the detriment of those that are harmed in the family as they are less likely to reach out for support in fear of tarnishing the familial reputation (Dietrich and Schuett, 2013). The coalescence of culture with structural impediments such as poverty, racism, sexism, and xenophobia ensnare Latina domestic violence survivors into a constrained agency position limiting their practical opportunities to escape abuse (Villalón, 2010; Potter, 2008).

Although almost half of my participants reported domestic violence in their households, this was not evenly distributed across my sample. Formerly incarcerated Latinas reported domestic violence at almost double the rate that Latina professors did. Paola, a formerly incarcerated mother of two, told me many stories of violence being a constant in her life. As the daughter of immigrants, her family was always reluctant to get the police involved. Her father beat her mother so often that her mother established a protocol with Paola and her brother to limit contacting the police only when absolutely necessary. They

were to watch their dad beat their mother and only if they received the cue from their mother that the beating was brutal enough were they to run to the phone and dial for help. Taking into consideration their nationality, race, class status and familial responsibilities, Paola's mother, like other women of color harmed by intimate partner abuse, responded in the way that she felt would best protect her family despite how disturbing it may feel to those outside of her situation (Potter, 2008). Despite this behavior seeming antithetical to the woman's well-being, Villalón (2010) found that support mechanisms in the domestic violence community mirrored the same hierarchical power relations found across society, and so women like Paola's mother are right to consider their positionality before requesting help (Crenshaw, 1990).

While previously stated, men's abusive acts in the context of the family were frequently dismissed as the products of displaced trauma. Perhaps no more was this the case than in discussing the domestic abuse they perpetrated against their wives. Whereas some Latina faculty cited histories of sexual abuse from generations past to their grandfathers, uncles and fathers as being the catalyst for violence, others claimed that home was the outlet where their fathers could release the pent up stress they felt at their workplaces. Selena, a 37-year-old mother and assistant professor at a flagship university remarked that her father was extremely emotionally abusive because,

> his job was very high profile for what he was doing, so he could never be angry at work. But he would come home and blow up a lot… so again, there was a lot of yelling, a lot of on the verge of hitting kind of stuff. That was part of the history.

Screaming and yelling in the household were extremely typical across the participant sample. Additionally, because many of these women lived in extended family households, there were

often several generations of family under the same roof- offering more opportunities to witness domestic violence in their homes.

Physical Abuse

Approximately one in five child maltreatment cases include physical violence. Like experiences with domestic violence, half of my participants reported witnessing or experiencing physical abuse. Yet formerly incarcerated Latinas had more than double the amount of these interactions as Latina faculty did. Those participants that had had witnessed domestic violence in their homes were likely to be the same participants that were physically abused by their parents, affirming studies that suggest that most adults that abuse their spouse inevitably abuse their child(ren) (Children's Hospital of Philadelphia Research Institute, 2020).

Xiomara experienced extreme physical violence at the hands of her father. A 28-year-old case manager from the Central Valley, she was the only solidly middle-class participant in the study. Her mother was fourth generation American with a PhD from a prestigious private institution and was chasing tenure as a professor. Her father was a first generation immigrant from Mexico. She described their parenting styles, with her father as "Super old school Mexican, you're going to get whipped if you sass back," and her mother as "'let's talk about this.'" She said that her mother was so focused on getting tenure that Xiomara had to spend most of her time with her dad who was "borderline abusive." She related the scope of the abuse she received from her father:

> Anxiety, I always felt like I was walking on egg shells with my dad. Cuz like any little thing would piss him off and he would hit us. Like he gave us black eyes and bloody

noses. Not like all the time but a good chunk of the time. And when we would go to school, he would tell us to say we fell on our roller skates. That was always nerve racking like 'dad's probably going to whoop me for this.'

Like Xiomara, Celine, a formerly incarcerated mother of three from the Los Angeles area, hid the physical abuse she received from her father. She describes her mother as an addict that left her as a newborn, and her father as a violent man that would brutally beat her. Celine describes what it was like with her father before eventually being taken away from him and put into foster care at thirteen years old, "Physically he would drag me by my hair, he would to' [tear] me up, purple eyes, I wouldn't go to school because I had like two purple eyes, it was bad." She related "The neighbors reported him when he would drag me by my hair." Despite the viciousness of their attacks, both women spoke with great composure. She said that along with all of the other incarcerated girls, she suppressed the feelings that from her history of physical abuse. Calling getting beaten by parents, "this normal thing," she said that girls that complained about it were called "a little bitch or something."

Sexual Abuse

Sexual violence was the only category of abuse where the rates in both formerly incarcerated and professoriate samples mirrored one another in this study.[19] Latinas experience sexual violence at the same rate as non-Hispanic whites and Black girls and women (Romero, et al., 1999, p. 351). In a study of Latina adult women from Los Angeles County, Romero, et al. (1999) found that one out of every three Latinas experience child

[19] Defined here as unwanted and unconsented sexual activity.

sexual abuse with the average age of abuse at eleven years old. About half of cases of child sexual assault were perpetrated by male family members and most victimized Latinas did not disclose their assault to anyone (358). More than one third of Latinas that were sexually abused as children would be revictimized in their lifetimes. Of critical importance, there was no difference in levels of child sexual abuse by acculturation, the country that the victim was raised in, or citizenship status; the differences emerge in the responses to how cases are handled based on a variety of cultural and structural factors (359).

While previous studies report that one in three Latinas are victims of child sexual abuse, this study yielded more than double that rate. A few of the women in my study reported that their mothers' partners sexually abused them. One of the women never told her mother about the long-term molestation she received, but others, like Tiffany, a formerly incarcerated Afro-Latina mother of three from Fresno, told her mother only to see her mother take back her partner. Tiffany bared her feelings about how she felt after disclosing to her mother,

> So after that was, basically, I said all that [just for them] to be just like 'your voice, what you just told me doesn't sound true.' And she took him back which was like… after all that, you turn around and to come back so like I don't feel protected. Like you're my mom and I told you all this and you still took him back??? … Like I still think I suffer from it like a lot. Like I'm so paranoid for my kids. So, who's going to protect me?
>
> Researcher: Nodding slowly in affirmation Mm hmm. And how did that impact your relationship with your mom after that point?
>
> Tiffany: Oh I'm still resentful to this day because she didn't protect me and like, how do you go back to someone that your daughter said molested her? And she's telling you at

12 like, and a lot of women were like, "Oh, she's lying. It doesn't sound like…" like why are 12-year-old kids going to lie?

While it was not only specific to sexual abuse, the majority of the participants in this study held various types of resentments against their mothers for feeling that they failed to protect them as youths.[20]

Camila, a formerly incarcerated professional boxer and 43-year-old mother of 4, experienced an array of sexual abuse throughout her life. Her experiences, unfortunately, are representative of the range of encounters that many of these women faced as they confronted sexual abuse both in the family as well as in the government sanctioned facilities in which she was placed as a ward of the court.[21] Both of Camila's parents were addicts who were separated. They used to brutally beat her. Her father would physically abuse her stepmother, and as a child Camila would intervene because she could not bear to witness her getting beaten. She bounced from home to home between her mother's, father's, and grandmother's dwellings. By eleven years old she had already been sexually abused by men her mother brought home, by her cousins, and by an uncle. One Christmas day she had enough. She told me that her extended family, including the uncle that had molested her, was sitting around celebrating without a care in the world. She called out her uncle and the hypocrisy of her family for pretending that she was not being molested by this man. Her uncle walked out and she clearly recalls not a single uncle doing anything in response to her claim. Her mother

[20] Disdain and contentious relationships were so widespread that the majority of participants described their relationship with their mothers antagonistically with an additional one-eighth of participants describing their mothers as not overtly antagonistic, but "checked out" and "unengaged."

[21] Half of all formerly incarcerated women in this study were formally removed from the custody of their parents as wards of the court or legally emancipated.

yelled for him to come back in and instead of tearing into him, she yelled at Camila, "You need to forgive him and APOLOGIZE TO HIM NOW!" She said it was on that day that she knew she could never go to her mom for support. She decided that she would be safer running away and inevitably fled to Venice Beach with her grandmother's blessing and $10 in her pocket. Sleeping at the beach, she pretended to be an avid reader that liked to catch the sunrise, and befriended world champion surfers that would soon become her roommates. She survived by picking up jobs at a surf/skateboard shop and hotdog stand. For two years no one tried to find her until her mother put up posters of her as her local school district was questioning her whereabouts. The courts eventually intervened and placed her in an "orphanage" in Los Angeles which was actually a juvenile detention facility, and later in a medical treatment facility for youth with behavioral disorders. It was an upscale in-house psychiatric facility that housed upper middle-class youths with illnesses, a place that felt foreign to her as a poor Latina from the barrio. From rich white cheerleaders with bulimia and anorexia to Chinese nationals that were pyromaniacs, she had a difficult time relating to them as her admittance was predicated on her being an orphan. Yet although Camila's mother no longer had custody of her, the state billed her insurance for Camila's stay. By default, because it was under her medical insurance, Camila's mother was given the authority to approve medications and sedations for her daughter. One day when Camila's mother came to visit her, they got into an argument as her mother was blaming her for her own "shitty life." Camila told her she was negative and to stop coming to visit her, that she was no longer interested in seeing her. She got out of her chair, pushed it, and turned to walk out of visitation and was tackled by staff personnel. They alleged that she was being aggressive, and

with her eighty pound frame, she resisted them. Receiving the okay from her mother, they sedated her. She details what happens next,

> Camila: So I would wake up I don't know how many days later laying in the things [padded rooms] and there were girls next to me and the staff were molesting them, like eating them out when the girls are all high on drugs and I'm like… did that happen to me??? …And I would be like mimics yelling 'HELP!!! HELLLLP!!!' We're all under seventeen, we're all like eleven to seventeen.
>
> Researcher: And these girls are passed out?
>
> Camila: Passed out, passed out on whatever they sedated us on and I don't know if that happened to me. I don't know."

Camila said she reluctantly decided to tell the girls what she witnessed. She said that they said they were aware of their molestations because they could feel it but because of their being sedated, were unable to resist. When I asked her if she ever told her mother, she responded with,

> My mom said, 'well then don't do anything to get yourself sedated!' So now I had to be this machine that took the abuse, you know what I'm saying, just sit there and smile and not show any type of emotion towards what people are saying.

Camila reported what she saw, but was in turn subjected to increased physical abuse by male staff workers. After going AWOL three times from that maximum-security facility, the courts removed her and decided to place her in a foster home. The foster home had a husband and wife, one bedroom with three girls, and another with herself and two others. On the third or fourth night the father figure thought everyone was asleep and took one of the girls that shared a room with Camila. She returned crying and he told her, 'Go to the bathroom and

shower up… and be quiet so you don't wake my wife.' Camila froze watching him in the dark in terror. She didn't realize that he walked back in the room and "popped his head in front of me and I like tried to play it off and he's all like, whispering 'Don't say anything, you're next.' So that night I jumped out the damn window and called my aunt and my aunt took me." Camila experienced many of the hallmarks of sexual violence. From the factors contributing to sexual violence, being victimized by family and the cultures of silence in Latinx families surrounding sexual violence, Camila traversed an impossible set of circumstances to flee her multi-faceted abuse (Villalón, 2010; Zilberman and Blume, 2005). Yet even as she reached out to governmental agencies about her abuse, they removed her from her home only to place her in institutions with authority figures that would attempt to further sexually exploit already disenfranchised girls they knew lacked guardian figures. Her resisting sexual abuse in these spaces that were meant to be safe alternatives to her home life led to her being stigmatized as rebellious, uncooperative, and unruly, ultimately leading to her criminalization.

SURVIVAL MECHANISMS

Formerly Incarcerated Responses

> I mean, I think that those things were so dysfunctional, that I mean, my whole life was dysfunctional, and that led to all of these, you know, whatever labels, and that's why I was on drugs and that's why I didn't have a normal life. And when you're on drugs, you just fucking do dumb shit, you know? So I think that if anything, it's kind of like, what came first- the chicken or the egg?
>
> -Alexis, formerly incarcerated mother and recent college graduate

"Victim-offender overlap," that "victims and offenders tend to share all or nearly all

social and personal characteristics" is the premise for the feminist pathways perspective (Gottfredson and Hirschi, 1990, p. 17). Feminist criminologists have maintained that the criminal behaviors of women cannot be separated from their former victimization (Richie, 2012; Belknap, 2015). Described and theorized as the feminist pathways perspective by Joanne Belknap and Kristi Holsinger (2006) and also referred to as the abuse-to-prison-pipeline, "studies have demonstrated that a large proportion of girls and women involved in illegal activities have abuse histories, with emphasis placed on the path from victimization to criminal activity" (Potter 2015, p. 129). Maladjustment across girls' lives is connected to abuse in the home (Simkins, Hirsh, Horvat, & Moss, 2004; Johannson & Kempf-Leonard, 2009; Chesney-Lind, 2002; Belknap & Holsinger, 1998). This maladjustment, not limited to substance abuse, running away, and fighting in school, are coping mechanisms that girls and women display as they evade abuse, but then become criminalized by their families and broader society (Chesney-Lind & Shelden, 2013; Winn, 2011; Winn, 2019; Diaz-Cotto, 2006; Schaffner, 1998). Because the same hierarchies that exist in society exist in the prison industrial complex, women of color that engage in these behaviors are subjected to intensified vulnerabilities in their paths to criminalization (Richie, 2002; Flores, 2016).

The women in this study responded to their abuse in predictable but also unanticipated ways. While most of the formerly incarcerated women resisted by engaging in behaviors that were perceived as deviant and would become criminalized, the Latina professors that were most forthcoming about their abuse utilized their academic prowess strategically as a way to evade the perpetuation of the violence they faced at home. The nuances within their survival mechanisms offer insight as to how the social ecology of the

carceral community involves a delicate dance between ideological and material forces to impact the life chances and outcomes of Latinas within carceral communities.

Trouble at School

Previous research has found that abuse in the home lives of girls often trickles into the school lives of victims (Simkins et al., 2004). This can range from disengagement with their academic work to getting removed from class for being considered unruly and disruptive, getting into fights with their peers, and ultimately experiencing removal from their school sites (Morris, 2016; Flores, 2016; Jones, 2010). Many of the women in this study discussed increased aggression at school as a cry for help that was met by deaf ears. Alicia discusses how she went from trying to make sense of her experiences with loss and profound adversity to being expelled from her school district,

> I was like 12, 13, 11, 12, 13 when I started to like realize and sort of to like internalize my frustrations, my anger in regards to like, 'Why the fuck do I live this life' like- 'why am I- why was I born into a family like this?' And what I mean by "family like this" I mean, dysfunctional. My dad was a drug addict and alcoholic- he died super early from cirrhosis because of his alcoholism. He was in and out of prison. He was a gang member. My uncle, my cousins, were all members of gangs, you know what I mean? So it's like, what the fuck. I was mad with that reality. Why did my mom have a stroke and get sick you know what I mean? And then like, I felt abandoned by her during that time. And so that manifested in my behavior in school specifically towards other girls. So I felt like, I felt like that because that's how I felt about myself. Right? I was angry towards myself, and so, and so I would incite fights with girls or I would like ditch and go to the, go to

like ditching parties, stuff like that. And so when I got kicked out of junior high's when I started, when I, when I first got, I guess you could say kicked out or whatever the hell they call it, like pushed out for a second. I went to other junior high schools like in other schools in LAUSD. And it was, it was when I started to go to these other schools in LAUSD that I was like labeled as having behavioral problems.

Consistent with previous research, many of the formerly incarcerated Latinas in this study identified their school sites to be where their criminal records started (Chesney-Lind & Rodriguez, 1983). Most often, as adolescents, these women would receive probation violations for absences which would then catalyze their paths in the school-to-prison pipeline as petty offenses could be grounds enough to take them to juvenile detention facilities getting them entangled in a relentless web of criminalization.

Drug Consumption and Sales

The fact is, the majority of women are incarcerated for seemingly petty, nonviolent offenses (Richie, 2002, p. 138) Despite clear links between abuse and drug consumption (Winn, 2019; Chesney-Lind & Shelden, 2013; Zilberman & Blume, 2005; Lown & Vega, 2001; Schaffner, 1998), one in four incarcerated women are being held for drug-related charges (Bronson & Carson, 2019). This is nearly double the rate of men being held for the same crimes. Richie calls these, "'survival crimes' committed to earn money, to feed a drug-dependent life, and to escape both terrifying intimate relationships and brutal social conditions." (Richie, 1996, p. 138). Self-medication was one of the most frequent ways formerly incarcerated Latinas fled from the realities of the violence in their lives as both adolescents and women. While alcohol and marijuana were most often the substances of

choice for my participants, methamphetamine was also popular. Caro, a formerly incarcerated Latina and recent graduate from a prestigious public university, identifies the prison industrial complex as being the mechanism that pushed her towards narcotics. Caro's dad was a gang member who was in and out of prison. At 16, her brother found himself as one of the first juveniles to be sentenced under Proposition 21, allowing children as young as 14 to be sentenced as adults. He was found guilty of murder and sentenced to life in prison. Caro had already had deep seated abandonment issues with her father being incarcerated but when her brother was imprisoned, it was too much for her to bear. She points to both the trauma she received in the search for him by the police in violating her home as well as his life sentence as what propelled her into drug abuse. While Caro would be charged for her drug consumption, others like Susie would be charged for their drug solicitation. Susie is a formerly incarcerated, Indigenous mother of two. She grew up with familial dysfunction, jumping from one family member's home to another's, like so many of the women in my formerly incarcerated sample. As an adult, that dysfunction followed her, typically in the form of abusive romantic partners. Her long term partner abused her and was unfaithful for years. At one point he threatened her life with a machete. She was able to flee by grabbing a hammer and striking him in the face. Yet even after that, she went back to him. After he threatened her for her paycheck she fled with only the clothes on her back. Without a support system and with nowhere to go, she remembered that one of her girlfriends sold drugs when she was desperate and called her contact. By the end of the night she was able to secure a $400/month studio apartment converted from a garage and would sell methamphetamine for the next twenty years. Selling drugs, like many of the other non-violent crimes seen in this study like forgery and credit card fraud, reflect the "gender differences in legitimate and

illegitimate opportunity structures, in personal networks, and in family obligations" (English, 1993, p. 374).

Running Away

Feminist criminologists contend that girls frequently run away to evade the often overlapping types of abuse they confront in their homes and communities (Chesney-Lind & Shelden, 2013; Schaffner, 1998; Belknap & Holsinger, 1998). The juvenile justice system most often responds to their running away from abuse by criminalizing their survival mechanisms (Pernilla & Kempf-Leonard, 2009, p. 219). Parents also have the authority to request their children to be arrested for incorrigibility. This term, widely arbitrary, refers to behaviors that would not be considered criminal acts if performed by an adult, but which purportedly violate cultural norms and values. These "status offenses" range from talking back to teachers, to running away, staying out past curfew, missing school due to caretaking responsibilities, to general ungovernability (Chesney-Lind & Eliason, 2006). Yet demonstrated by girls being arrested at more than three times the rate of boys for being incorrigible, incorrigibility is essentially used to police girls that act in ways that violate white, middle class, normative Christian femininity (Kajstura, 2019).[22] When deciphered in the context of Latinx families and communities, these notions are applied in conjunction with cultural values that often ascribe to a virgin-whore dichotomy where girls' and women's actions are scrutinized by a hyperbolic litmus test of chastity, self sacrifice, and virtue (Ascencio, 2012). This is of significance when discussing how formerly incarcerated Latinas

[22] This can include a failure to inhabit prescribed gender roles in clothing, bodily appearance, and behavior as well which is especially detrimental to queer and trans and otherwise gender non-conforming young people.

were criminalized for running away because much of the abuse these women reported was due to resisting idealized standards of femininity in their families which were even more rigid for first and second generation Latinas.

Most of the formerly incarcerated Latinas in this study ran away from their homes. Yet for a few of the women whose parents were particularly addicted to narcotics, they did not really run away as there was no one running after them. Alexis, a guerita (light skinned) Chicana from the Los Angeles area told me that by the time she was in eighth grade she had a much older boyfriend that was having sex with her best friend. Despite this she opted to follow him to Colorado as her parents were strung out on drugs. She describes what it was like,

> I ran pretty much. I tried… I want to say I ran away but then run away would mean that somebody's keeping you and they're telling you not to go- my dad took me to the bus stop to leave the state with some dude that was like fucking older than me. Like, so it's not like… I wouldn't say I was a runaway, I would say that I was trying to survive, you know, and mostly [doing] what I had to do to survive.

Many of the women who were first or second generation Americans had completely different experiences. Angelina, a guerita from the Bay Area with formerly undocumented parents from Jalisco, Mexico, felt that the conflict between that of her parents' culture and the culture of her American peers was what really contributed to her running away. She told me that she had become engrossed with the idea that her peers had so much freedom to be their own people. One day, in an effort to take a stand and assert her independence, she told her parents she was not going to mass. Her father screamed for her to change from her sweatpants and insisted that she would in fact be attending. She said, "my mom, being that she was so strict

grabbed the belt and started hitting me with the belt while my dad held me down. And I think this was their way of taking control of the situation and putting their foot down." Angelina fled and the police were called, leading to her first charge. Once she got her first charge she got multiple probation violations for breaking curfew- whether a few minutes over or not- as well as running away from home. The friction between her and her family continued to mount that year. She was fifteen and her boyfriend was nineteen. She was sexually active and in an effort to 'protect herself' she called her doctor to ask about getting put on birth control (Garcia, 2012). Because of the policies of the early 2000's surrounding parental consent and contraception, her mother was notified. Her parents filed a case against her undocumented boyfriend for statutory rape, ultimately deporting 'the love of her life' to Mexico. Angelina ran away to be with her adult boyfriend. Getting robbed of all of her belongings in Tijuana the first night there, she lasted a month before she left and came back to the states because of his infidelity. When she arrived back home she had a few days before she had to turn herself in to serve three to four months for her actions. Between having to witness her alcoholic father beat her mother, receive her own physical abuse and have her gender presentation, religious choices, and sexuality policed, Angelina opted for her freedom by way of running away, but it came at the cost of a criminal record and exposure to other vices.

Toxic Romantic Relationships

Feminist criminological research suggests that childhood victimization of various types begets future experiences with violence (Winn, 2019; Chesney-Lind & Shelden, 2013). This is not limited to the same type of abuse, but rather is connected to being vulnerable to multiple types well into adulthood, and this is particularly the case for women of color

(Chesney-Lind, 2002, p. 83; Potter, 2008).[23] Often times, this pathway to abuse is catalyzed by abused girls asserting their sexuality(ies) and starting sexual relationships (Winn, 2019; Chesney-Lind & Shelden, 2013) which are a great source of friction in the household and ultimately lead to them running away from home (Flores, 2016, p. 34). Yet this frequently opens up a plethora of social problems given the unequal power structures that exist in the streets, making women vulnerable to new types of violence (Schaffner, 1998). In many of these relationships outside the home, girls and women experience interpersonal partner violence, are pressured to consume drugs, and sometimes are led to gang affiliation by way of their male partners. Abused girls and women also utilize survival sex- the exchange of sexualized behaviors and relationships for money, shelter, drugs, or safety- as a way to negotiate agency in their relationships (Shannon, et al., 2007).

Violence perpetrated by their partners was a significant form of violence that most of the formerly incarcerated Latinas in the study experienced. Some of the women- like Susie- chose men as partners that she felt would be able to protect her. She describes her thought process,

> The first one that was abusive, I was with him because I thought he was gonna protect me, I guess. And he was attractive and I was looking for an all-American. Cause he was this white guy with a big truck and a dog and he had two companies going. I thought he was,

[23] For example, in *Battle Cries* (2008), Potter finds that Black women who have left their partners that have physically abused them resist the term survivors. Opting instead for the term "*resisters*," she concludes that, "because battered Black women continue to confront the racial, class-based, and other struggles, such as the need to avoid entering subsequent abusive relationships, the use of the term 'survivor' assumes that their struggles have concluded" (191).

> oh you know, but he wasn't. Second guy I was with him because I wanted to keep all the creeps away. So if they knew I had a boyfriend they wouldn't bother me.

Yet many of the men Susie dated for protection physically abused her. Tired of her long term partner that beat her, she decided to leave him and confided in a friend about the abuse who set her up with a "nice guy" she knew. Susie went on her first date with him and he beat her up, locked her in his apartment, and kept her hostage. The next morning, badly bruised, she called her friends and escaped. One of her friends brought one of her male cousins to avenge her encounter. He put on a performance of being incensed about her abuse but would go on to date Susie and eventually be the partner that pulled a machete on her. Romantic relationships filled with hardcore abuse were more the rule as opposed to the exception for the formerly incarcerated Latinas in the study. Consistent with the literature, many of the women mentioned their fathers' abusing them as being the reason why they normalized the interpersonal partner violence they experienced (Potter, 2008). Celine, a 24-year-old mother of three explains:

> Well, I honestly, now I know that him putting hands on me was something really wrong in our relationship. But since my dad used to do that to me I thought it was so normal you know, that I was like, 'whatever I could take it' you know. 'I could take a beat down, it's normal, my dad used to put hands on me,' I thought I was okay. And I just felt lonely you know, I didn't have anyone in life to like, to love me and stuff and when you are in foster care you don't feel loved, you feel like nobody loves you. You know, I used to see all my ex foster sisters, they used to have their parents visit them and I would feel bad that I didn't have anybody you know and I would just sit there and watch the visits because my dad couldn't visit me. So, it stems from that.

Xiomara similarly justified her abuse at the time by her dad's beatings of her. She spoke about her former partner showing many red flags that ultimately culminated in beating her. She told me a story about how he would scream at her for talking to people and smashed her phone. I asked her why she thought she stayed with him. Her response: "Clearly my dad was abusive and that was my normal growing up. So it was like, 'Oh he broke my phone- oh he didn't break my nose so that's okay.'" Whereas most of the women in the study only referred to the violence their partners and former partners perpetrated against them, a few discussed their children sometimes being involved in these encounters. Deion, my close friend and mother of four mentioned at the beginning chapter did not hold back. She spoke to me at length about her experiences with domestic violence at the hands of both of her marriages. She described her first marriage as normalizing the abuse for the second marriage. Aware of my feelings of aversion for her husband, she told me the story of when she finally decided to leave him. Her parents had bought her and her children one way tickets to stay with family in Texas to get away from her husband and the social problems she was facing in the Central Valley. She told him she was leaving and was bathing her children. She got up to grab towels and he yells, "Bitch you ain't going nowhere, you'll never fucken leave me! You ain't gonna leave me Deion, I'll slice your throat!" and then he proceeded to stab her. The knife broke off in her body. He grabbed her son from the bathtub and ran with him naked and dripping wet. Refusing to press charges, Deion would take him back. From not pressing charges to taking on the charges of crimes these men committed, and even receiving their own charges for the moments they resisted their abuse, the toxic romantic relationships they engaged in only served to expedite their own criminalization and marginalization.

Gangs

Research widely suggests that gang affiliation is largely a matter of marginalized people seeking to find power and multi-tiered incorporation in society. (Hayden, 2004). Poverty, divested neighborhoods, constrained opportunities for accessing economic security, and the cumulative pressure of racism and xenophobia mount to push young people towards gang membership (Klein & Maxson, 2006). In respect to Latinx communities in the United States, living in the reality of straddling competing cultures, acculturative stress on top of cumulative structural oppression(s) puts pressure on youths that may compel them to seek affirmative group membership. (Vigil, 2008). Latinx immigrants faced increased pressure as their new arrival to a foreign country as racialized people render them precarious access to not only decent material conditions but also to institutional support. Latina girls not only share these realities but are vexed by the burden of their gendered marginalization. While studies show that girls join gangs largely for the same reasons as boys, literature on gang-affiliated girls suggests that, "gang involvement may serve as a way to avoid a chaotic family life (including victimization and conflict) and as a replacement for family" (Pernilla & Kempf-Leonard, 2009, p. 220) as girls that join gangs report more family problems and less traditional family structures (Vigil, 1988b). Additionally, some studies contend that girls' desire for gang involvement stems from a psychosocial desire for comradery, excitement, and feelings of group attachment (Walker-Barnes & Mason, 2001). Unfortunately, while girls may seek membership and inclusion in gangs as a place of refuge, gender politics that center male dominance are heightened in the context of gang politics, rendering girls and women susceptible to multiple forms of degradation and exploitation for the benefit of male members (Vigil, 2008, p. 70).

About half of the participants from my formerly incarcerated sample were or are gang affiliated. This was in stark contrast to my Latina faculty sample where most remarked on being in a community with gang members but not actually gang affiliated themselves. Yet my sample populations yielded telling aspects of generational status being connected to life chances and various types of group membership. Whereas first and second generation American Latinas comprised forty percent of my formerly incarcerated Latina sample, they comprised approximately double the proportion of professors in my Latina faculty sample.[24] Studies suggest that Latinx immigrants are more likely to perform well in school, are less susceptible to addiction, and are less likely to have behavioral problems than their U.S. born peers (Matute-Bianchi, 1991; Alvarez & Olson, 2007,). [25] Some have referred to these positive outcomes as being the result of "immigrant optimism," the increased ability of immigrants to overcome setbacks by using their dual frame of reference from their countries of origin to compare their current conditions to (Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 2001). Other studies have found that native born Latinxs, with multiple generations often toiling at low wage jobs under crippling systemic racial and xenophobic oppression, are disenchanted with structural discrimination and create counterstratification initiatives connected to "defiant individualist" character (Sanchez-Jankowski, 1991; Barret, Kuperminc, & Lewis, 2013). All of these aspects would come together to tell the stories of Latina gang participation in this study, offering insights as to how and why Latinas sought gangs as communities of support.

[24] Referring to either being immigrants or the daughter of immigrants.
[25] Widely referred to as Chicanos by the first and second generation formerly incarcerated Latinas in this study.

There were nuanced cleavages in gang participation among first and second generation Latinas versus third generation [plus] Latinas.[26] Third generation Latinas that were involved in gangs described being born into gang life. More likely to not have a single sober parent, third generation Latinas rarely described being initiated into gangs and were more likely to describe their membership as a result of an intergenerational familial lifestyle. Gang culture was a part of their familial upbringing as their fathers, uncles, brothers, cousins, and sometimes grandfathers modeled participation for them. Alicia, a third-generation formerly incarcerated Latina turned PhD in this study, ran down all of her deep rooted familial ties to some of the most notorious gangs in Los Angeles. She described not getting the traditional initiation, "Yeah, I grew up in that lifestyle already so I was like, 'why the fuck do I need to join a gang I am a fucken gangster already?' You know what I mean? I am kind of born into it you know." Other third-generation participants like Alexis echoed Alicia's sentiment of not having to go out of the familial household to find criminal activity, "You don't need the streets if you're in this family…this family is the streets essentially!" This was in complete contradiction to the familial realities of the first and second generation Latina former/current gang members in the study. These women described being less acculturated and being held to strict gender roles that were reminiscent of the popular cultures of their or their parents' country of origin. They attribute their gang participation to rebelling from the idealized notions of femininity in their primarily Mexican, Roman Catholic families. Paola began to cry uncontrollably as she reflected on how she was never able to fulfill her mother's expectations prior to her gang involvement,

[26] Latinas having at least a single grandparent born in the United States. For the sake of this study referring to third generation on Latinas as simply, "third generation Latinas."

> Yea, I don't know. Like I always felt like that I was the good daughter. I always did what my parents expected of me, ummm, and it was just like [sobs uncontrollably] my mom was just always sooooo mad. She would beat us so bad sometimes and it's like we wouldn't do anything wrong. If anything we would do things to please her and we would have the house clean when she would come home from work. And it wouldn't be enough for her. And like we loved my mom so much that we did these things for her but she didn't see it… pretty much you know… what my dad was doing to her [physical violence] she was doing to us.

I consoled Paola and we spoke about replicating generational trauma. She continued,

> they always kept us so like chained up. They always kept us like in their order. We always had to follow their rules. They never gave us any freedom or you know, any opportunity to prove to them that we could do good… without being watched all the time. And I think that's why I rebelled so bad. I had never seen any of this, I had never done any of this, like I had always heard you know, "gangs are bad, drugs are bad…" and all this but like, you can tell me something is bad but like, tell me what would happen from it. Don't just tell me like, "algo esta caliente" [something is hot] because I'm still going to want to touch it like unless I actually like, you know, know what's going to happen if I touch it. So I never had that opportunity. And none of us did- like my brothers. We were never allowed to play outside with the neighborhood kids, we were never allowed to like you know… do any of that stuff so I understand why sometimes but at the same time like it's not going to hurt us all the time.

When Paola's parents purchased their first home, it took them from the "ghetto" to another school in a working class community that was considered a better neighborhood. Yet as she entered, her strict upbringing kept her barred from the social milieu of her peers. She was

considered naive for not knowing about drugs, gangs, and sex. This got her into trouble and she ended up getting in fights which led to her being expelled from school in the sixth grade. School administrators then sent her to another school that opened up a new life and reputation for her,

> So once I got expelled I ended up getting put into the worser middle school. I went from bad to worse. When I went into there, there was a lot more gang activity, a lot more fighting, a lot more drug use, a lot more fighting- so it really- I went in there and I wasn't as naïve anymore. So I felt more comfortable… I became popular really fast.

When I asked her why she felt more confident she said it was because she could fight and had started to gain a reputation from it. When her brother entered the school she went to he started to affiliate with gangsters. Due to familial association and her reputation as a boxer, she was in the gang as well. By the end of her eighth grade year she would do drugs, run away, and eventually be brought into court charged as an accessory to murder, a crime she did not commit. Paola's story was similar to many of the women that were gang involved. Parents are strict, they get sent to a new school, they start fighting and get affirmed by new reputations grounded in their abilities to enact violence, have targets on their backs by other gang-affiliated youth, and decide to clique up. Once in the gang as one of few girl members, they must prove themselves by overcompensating in taking on gendered roles and receiving charges for crimes that their boy/man peers actually committed. This often catalyzed their criminal records from petty charges and misdemeanors to getting their first felonies. Few had long term ties with their gangs that persist today.

Latina Professor Responses

There is a dearth of studies focused on the relationship between abuse and higher education academic achievement.[27] Studies of abuse and trauma symptomology have overwhelmingly been focused on isolated demographic variables as opposed to the impact on various types of abuse and trauma on higher education (Barnyard & Cantor, 2004). While there is substantial evidence showing that abuse perpetrated against children has a detrimental impact with abused children being "less attentive, less engaged in school, had lower grades, had poorer test scores, had more suspensions, had higher absenteeism, and were more likely to drop out of school," some children do go on to successfully attain a higher education (Coohey, Renner, Hua, Zhang, & Whitney, 2011). Researchers have referred to these children as resilient. They are designated as those that maintain normative and exceptional development in the face of forms of passive and active violence (Coohey et al., 2011, p. 689; Barnyard & Cantor, 2004). Because of variation in academic achievement among abuse survivors, studies have found that there are some factors that overcompensate for maltreatment in the past. Intelligence[28] was found to positively relate to achievement as well as children's ability to complete everyday tasks in caring for themselves- such as cooking, cleaning, etc. (Coohey, et al., 2011). Researchers surmise that intelligent abused children may be able to more successfully cope with violence by seeking support or

[27] While there is little research on abuse and Latinx academic achievement, there are ample studies on the benefits of support for Latinx students (Zalaquett, 2006; Jabbar et al., 2019; Ong, et al., 2006). Despite such studies discussing that students report familial support as helpful to them, other studies have found that while such support cultivates a sense of hope and goal setting for them, this support does not predict academic performance (Cavazos, et al., 2014). Nonetheless, it is important to not assume that all Latinas in higher education have experienced the various forms of abuse espoused in this study but to examine how abuse in the lives of the women may have impacted the educational and professional trajectories of these women.

[28] In reference to the kind of intelligence that is recognized and validated by schools.

"appealing to teachers who provide them with more positive attention which translate into higher achievement" (Coohey, et al., 2011, p. 696). Additionally, dissociative amnesia, a disassociative disorder usually caused by trauma and abuse whereby the person has an inability to recall otherwise significant memories, was found to have positive educational outcomes for "university" women abuse survivors. In a recent study, Hardner, Wolf, & Rinfrette (2018) found that participants who had a history of dissociative amnesia were more likely to complete a four-year degree, graduate school, or post-graduate school compared to childhood sexual assault survivors who did not experience dissociative amnesia (380). This suggests that disassociation may play a pivotal role in abused women's ability to navigate academia by utilizing this coping skill to repress internalized traditional symptoms like anxiety and depression (Hardner, et al., 2018; Giesbrecht, Smeets, Leppink, Jelicic, & Merckelbach, 2007).

Disassociative Tendencies

Disassociation was not an area of inquiry in this study. However, upon reviewing the literature and finding links between utilizing disassociation as a potential coping mechanism from trauma as an aid in achievement, I was reminded of a distinct observation made during my interviews. When formerly incarcerated Latinas were asked about experiences with violence, they often very clearly delineated their various experiences and could vividly recount stories of the various transgressions that they faced. However, Latina faculty responded very unsurely. Many of my participants verbalized this uncertainty. Lily, a young Central American scholar and new assistant professor, was extremely grounded throughout her interview. Yet when I asked her about having ever experienced abuse she

responded with, “I’m trying to think about that. Because there, there’re [sic]. there’re like, there are some things that when I think back, I wonder if things are happening. But I don’t know for sure.” For the first Latina faculty member participant I attributed it to simply fleeting memories and when it happened more than once I considered that- given our professional proximity- perhaps these professors were reluctant about having a colleague knowing this intimate information. Yet as more participants responded to my question much like Iliana, a senior Central American scholar, I found myself scribbling question marks asking why there seemed to be a lack of clarity on potentially experiencing abuse, “Yeah, not directly, I have vague, vague, vague memories of being very little with cousins, but I can’t say for sure.” To reiterate, because disassociation was not an area of inquiry in this study, I cannot say for certain if disassociation played a role in the successful navigation of higher education for these Latina faculty members. However, I am compelled to mention this particular observation potentially offering insight to the labelling of Latinas in higher education having ‘grit’ and ‘tenacity’ in higher education. While the ability to overcome adversity is admirable, such a skill is acquired through the combination of a complex set of experiences and internalized afflictions that may not be easily read.

Generational Rearing

In reviewing the demographic composition of the Latina faculty in this study, I am compelled to make claims about how they align with the findings of prior studies on high achieving survivors of abuse. The women professors in my study are intelligent which is consistent with studies on mitigating factors for abuse survivors that successfully pursue higher education (Coohey, et al., 2011). Yet the other- seemingly unrelated- factor that is

positively associated with this group is an ability for them as children to complete daily tasks self sufficiently. As mentioned prior, given the strong representation of either immigrants or the daughters of immigrants in my Latina faculty pool,[29] I anticipate generational status as a mitigating factor for success and resiliency in overcoming abuse and entering higher education. There is significant research that demonstrate that Latinx first and second generation children have heavy familial responsibilities as a pivotal role in the family; they, "conduct basic household tasks (e.g., cleaning, cooking, running errands), care for family members (e.g., younger siblings or elders) and provide financial support (e.g., managing finances, doing piecework" (Hafford, 2010, p. 295; Orellana, Dorner, & Pulido, 2003; Valenzuela, 1999). I would argue that the rearing of Latina immigrants and second generation daughters as cultural brokers that tutor their families, advocate for their families, and care for their families as surrogate parents to their siblings precisely lends to the competency in daily living skills that was found to be a powerful promoting factor in abused people successfully pursuing higher education (Valenzuela, 1999, p. 722). When combined with the resolve and self efficacy required to migrate to another country for a better life, it affirms that the life experiences of first and second generation Latinas give them the tenacity that is connected to successful postgraduate outcomes.

Education as an Escape

Latina professors overwhelmingly utilized education as an immediate escape from the violence and neglect they received in their home lives, as a place of affirmation, and

[29] 75% of Latina faculty in this study fell into this group.

ultimately as the only path with the potential to offer a transformative departure from the generational nature of their deleterious material and social conditions. This is not to say that all Latina professors experienced their K-12 education in a positive way. Despite all of these women going on to eventually attain their doctorates, only about half of these women reported having institutional agents as children.[30] Revisiting Michelle's story in the opening vignette, we saw the impact of discriminatory ideologies surrounding her as a poor, Spanish dominant, racialized Latina student in being tested for special education despite scoring high enough to be in GATE programming. Yet for many, including Michelle, school offered a refuge away from the conditions at home. Participants reported 'loving school,' with some telling me stories of crying at the end of the school day in their early childhood. This was likely a result of the affirmation and praise that many of these women received at their school sites. There were many uplifting stories of teachers from a variety of backgrounds going above and beyond the traditional responsibilities of teachers at these high poverty racialized schools. Sheena, a kind, young Central American professor told me that in third grade she told her teacher she wanted to be a "baby doctor." For the rest of the academic year for three out of her five-day school week, her teacher would affirm her ability to pursue the field by teaching her biology and science during her lunch period. Sheena said, "that particular teacher made a huge difference because I felt like 'okay, if he believes in me, and he thinks /I can do it, and he's taking this time to, you know, do all these things then, then that IS a

[30] Stanton-Salazar refers to institutional agents as "high status, non-kin, agents who occupy relatively high positions in the multiple dimensional stratification system, and who are well positioned to provide key forms of social and institutional support." (2011, p. 1066) While applicable to other institutions, the term is most often used to refer to education. Stanton-Salazar argues that the type of support these figures provide in both critical resources and student empowerment are key to positively transforming low-status youth.

possibility." It was this type of support that really fostered a sense of refuge at school for my professoriate participants. There were countless stories of teachers offering educacíon to these women from: taking them to bookstores and buying them books, taking them on road trips outside of class to visit universities, networking them with Latinx Ethnic Studies students to connect with the scholarly traditions of their cultures, giving them their old computers and more. These women found school to be a place of sanctuary. Although not all of these women had this type of support, nearly all of them were high performing throughout their educations. So while they did not have institutional agents, they did receive affirmation of their intellectual abilities in the form of consistent high achievement.

Several of the women described their positive academic performance as a coping method that was indicative of one of the roles people in families that struggle with addiction play. Within the six roles that family members play is role #3: the hero. The hero is described as a hard working, overachieving perfectionist that does not like to make waves and tries to keep the family together to create a sense of normalcy (Wegscheider-Cruse, 1979). Often the eldest child takes on this role and exerts great effort to keep the peace by "doing things right" and being the hope of the family yet the severe pressure of this role puts the hero at risk of tremendous anxiety and stress-related illnesses later in life (Wegscheider-Cruse, 1979). Participants talked about themselves trying to always keep things "harmonious" across the family. Others like Monique, born into a large- what she calls "alcoholic family-" found herself taking on this position as she initially sought to escape the toxicity of her family by reading. She describes her experience,

> I think they'd labeled me the smart one. They saw that I read a lot and it was, honestly, just really my way of escaping and they thought it was because I was smart or something. And it was really just because, well, I grew up and my family was an alcoholic family and, I don't know. You probably know the research around alcoholic families and the roles that people play. I think my role was I was like the invisible one. So everything around me was just really chaotic and out of control so I was just always just watching everything and trying not to make things worse by acting out or rebelling. So I just did everything like I followed all the rules, and I went to school, and I did my homework, and then they started saying, "Oh, she's smart," and 'She's the smart one.' And they started thinking that I would be the one that would make it. And then I guess I just held onto that and just started to become that. So I guess everyone else just coped with it different. It wasn't like any of us really had the kind of support that we deserved as children.

Monique's coping method was perceived by her family to be evidence of her exceptionality. She would internalize this role and use this as a springboard to distance herself from family life.

Monique's experience was not in isolation. The vast majority of the Latina professors that reported having experienced neglect and violence specifically mentioned that they deliberately used high academic achievement as their way out of the circumstances of their home lives. They cited the intergenerational nature of their poor social and material conditions as an obstacle to overcome and that could only be overcome by higher academic performance. Selena, a Chicana professor and mother from the Bay Area, pointed out the discrepancy between the public imagination of what Latinx familial life was like in

comparison to her dim reality contending with the tensions of an abusive household. She said that once she arrived into higher education, her peers often made assumptions that her familial life consisted of a warm and tight-knit Chicanx family. In reality she wanted nothing more than space from them. Within two weeks of moving to her prestigious public undergraduate university, she was raped on campus. Her commitment to using academia as a way to create distance from her family and the toxic social relationships she had with them was so strong that she refused to bring herself to disclose her brutal assault,

> So that was my first semester... I told people later in life, not my family, but friends or romantic partners, things like that, as I got older. But my family doesn't know, or they never would, because I knew ... the only thing I could think of was, 'They're going to try to drag me home. If I can't take care of myself, I'm going to be dragged home. Then I won't be able to live away. I'll lose it all. I'll lose all the freedom,' because, for me, going to college wasn't really about going on to grad school or anything, really. It was about getting the hell out of the house and doing so in a way that was honorable, as opposed to assuming that I was going to get pregnant.

So for Latina faculty, success in academics started off as a coping mechanism for Latinas to appeal to as a site of affirmation and would eventually become a pathway where they could break adverse generational patterns. For nearly all of these women, there was no precedent of scholarly accomplishment to lean on. Many of their parents had elementary and secondary school education. To ascend academically from those origins was a self-imposed commitment to changing their lives. While there was widely held sentiment among those professors that experienced abuse in wanting to use their high performance in academia as a

way to change their circumstances, it is important to not simplify their complex feelings of their families and communities and reduce it to disdain. While many used academia in an effort to "save themselves" there was also profound feelings of guilt coming from some of these women. Monique expands on this internal conflict,

> I didn't really feel that pressure because the standards weren't really high that I had that pressure to live up to. I don't know how to explain it. I don't know. I eventually figured out I didn't want to save them. I just wanted to get the hell as far away as I could…I wanted to save myself. There's that survivor's guilt that I used to feel like I abandoned them. But they really, I feel, abandoned me which is why I had to leave because I'm also the only one that moved.

In a tug-of-war between saving themselves by finding a path out and feeling a sense of responsibility and obligation to their communities of origin, Latina faculty traversed academia with a sense of purpose. Every Latina professor in the study ultimately pursued work that centered and pushed for the advancement of Latinx and other marginalized communities. Each of them used the full range of their experiences to inform their research, teaching, and community work ultimately bringing the lessons they learned beyond the invisible yet rigid walls of the carceral community.

DISCUSSION

In this chapter, I have discussed how the passive and active violence of carceral communities rendered the Latinas that grew up in them with lives replete with carceral collateral consequences. Nearly all of the Latinas in this study experienced neglect and/or

abuse and their responses to this violence was mitigated by the limited agency they had as resource poor yet resourceful Latinas with various situated knowledges. For formerly incarcerated Latinas, their survival mechanisms often started at their school sites- getting in trouble and eventually kicked out for fighting and absences. This often led to increased hostility at home pushing them to self medicate with drugs, sell drugs, run away from home, and get in romantic and gang-affiliated relationships that were often toxic and exploitative. Consistent with the literature, each of these coping mechanisms were connected to the start and/or perpetuation of their criminalization, essentially working to solidify their place in the carceral continuum. For nearly all the Latina faculty that shared in abusive and violent pasts, education was their coping mechanism. Their upbringings in mostly immigrant households and their disassociative tendencies potentially facilitated their paths as abused women that successfully attained doctorates. For those that grew up in families that struggled with addiction, they found themselves taking the role of 'the hero,' the family member that strives to not create more worry for their already troubled families by diving into books. Their labeling as "the smart one" by family members almost created a self-fulfilling prophecy of sorts that they ultimately ascribed to. Yet it really was in viewing school as a place of sanctuary, where they could evade the chaos of their home lives and receive affirmation in their high achievement that most found consolation. By reifying their high performativity, Latina professors in the study were deliberate in using academia as a way to break their connection to intergenerational patterns of passive and active violence in their lives. Navigating academia, they would eventually find themselves in a new social ecology with its own power dynamics rooted in neoliberal ideology and imbued with its own set of contradictions.

The seemingly different outcomes of formerly incarcerated Latinas and Latina professors emanate from the same social conditions of neglect and violence. They are structurally produced even though they are represented most often in scholarship and civic discourse as the cumulative consequences of isolated individual choices. Therefore, I contend that there is a coexistence of an abuse-to-prison and what I am referring to as an abuse-to-academia pipeline for Latinas from the carceral community. Coming from the same origins, yet having dramatically different outcomes, where Latinas fall across the pipeline is dictated by how their coping mechanisms to abuse are coded by the broader society. Because neoliberal ideology is the predominant belief system of society, the meritocratic-bound academic excellence of those that would go on to become future professors is celebrated as exceptional whereas the adverse coping mechanisms of those that would later be criminalized is pathologized as disposable. The neoliberal hegemony that is predicated on success as an individualization of hard work and failure as a personalized shortcoming undergirds the polarization of the exceptionality and disposability continuum of the worthy versus the unworthy.

Unfortunately, this "common sense" logic of a distinction between the few honored as exceptional and the many dismissed as disposable is a central feature of Latino life chances and outcomes, just as it is a central feature of neoliberal society at large (Camp, 2016; Lipman, 2011). This is one of the many shared contradictions of capitalist hegemony; this allows the ideology of neoliberalism to conspire to accommodate the cultures of those it exploits to run more effectively. It seeks to divert radicalism to fixate on oppression as opposed to turning the lens on exploitation (Robinson, 2016, p. 18). Rather than seeking to excavate and solve social problems using an abolitionist praxis that aims for the root causes

of social subordination, we simply seek to punish those that demonstrate the symptomology of growing up in the carceral community and, paradoxically, simultaneously elevate those that share those origins but "overcame" those conditions. This is done to suggest an equal playing field where no discriminating mechanisms is at play; thus rendering any societal obligation to fix social problems as null and void. Our investment in valuing the few to the detriment of the many is a form of neoliberal entrapment that keeps the entire Latinx community vulnerable to all iterations of capitalist exploitation (Cacho, 2012). Yet the collective injuries sustained by the community can only be healed in community (Watkins, 2019). By understanding that our fates are connected and notions of worth act as arbitrary ideological barriers, constellations of struggle amongst aggrieved groups present opportunities to foster a shared consciousness of worth that exists outside the bounds of economic exploitation.

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CHAPTER THREE:

SOCIAL EMBEDDEDNESS

> I've been pretty closed off to close friendships… and it's not something that I came in with this philosophy about, it's just what my gut tells me.
>
> –Iliana, Central American scholar, public R1

As one of the first professoriate participants in my study, I was excited to meet Monica. After all, Monica came from the San Joaquin Valley as well and we all know how rare it is to meet another person in academia from back home, much less a Chicana with a Ph.D. Making my way to her office, I anticipated being met by a Chicana that shared much in

common with me- perhaps that bold hyper feminine working class Chicana aesthetic so common in the valley or our dialect that often gets coded as chola outside of the valley. Yet I was met by a beautiful, bare-faced, soft spoken, and demure woman. At a glance, Monica seemed to be fairly consistent with the embodiment of women professors. Aside from a few nuanced phenotypical markers that read to me as Latina, I thought about how this profesora had the potential to blend in in the larger academic landscape. Yet when talking to her, I would soon learn just how far removed she actually felt from her colleagues and the lengths she took to maneuver her positionality at work. We discussed how she navigated her relationships with colleagues:

Monica: I wasn't invested in becoming friends.

Researcher: Mmmm. Why not?

M: Just, I think because I didn't want them to know who I really was.

R: And why would you not want that?

M:: Just because I've put on the persona of 'I'm a professional.' And you know, 'I have my PhD and I'm a professor and you're my colleagues, and I don't want you to know about me. Like, I don't want you to know about my life' Like all of this. None of my colleagues know, share this family history, and have no idea… and so I think that's, that is partly why I don't know my colleagues. Cuz I, I was afraid if I got to know them too well, I would start slipping out of the code… I didn't need them as friends because I have, I have my friends. You know, I have my people.

What Monica alluded to them not knowing was that her familial history included forms of indentured servitude that you see in many Latinx migrant camps across the San Joaquin Valley, addiction, and various forms of abuse- all of which she perceived as distant

from the experiences of her colleagues. While Monica had been incorporated into institutional spaces with others whom she perceived as coming from a completely different background of experiences from her own, her experiences in her family and community of origin impacted her social embeddedness in these spaces. It shaped how she was incorporated into them, how she related to others, and her expectations of others while in them. Latinas in the academy and carceral facilities alike echoed these sentiments as their origins heavily impacted how they were funneled into their respective institutions, formed relationships, and networked with others.

This chapter examines the how the intersectional identities and experiences of formerly incarcerated Latinas and Latina professors influence how they are categorized and networked into distinct spaces within the prison and academia, how they integrate with and/or segregate from their peers, and how ontologies from their carceral community upbringings shape their political maneuverings in establishing connections and resources. Before considering these relations amongst criminalized Latinas and Latina professors, I first discuss how the social ecology of the carceral community severely impacts the social networks and subsequently, the opportunities of its residents. Additionally, I discuss scholarship on the practical limitations of how the networks of aggrieved groups impact their access to opportunities and resources in comparison to privileged communities. I discuss how the strong ties of social networks – much like those formed by carceral community ontologies- confine opportunity. In demonstrating how formerly incarcerated Latinas and Latina faculty share similar categorization in their institutions, incorporation with their peers, and practically operate, I assert that not only do demographic aspects of their identities like race, class, gender, generational status, and region impact their social embeddedness within

institutions, but also that the carceral continuum has long reaching effects in spaces, places, and relationships beyond the immediate carceral community for those brought up there.

CARCERAL COMMUNITIES AND SOCIAL EMBEDDEDNESS

Social control theory posits that community stability is the cornerstone of informal social control (Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990). Social disorganization is believed to be the product of high outward mobility where residents either voluntarily exit or are forcibly removed from their community. Carceral communities experience the latter- as residents experience tremendous instability as a result of the revolving door of community members being removed and contained in carceral facilities near and far. In a three tiered study of Tallahassee neighborhoods, Clear (2002) also found that incarceration damaged not only formal social control, but the basis for which informal social control depends on as these resource deficient neighborhoods felt the compounded effects of incarceration. These neighborhoods experienced significant social disorganization in both the fallout from the removal of residents from the ecology of community life and the stresses of incorporation back into the community once released from imprisonment (183). These communities that already wrestle with obtaining resources and access to social capital resulted in an exacerbated deterioration of quality of life across all three neighborhoods.

To better understand the reciprocal relationship between the ecology of the community and seemingly individual forms of capital it is important to operationalize key terms and highlight the connections they have to one another. Human capital refers to the strengths a person brings to society and social capital is in reference to a person's ability to gain personal achievement through their relationships and connections with others. Whereas

human capital isolates strengths to an individual level, social capital is based on one's relationships to a social web of others and considers the strength of their various forms of capital. These social webs are social networks, congregates of groups of people with varying ranges of strength in their relationships to one another that are the basis on which social life happens. Collective efficacy refers to the power of a community- whether a group, an organization, or a neighborhood- to materialize their communal vision in reaching their desired goals (Sampson, et al., 1997).

People's primary institutions provide the basis for which various forms of capital are acquired. As the primary socializing force, family plays a significant role in establishing personal and professional trajectories by way of making or breaking connections to the acquisition of human and social capital. In healthy families, parents pass on human capital to their children which can compensate for potential lack in the broader community. Additionally, parental social networks function as invaluable resources for passing on potential opportunities for their children, opening the door to new connections that reinforce dynamic networks for them over time.

Unfortunately, those that live in carceral communities already contend with the material and ideological shortcomings of growing up in sites of concentrated poverty. Carceral facilities are detrimental to the lengths that social support can travel in these communities. Clear (2002) describes this dismal reality:

> Here is the blunt reality. Children who grow up in areas where substantial amounts of human capital are not easily acquired struggle with inadequate schools, limited leisure time choices, and insufficient formative supports. The systematic absence or weakening

> of male sources of support for human capital formation makes a bad situation worse and adds a further impediment to overcoming these disadvantages of birth. (188)

The consequences of these realities culminate as an interlocking oppressive force that has the potential to negatively impact not just current circumstances but access to the types of resources and skills that are indispensable to overcoming these conditions. Unfortunately, not only individual level talents are compromised. The carceral continuum has the reach of also curbing social ties and networks.

Neighborhoods that feature high crime rates, like carceral communities, experience an atomizing effect whereby residents isolate from others. Additionally, in these sites with high concentration of poverty, residents often work multiple low wage jobs to make ends meet, lengthening work hours and curtailing time for parenting and involvement in social and political activities. In both circumstances, residents lack the levels of social interaction necessary to maintain healthy community bonds that facilitate residents envisioning themselves as part of a collective imagined community that can engage in collective efficacy. Beyond feeling safe and/or feeling a sense of power in determining community outcomes, the consequences of a lack of social interaction follows residents beyond the carceral community into other aspects of their lives.

Granovetter's (1973) seminal piece, "The Strength of Weak Bonds," analyzed the significance of ties (the intensity of the personal connection in a given relationship) for opportunities for social advancement. Seemingly counterintuitive at face value, his research found that it is not strong ties that produce the most opportunities, but rather, weak bonds. Strong bonds yield relationships where people have much in common with their network whereas weak bonds with distant acquaintances offer not only new information in

opportunities to resources but also the possibility for someone to be incorporated into a new community. Weak ties essentially act as 'bridging links' to networks a person would not otherwise have access to. While not offering the depth of strong ties, weak ties advance networks of opportunity that offer a sense of breadth to the larger social ecosystem, "seen from a more macroscopic vantage, weak ties play a role in effecting social cohesion" (Granovetter, 2018, p. 249).

Unfortunately, those from carceral communities are at the intersection of many identities that are likely to produce problematic social ties (Clear, 2007, p. 14). The concentrated poverty at these sites often produces connections that lack the ability to allow people to access the social capital necessary to transcend their social locations. These sites often produce strong ties based off kinship and other relationships based on intimate connections. Yet these narrow networks are estranged from larger more robust networks that feature ties of varying intensities, essentially exacerbating the divide between the have and have nots,

> This lack of connection between poor peoples' networks and others' outside narrow environs explains the very limited capacity these networks have for their members' social capital. A middle-class person, for instance, can call upon relationships with a wide variety of acquaintances for various types of assistance and support, but a poverty-stricken person living in the impoverished inner city has a limited list of people—mostly family and a few close friends—who may be tapped for help. When these limited networks of mostly "strong" ties become saturated with people who have been incarcerated, the capacity of the networks is hampered further. Being poor is associated

> with problematic social ties, and experiencing incarceration aggravates that difficulty (Clear, 2007, p. 189).

Described as the social distribution of possibilities (Wellman, 1983), the unequal distribution of opportunities for people of different socioeconomic statuses to access circles and networks of power falls harshly on those in carceral communities. This creates a caste-like network for poor people in carceral communities, where they are locked into their social networks with little opportunity to breach the walls of their social statuses.

Likened to social freeways, Stanton-Salazar (2001) refers to middle class networks as cosmopolitan networks (17). Easy to swiftly and effectively navigate, middle class people are able to access a wealth of resources across the meso (institutional) level which is where critical social interaction takes place. Such networks offer multi-dimensional empowerment that translates to privilege and upward mobility in the form of material and immaterial resources.

While middle class networks are designed with accessing future resources in mind, working class networks, "in contrast, are often organized in response to structural exclusion, segregation, and scarcity, which trigger the need for conservation and coping mechanisms to deal with the trials of resource sharing" with other resource-deficient groups (Stanton-Salazar 17). Described as smaller, more homogenous, tightly knit, and turf bound, poor communities fail to get access to institutions (much less institutional power) and varied networks (17). In contrast, the networks they are a part of are sometimes referred to as social prisons as they are believed to be bound to other poor people that offer little recourse if they are in need given their own lack of resources (Warren, 1981). Thus, race, class, gender, generational and

citizenship status among other aspects of identity play strong roles mitigating opportunities to access these pathways of privilege and oppression.

While mainstream sociological analyses focus heavily on the roles of norms and social control in social network perspectives, social embeddedness most accurately describes how people's actions and outcomes are a reflection of their relationships across multiple overlapping and dynamic webs of social groups that are imbued with varying levels of access to power and opportunity. Borrowing from Granovetter (1985), Stanton-Salazar (2001) describes how this process takes place:

> Individual purposeful action arises not out of rational choice or the mere assimilation of norms, but rather out of participation in multiple relationships and out of the social, micro-political, and instrumental dynamics that compose these relationships: the interplay of affect and conflict; the exchange of favors and support; and the negotiating, pressuring, and maneuvering that become nearly routine. This is to say that people make their way in the world by constantly negotiating the constraints and opportunities afforded them by way of the social webs of which they are a part. Negotiations, compacts, social bonding, and assessments of differential power are all part of the process, although in different degrees depending on context and situation. The tension between constraints and opportunities, of course, has much to do with one's "embeddedness" in the multiple hierarchies of social class, race, and gender (18).

Stanton-Salazar provides but a short list of the existing hierarchies that limit folks from exercising actions that truly reflect rational choice and equal opportunity. There are many more aspects of identity and associations that inform their interactions. Unfortunately, those in carceral communities find themselves socially embedded within networks of concentrated

marginalization that ultimately impact their network opportunities and how they navigate institutional life.

FINDINGS

Identity Based Sorting

Institutional spaces, like nearly all other spaces within social life, are racialized. Yet in this study, other aspects of identity like gender, class, region, generation, and legal status inform how participants entered and were siphoned into various spaces within the institutions they are a part of. For formerly incarcerated Latinas, this information was officially used for placement in distinct sectors of the carceral institutions they were contained in. For Latina faculty, their background information channeled them to enter specific fields and roles within the context of the university.

Formerly Incarcerated Latinas

Angelina, a slender, light skinned mother of one, is the daughter of Mexican immigrants. She was originally from Southern California and raised in the Bay Area. This explained to me how she identified as a sureña. As we discussed her past, Angelina answered as if she was making sense of it as she spoke. As a sureña juvenile incarcerated in Northern California, Angelina was segregated from the majority of her peers, given that Northern California (and most of the Central Valley) is home to majority norteña populations in the carceral system. While norteña gang affiliated youth were allowed to get educated using the default general population school located in the jail, the handful of sureña gang affiliated youth were put in a private room to learn amongst themselves. One day, one of the correctional officers mistakenly allowed Angelina and one of her peers into the general

population school and a fight broke out with all of the norteña affiliated juveniles jumping her and her companion. I was curious as to how the correctional officers determined placement in the jail. I asked her if they inquired directly about her affiliation and if it was a formal process upon entering. I was surprised to find out that much of this intelligence was obtained prior to her even stepping foot in the jail. Angelina discussed this in more detail,

> I think that the input came a little bit from my probation officer at the school because she was supervising me at the high school. She was seeing who I was affiliated with, she was seeing and hearing rumors. Keep in mind I went to school in South San Francisco so that was already at the point of me being singled out stemmed from there.

Angelina's association with the sureña gang in northerner territory meant she was under hypersurveillance prior to incarceration. Given the scope of hypersurveillance that criminalized Latina youth face in wraparound incarceration, their associations precede them into the carceral system and impact their everyday lives (Flores, 2016; Lopez-Aguado, 2016; 2018).

Formerly incarcerated participants echoed that Latina inmates were sorted by the categorization of norteña versus sureña. Because norteñas are historically from north of the Tulare and Kern county lines and sureñas are historically from the same county line south, each territory in each direction generally has their majority population in general population with the minority gang affiliation in protective custody segregated from the rest. The sorting of inmates in this way seemed to foster a heightened sense of solidarity and loyalty among them. As a sureña in northerner territory, Angelina described what it was like to build community and demonstrate allegiance to the gang as a minority,

> I guess the relationship was sort of I don't know what to call it- like a bond, like you had this sort of sistership with them like you have my back, I have your back. We were a minority in there and so it was. The nortenas were the majority there… that gave me more of stance of having to prove myself. It gave me more of a okay you have to be that extra tough because you're singled out more you know.

Thus, with these gangs being predominantly Latinx and from distinct geographical areas, both ethno-racial identity and region play into how inmates are sorted. Yet, generational and legal status also played into the politics of sorting as the sureños have been traditionally perceived as having more immigrant and early generation affiliates as opposed to norteños being more likely to be more assimilated as members of later generational cohorts. Angelina, among many others, described sureñas as being more "Hispanic" and norteñas, "were much more like your Chicanas, more Americanized sort of girls…" Hence, race, region, and generation were salient indicators on what spaces these women would be funneled into within the carceral system.

Latina Professors

Lily is a Central American assistant professor working at a Midwestern university. Growing up in a Latinx immigrant ethnic enclave, her sensibilities were oriented towards a Latinx working class consciousness. Despite landing a position in a Latinx area studies department, she found herself feeling like an outlier there. When I asked to confirm that she was in a department of primarily people of color she responded, "so that's the weird thing, because laughs they're definitely Latin American. I don't know if they're people of color!" While Lily, like many of the other Latina professors in the study were funneled into primarily

Latinx academic spaces, there were salient aspects of identity and experience that differentiated them from their peers. Expanding on this Lily said,

> They're mostly white Latin Americans. So like light skin, light colored eyes, blonde, fully like, they'd rather speak Spanish than English, if they can get away with it, but they're like from about Cuba, Puerto Rico, Brazil, Argentina, a lot of Argentinians in our, in our affiliate pool. And like, of course, like white Mexicans, lighter skin people. I feel like no one's really from the hood, except for me and one of my colleagues who's from the east coast, my colleague who's from New York and I, we definitely have a different vibe and attitude about our classes, our students, our programming, and the others. Like some of the others, I don't know if it's because of their discipline or their upbringing.

Like the criminalized Latinas participants, academic Latinas were funneled into spaces with other Latinas. Yet racialized differences, national upbringing and the attached epistemological insights, and growing up in a working class context shaped their interactions and ability to relate to peers.

Others like Iliana, a Central American scholar and mother, relayed nearly identical stories about how the class-based cleavages she had with her Latinx colleagues made her feel at times very different from others in her Latinx area studies department. While she felt that they were warm and more welcoming than colleagues in mainstream disciplines, their upper middle class ways of being clashed with her working class/poor upbringing. They would offer Iliana contact information for housekeepers and landscapers, gardeners and renovators. As she described it, she did not hire help for work that she and her partner could do themselves.

While there was a sorting process taking place at the departmental level for these Latinas, this happened as well at the administrative level. Because of how the academy treats notions of diversity, equity, and inclusion, appointments to roles related to that work on a university level get channeled to people of color. Serving as a symbolic visual signifier that the university is committed to equity work and uplifting marginalized faculty, those that are at the intersections of multiple forms of marginality- like women of color- are often put in these roles. Margaret, a Chicana scholar and mother of three, discusses her reluctance to take on one of those roles,

> So it's like, 'oh, they need to hire an associate Dean for diversity.' Of course they're going to get the Black person or the Latino person to do it. It's almost like I'm kind of in that position now, because at time I felt like I was resisting that. Like I don't want to be tokenized or pigeonholed into like I have to speak for diversity.

Between wanting to take a seat at the table to make institutional change and not wanting to be coerced into these positions as the only one to do this demanding work, Latina faculty across my study felt uniquely targeted to serve these roles because of the combination of most often their ethnoracial identity, gender, and history of legal status.

Segregation: Organizational & Individual Mechanics

The carceral and academic institutions that participants navigated reflected the segregational dynamics that occur in society across aspects of identity and demographic difference. This largely was a product of both formal institutional mechanics but also the self-segregating actions of those inhabiting those spaces. In each institution there were gendered, raced, and regional, cleavages within the Latinidad diaspora that shaped their

perceptions of other Latinxs also within their institutional spaces. This compelled both formerly incarcerated Latinas and Latina professors to segregate using the same type of organizing principles that Stanton-Salazar (2001) described as being how working class people network: as a response to structural exclusion as they essentially surrounded themselves with those that they felt protected around.

Formerly Incarcerated Latinas

As aforementioned, carceral facilities across the state largely use race and gang affiliation as the chief operating mechanism to categorize and separate inmates. Since gang affiliation is informed by regional, racial, and generational cleavages, each of these aspects inadvertently feed into how inmates are divided. Yet for as many perceived differences they have, they share much in common. Alicia, a formerly incarcerated woman turned celebrated scholar, describes the commonalities she felt with these women, "they were very similar to me in that sense- a lot of times coming from single mother households. Violence in the home. Trauma, you know… and then also some issues. A lot of times it was like some mental health issues too." As multiply marginalized women, they lived with the brunt of living in impoverished neighborhoods, often times so-called broken homes, and carried the trauma of violence.

In spite of sharing much of this history, Latinas on both sides of the sureña and norteña gang affiliation were personally compelled to stand by the institutional organizing mechanics based on personal convictions of the opposing gang being socially and morally unacceptable. Ironically, the declarations made by gang affiliates across this study mirrored one another in content. This only served to affirm the ideological continuities amongst the current and former gang affiliates in my study. Dee, a formerly incarcerated Chicana mother

from the Bay Area and undergraduate student at a prestigious university had extremely hyperbolic depictions of sureñas. Affiliated with norteñas, Dee depicted sureña gang life in Los Angeles to be pathological in nature, saying that their mentality was really different. Claiming that in Los Angeles sureñas were expected to be "ride or die" and essentially self sacrificial for gang loyalty, she said that Los Angeles sureñas have their babies gangbanging- alluding to the intergenerational grooming of youth to become the next generation of sureños. In discussing the difference between Bay Area norteñas and Los Angeles based sureñas, Dee divulged some of the generational and affiliation cleavages that mitigated gang participation discussed in the last chapter. Dee said,

> I think up here (Bay Area) it's not really like that. It's more like you're kind of born into it, like maybe your family. [There] it's like real condoned… like you don't want your kids. Like you know, I grew up as a gangbanger but I don't want my kids to be gangbangers kind of thing.

To Dee, norteñas inherited the lifestyle whereas sureñas actively socialized their children to become incorporated into gang culture. While she acknowledged that in some areas of the Bay among certain populations of norteños adopted the same socialization process, she held that, "over there (Los Angeles) it's is very normal and it's everybody." While Dee was convinced that Los Angeles based sureñas would sacrifice their children to the gang, I juxtaposed this with the assertions by other participants from various regions that claimed that sureñas (sometimes referred to as paisas by more Americanized participants, but often their own subset within incarcerated populations) were more family oriented and put their families and cultures first. Despite their position, it was clear that both groups shared the same sentiment and ultimately perceived gang life as detrimental to the family.

Other cleavages that often fell along gang lines but manifested in different ways within each gang was anti-Blackness. While incarcerated, participants almost always segregated by ethno-racial identity. Yet throughout the day they had time where the general population could engage with one another. During those times is when incarcerated women of different racial backgrounds could congregate if they wished. It was because of the limited interactions that some Latinas had with Black women that drew the anti-Black ire of their peers. It was in these interactions that, again, regional cleavages revealed themselves.

In comparison to other regions, Los Angeles has a high amount of residential segregation. Carceral communities within Los Angeles that have high gang activity are more likely to be insulated ethnic enclaves with little diversity. While Los Angeles is home to the Latinx sureño gang, internal factions primarily battle one another over turf. Yet when incarcerated within Southern California, these factions unite under the umbrella of Latinidad. As explained by Caro, a formerly incarcerated and formerly sureña affiliated alumna of a prestigious university turned activist, "it was super crazy that, you know, out in the streets the sureños from Southern California were killing each other but then they went to prison and they were all allies." Beyond the racial solidarity they shared, so too did most share in being socialized to not fraternize with other races. This resulted in their being hypercritical of incarcerated Latinas from other regions that socialized with other races and in particular they defined rigid divisions based on prohibitions against engagement with Black women.

This is not to suggest that Latinas from other regions did not also segregate by ethnoracial identity. With exception of some of the Latinas that had an ambiguous or flexible ethnicity (Vasquez, 2010) and one Afro-Latina participant, nearly all formerly incarcerated Latinas segregated with other Latinxs. Yet these participants were much more inclined to

befriend (at best) incarcerated Black women and to refuse to physically attack (at the least) Black women when given orders by other Latinas. Martina, a light skinned, queer identifying, masculine Latina from the Central Valley discusses how other inmates would try to drag her into their race-related beefs,

> Martina: …when I started going on with my girlfriend and then while she was beefing with Black girls, you know, she was trying to get me to beef with them and I'm like, 'that's not- I'm not beefing'- that's when she kind of get the whole unit up against me because I wasn't trying to beef with no Black girls. I wasn't trying to beef with nobody. She wanted me to call them names and stuff… I was in that unit where there- I'd have to be 23 hours lockdown you know?! And everybody was barking behind cells, you know? And it's like, why am I gonna (fight with the Black women) already you know, she done nothing to me, I'm not going to disrespect this girl. You know?
>
> R: So like racial politicas?
>
> Martina: Yeah it's actually- it's always racial: Blacks, Mexicans and whites. It's not just, you know, it's not just white, Mexicans and Blacks… it's whoever is disrespectful to one another you know, but it's usually the white girls hating on Black girls- and you know what? And sometimes the Mexicans will tag with the white girls to go against the Blacks but I didn't never try to get into none of that shit.

When I asked Martina why she did not entertain fighting with the Black women, her first inclination was to respond that her best friend is Black and her kids are Black. Saying she identified with Black folks, it became very clear that participants that grew up in proximity to Black communities were the least likely to engage in anti-Black hostility. Given the diversity across the Bay Area and pockets of neighborhoods across the Central Valley that are home to

both Black and Latinx residents, these participants were much more likely to engage in friendships with Black women than those in Southern California. Dee doubled down on feeling that she had more in common with Black women from the Bay Area and even Los Angeles than some sureñas from Los Angeles. She remarked that the women from Los Angeles resented her because of how cool she was with Black women. She made sense of this dynamic by considering the scope of segregation in Los Angeles versus Oakland where she described the neighborhoods as filled with people that were Black or Mexican.

Of importance is that those who came from neighborhoods in Los Angeles that were not as homogeneously Latino were also open to friendships with Black women. The anti-Blackness that perpetuated most circles among inmates from Los Angeles was less likely to occur amongst women that were from neighborhoods with significant Black and Latinx populations. Camelia, a formerly incarcerated mother and graduate student from South Central discussed being caught off guard by the racial politics in prison,

> Like, I'll say this, like, you know, the whole racial thing. Like I wasn't really ready for it. Because like, I was and I wasn't- because I grew up in South Central. Like, you know… I I don't know, like I was around Black people my whole life. Like my adopted grandmother is Black or was Black. So was my neighborhood and my neighbors, right? And I remember getting there and one of our roommates was Black and everybody else in the room was white, or Latino. And then I was like, 'Oh my gosh, like, can you do my hair?' And she was like, 'yeah,' so I had, like, we stayed up all night, like talking and she braided my hair. And then the next day hit the yard. And people were like, 'what the fuck? Like, you need to take those braids out of your hair.' And I was like, 'I'm not doing that.' And I almost got jumped for it. So that's how racial it was.

Ironically enough, Camelia's own ethnoracial community was willing to compromise her well-being because she deviated from maintaining strong racial boundaries.

Latina Professors

Nearly all of the faculty in this study examine content relevant to Latinx communities; the professoriate roles they take on often center their Latinx identities. Because of this, many ended up in Latinx area studies departments while those in mainstream disciplines found themselves often isolated from other faculty that shared their cultural backgrounds. Ana, an avid writer and community college professor, was one of two women of color in her mainstream department. While she befriended the other Latina in her department, she often self segregated from her colleagues. I asked her why and she expounded, "Well, I've kind of always held a strong boundary with my colleagues. I don't know. I just have never felt like they were my people. Do you know what I mean?" I asked her why and she remarked, "Just different interests in certain things. Beside the fact that we had this department in common, do you know what I mean? But I never really socialized with them…" Ana distinguishes that while she may share space and have disciplinary commonalities, to be her people would entail shared commonalities beyond the institutional space that is her workplace.

This sentiment of community beyond the institutional organization of the workplace was shared by many in the study. Raquel, a Chicana professor and motherscholar, asserted that women of color are the people that she considers her friends at her institution. Rather than naming those within her department that share her scholarly interests, or men of any cultural background, she held firm that other women of color networks were where she found

herself in community. I asked why it was women of color- not specifically Latinas, not Latinos, not men of color- this was of particular interest because most of the Latina faculty in the study affirmed that it was women of color (Black and Latina women specifically) that comprised their institutional community that they surrounded themselves with. Raquel remarked,

> I think there's a certain sensibility like in terms of common experiences that you've had, whether in college or graduate school that make you kind of see the world and the campus a certain like- with a particular kind of framework or lens. And then I think that we just probably have the most things in common. Right? And then I think that because that also it's the same kind of for the most part, in terms of value system and in terms of students, what our responsibilities are, what our… Yeah, I guess what our responsibilities are towards our students and what how we go about doing that, right? I think that's, I think that's it.

This optic, would prove to go beyond the bounds of Latinx ethnoracial identity but would also include strong elements of class (as Lily aforementioned). Politics of gender would also be both a formal and informal organizational mechanism that heavily impacted how faculty would segregate.

While Latinas contemporarily have higher representation in academia than their male counterparts (US Bureau Current Population Survey 2020, Educational Attainment in the United States 2020, Table 1. Educational Attainment of the Population 18 Years and Over, by Age, Sex, Race, and Hispanic Origin: 2020).), nonetheless Latino men have historically dominated Latinx area studies. Despite being intended as a counterhegemonic area of study; these interdisciplinary hubs often mimic the systems of inequality across society. For many

Latina faculty in this study, the injuries sustained by in group members felt more egregious than those from non-Latinxs colleagues because of presumed in group solidarity.

Many of the women professors in my study entered Latinx area studies programs and departments comprised of longstanding Latino male faculty. For many of these women, they were the first female faculty person to enter these spaces. The departmental ethos was often seeped in iterations of traditional Chicano nationalism that rallied around notions of a rigid cultural authenticity that heralded machismo at the expense of women and queer scholars. Natalia, a soft spoken and petite Chicana professor discusses how the gendered composition of her department impacted her treatment and her own interaction,

> Natalia: I think. I mean, when I was first hired, I was the only woman in the department. So definitely my first few years I had several, several of the male colleagues they used to refer to me as "la niña" my jaw drops, she laughs. Yeah. With the department because on top of being a woman, I have, I don't, I've never, I've always looked pretty young. And so, so there's so there's that. And I'm five feet tall, so I'm not very big… it was just always sort of that way. I didn't, I didn't, they always sort of were sexist and that didn't change even after…
>
> R: Come things don't change.
>
> N: Yea it's, it's unfortunately you see this a lot in Chicano Studies. I may not deal with the racism in my department, because we're all you know, Latinos- most of us are. It's mixed up so some of us are not are not Mexican, but they're Latin American. So you see more of the sexism unfortunately, you still have it.
>
> R: And how did you respond to it.?

N: You know, you're, when I was first hired like I was, because I was still in that mindset of, 'I just need to make sure I get tenure. I can't like push any buttons.' So I was really passive.

Natalia would go on to discuss that while the organizational aspect of her department was heavily male segregated, she knew she would have to take it upon herself to find others that shared the same type of shared worldview that Raquel spoke about. Natalia ventured outside of her Latinx area studies department and found her people in Sociology and Women Studies. So while the academic institutions were organized in a way where many Latina faculty felt segregated from like minded people, they took on the burden of seeking out others with whom they resonated with and often remained isolated amongst these communities.

Peer Distrust

With both populations in the study, rampant distrust of institutional peers was the norm. While there were a few cases where outliers in both sample populations referred to a few of their peers as friends or called them nice, the vast majority interacted with their peers in only the depth of which the institutions they found themselves in required. For formerly incarcerated Latinas, trust was construed around one's ability to engage in violence as these women's networks were structured around protection. For Latina faculty, their decisions to not trust their colleagues were based on not exposing their real identities- those they

perceived as far removed from the academy- to their colleagues and on not seeing the academy as the place where trustworthy friendships are sought.

Formerly Incarcerated Latinas

Deion, a friend from my childhood, supported this study and brought Alejandra with her so that she could also be a part of it. Given how the two interacted closely, were locked up together, and had continued their friendship on the outs (outside of the carceral system), I assumed their friendship had a lot of trust. Speaking to Deion about her network and trust behind bars, I knew she would have a frank discussion with me. Starting at a whisper and ending up hollering she responded to me asking her if she trusted anyone,

Deion: Fuck no. I don't trust not one of them. Even her. gestures towards Alejandra Like I trusted her but I was on my toes nigga

Researcher: Right but what I'm saying is, with the people you chose from general population, the people you chose to surround yourselves with- who were they? Did they grow up like you, did they look like you?

D: Yea like I said I could identify with them a lot more. Like I said, I couldn't tell many of them bitches much of anything about myself like because, "I don't really know you bitch. I don't know if you're gonna tell the next person…"

R: So you're saying you never truly trusted anybody?

D: No you never trust anybody in jail

R: Why?

D: Because they're in there for a reason. They're all criminals-

R: But aren't you in…?

D: EXACTLY! Bitch like, 'fuck you!', you know what I'm saying! 'I don't trust you and if I think you're up to something I'm gonna get you! I'm gonna fucken get you so don't trust me either!'

Despite feeling like the women in her institutional network shared much in common with her, trust was not something that Deion could easily establish within her group. Whether it was internalized feelings of inferiority or lived experience, their placement behind bars with her was enough to tip her off that these women could not be trusted.

For many other formerly incarcerated Latinas, notions of trust in their carceral facilities surrounded either their or the other party's ability to fight. Rather than it being based off the depth of confidence and loyalty between the girls and/or women, trust was predicated on the context of the institution. For incarcerated women, it was based on survival and safety. Caro, a sureña from Los Angeles and raised in the Bay Area, clarified the carceral iteration bounds of trust as she said, "I don't think it was that I trusted them but that I needed them." For some, trust could only be given to those girls/women that could and would be willing to physically defend you in a physical altercation. For Angelina, the sureña who was outnumbered by the rival gang in Bay Area carceral facilities, protection was something that she placed a high premium on. I asked her if she trusted the girls in her institutional network and she replied,

Yes and no because within that small group you would also break that down further and say, 'okay these are the girls that aren't as chafa and these are the girls that are, or these are the girls that 'are down' and the girls that are not, so the girls that were a little bit tougher you kind of knew had your back versus the ones who weren't ready to jump in when things did happen.

Therefore, ability to fight was a hierarchy that was embedded in relationships of trust in carceral facilities both at the juvenile and the adult level. Others, like 3M, a formerly incarcerated mother of 5 and graduate of a prestigious public university, had a different relationship to trust behind bars. 3M also considered the role of physical ability in trust yet she connected trust with fear. To 3M, her strong fighting skills mitigated who she trusted. When I asked her if she trusted her network she said, "Yeah, because I knew I could beat their ass." Ultimately she felt that others were forced to do right by her because she knew she knew she had the ability to fight them if necessary, "At the end of the day, I wasn't fearful of them because I was like, we can square up."

Latina Professors

Despite the high stakes in what trust could result in in carceral facilities versus in the academy, Latina faculty were equally distrusting in their respective institutional networks. Faculty often cited dishonest and inauthentic exchanges in the institution amongst peers as being one of the main reasons why they didn't trust peers. Iliana, a Central American scholar at a prestigious public university told me that she learned that she could not trust people in her department after the first faculty meeting. After watching the interactions between her new colleagues and one of her colleagues that was being reviewed, she saw the discrepancy between what they said to him publicly versus what they discussed about his performance privately. She said, "I realized they were not honest with the person who was being reviewed and so they're not trustworthy."

Others were intentional in not trusting their colleagues as they feared that trust would lead to them exposing the seeming "unprofessional" parts of themselves to their colleagues

and leave them open to attack. When they referred to parts of them that could be exposed, it was never intellectual or scholarly deficiencies but aspects of their origins and personal life. Monica, the community college professor and mother from the Central Valley that I opened with at the beginning of the chapter was afraid that allowing institutional peers to get too close might make her fall out of code. She had code switched for so long in order to access her professional success that she was afraid it could all be tossed away when she got too comfortable by entrusting others and getting too close to home.

I had an eye-opening discussion with Azalea, an animated Chicana motherscholar from Los Angeles,

Azalea: I don't even call I don't even call a lot of my grad school peers like friends. I'm very selective with who I would consider a real friend. Like if we were not in academia, you would still be my friend?

Researcher: Exactly.

A: no. None of my colleagues in my department.

R: Why do you say that? Why do you think that?

A: Because I am, just generally but especially in academia in my profession, I'm the type of person who keeps it more professional. And I don't I don't let my hair down. I'm very careful. I'm not uptight... I do share a little bit of personal stuff. I do like to get them to see a little my personality, but like inserts a nickname alluding to her carceral community I would never!

R: Why?

A: Because I feel like then they will stereotype me. I mean, they probably are already anyway, but I feel like that would only give them more…

R: …Fodder?

A: Yeah, and so I yeah, that makes me very uncomfortable to think that they're gonna put me in this, this box. And, you know, in some ways, I am a typical Latina from the hood. And so I don't, I don't want to, you know, I don't want to add to that. So I keep it more… I keep it very friendly. I'm very social. I'm talkative. We chat about personal stuff. But, um, I don't share too much. I always try to keep a kind of professional. I've hung out with one or two of my peers outside of work, or like person like, social- socializing. But even then, it's like, no, they wouldn't be my friends. They're like, they're colleagues that I like, genuinely like. But if we didn't work together… I just feel like they have very different lives. They're very different, they're white, they're like- our upbringings are very different.

This idea of taking away the context of academia to determine the level of the relationship of colleagues was something that the faculty in my study echoed again and again. They felt as though academia was- as they referred to it, 'a bubble'- that provided the stage for inauthentic exchanges between networks of people that would not otherwise exist. Despite stereotypes of Latina professors as more lax at the workplace than their non-Latinx colleagues, Latina faculty were vigilant about maintaining professional boundaries because of worries that lapses in this performance would render them vulnerable to scrutiny over their background.

Transactional Relationships

The carceral system and academia are both institutions where securing resources is a high stakes proposition. The difference between having resources and not being able to

secure them can affect reputation, rank in the social/professional order, and the ability to navigate each respective institution successfully. Across both samples, participants viewed accessing resources through various interactions within their institution as necessary; formerly incarcerated Latinas were more inclined to engage only in transactional relationships inside of their existing networks while Latina professors were often forced to tap and expand their institutional networks if they wanted to secure resources. While the potential for consequences always presents itself when engaging in transactional relationships, the in network versus out network difference between the two groups sets the parameters for how transactions were handled and expectations invested in them.

Formerly Incarcerated Latinas

Negotiating resources is an unavoidable part of carceral life. As the vast majority of incarcerated people come from low income backgrounds, inmates find themselves struggling to acquire basic goods at inflated prices. While this often leads some that are desperate to enter into risky transactions, others were able to access what they needed due to the hospitality of their networks. Coming from an extremely poor family, Martina knew she would not be able to rely on family to put money on her commissary books. While some enjoyed non-essential goods like cigarettes, Martina was worried about acquiring immediate needs like toiletries. Despite not having money or anything to trade, women in her assigned network (norteñas) preemptively showed hospitality to her- establishing the basis for her group membership,

> Um, well just I try to tend to myself but like when you're in there, you don't have nothing, you know what I'm saying? But when you're in there you need stuff, you know? And

you're a woman- you need shampoo, you need stuff. So when you ask- or not even ask… people be like, 'hey do you need shampoo?' You know? 'Like, do you need the hygiene?' And I'll be like, 'yeah,' you know, they just make a little thing and

Researcher: They try to look out for you…

M: Yeah. And then that's how it starts, you know, just by one little thing.

While Martina experienced in network hospitality amongst norteñas from Tulare County, in network cordiality was tested across county lines. Despite belonging to the same ethnoracial group and gang network (norteñas), Alejandra was not granted the same courtesy. A norteña from neighboring Kings County, Alejandra talks about how locale played into her treatment in the same county despite her shared gang affiliation,

It was just like a territory thing. So then, because over there if somebody comes from some Tulare County over there (Kings County) and you're a homegirl, we look out. Like off the top. We'll shoot like whatever hygiene, like right when you get there, we'll shoot whatever you need. And I'm here (Tulare County) and it was way different. Like these bitches were on some grimy shit.

Even within the same region there were nuanced local politics that played out at the transactional level.

Despite participants like Martina being offered necessary goods, this did not negate her from being implicated in future returns on their investments. Whether being assumed by the network or self imposed, there was a pressure to put in work for others in the community. Accepting offered goods or cash meant that there was now a level of indebtedness or solidarity that needed to be returned to the group. The consequences for not reciprocating

could be dangerous for those involved, Gloria shared, “Well if you don’t have money and you don’ get to pay it back you’re going to get your ass beat, you know...” Help came with strings attached and those strings were either violence or getting entrenched in prison politics that could elongate their stays. Caro describes her experience getting help from sureña elders,

> Caro: And there were older, like some of the older girls who really helped me the most, but they also expected me with that was like “we’re gonna protect you, we’re have your back but this means that you’re gonna have to put in more work.” So it was super transactional.
>
> R: So can you tell me what, “putting in more work” means?
>
> C: Like fighting you know, if something went down I, I always had to volunteer.
>
> R: Yeah
>
> C: It was not a matter of people collecting you, I had to be the person to step up right away… I think it was pauses maybe transactional…Umm I, I think to me, I just I needed somebody. Like you can’t be a loner, you know?
>
> R: Why Not?
>
> C: If you have, if you have no one to back you up, people are going to come for you.

While her transactional relationships served an immediate need for resources and protection, Caro had no illusions about the depth of those relationships. After all, she was a sureña who when incarcerated in northerner territory was highly outnumbered and when incarcerated in the south was often called “plastic” by other sureñas who referenced her being a southerner raised in the north. The scrutiny she was under was heavy and by way of her gang affiliation

and regional upbringing she would always be in the minority no matter where she was incarcerated. Caro described the scope of her transactional relationships,

Caro: You know there's power in numbers and I really felt like the only reason I interacted with them was because I needed to survive

Researcher: mhmm

C: You know and they did come through for me. Umm you know, like favors for favors. And, but at the end of the day like everything, in the back of my mind I knew that they were not my friends

R: Mmhm

C: Right. Like if anything went wrong they could turn on me…

While fragile, these transactional relationships were inevitable. Trying to navigate the carceral institution in isolation was simply not feasible considering the consequences of moving through a space where tight knit networks sit at the core of how daily life is organized.

Latina Professors

Faculty were split between those that intentionally engaged in transactional relationships and those that did not. Amongst those that did not, I sensed a judgmental response to my question as they promptly answered, "No" and moved on. Those that responded negatively to the question were less likely to have had longstanding careers in academia than those that answered positively.

Sheena, a Central American scholar that spoke earnestly about her commitment to her students and campus community, connected being deliberate about forming transactional

relationships with others to her working class background. Rather than seeing this practice as self serving, she beautifully described her intentions branching out to others,

> I think that's a part of survival as a working class person, you figure out how to navigate with the little resources you have, and then you soon realize that if you bring all those resources together, guess what now, we have so much more power, you know, as a community. And so I feel like given that context, um, for me, yeah, networking is really important, but it's not- I personally don't see it as networking. I feel for me, it's about building community.

When Sheena, like every other faculty member that answered yes to this question, responded, her referencing reaching out across networks and institutional spaces was always in regard to accessing resources for underrepresented students and communities across campus. Not once did a single faculty member reference any transaction that specifically supported their own promotion within the structure of the institution. Not only did these women see building transactional relationships in this distinct way but they also were particular about with whom they engaged in networking building. While reaching out to their institutional administrative superiors was prevalent amongst this subgroup, so too was active and deliberate networking with those across the campus community that directly supported student well being. Many of these entities are the very much behind the scenes institutional agents that are heavily responsible for Latinx student success and retention (Stanton-Salazar 2001). Sheena thoughtfully describes whom she prioritizes in her networking,

> Sheena: And I think I'll- and again, it goes back to the humility part that we were talking about- because what I have learned is that, it's so important to acknowledge everyone, irrespective of their social position within campus, their you know, their access to

resources… in terms of administration, administrators, I don't go out of my way to meet for instance, with my Dean or the Dean of Students or things like that. And a lot of it has to do with my own insecurity of like, 'Who am I to schedule a meeting with these particular people?' However, a lot of times I feel like among faculty, they're quick to stay just among faculty and just build relationships with folks, which maybe I should be doing. Because like, folks, tell me all the time, 'you got to have full professors on your side, know who you are, what you're doing on campus.' And I could count the amount of professors that I know. But I wouldn't be able to have enough numbers to tell you how many staff members I know, because those are the people that I've connected with the most. Personnel, they're student affairs folks. And it's not necessarily because of resources, but it's because I really value the work that they do. And I feel like if it weren't for them, you know, my students wouldn't be able to be present in the classroom… I want it to be a transformational experience for everyone involved on campus as opposed for it to be self sufficient, but it's going to benefit me in some way. You know what I mean?

Researcher: Oh, yeah.

Sheena: And so I feel like that's, that's, if we really want to transform the academy, then we need to bring some of those funds of knowledge within, you know, like our practices, not only as scholars, but also as just human beings who want to connect with other folks that are doing good work and how do we come together with the limited resources that we have to do something?

This broader commitment to the collective was the motivation that many of these women shared. Several discussed that early on in their academic careers they thought of their commitments on a more micro level: with mentorship, thoughtful syllabi, and constantly

innovating pedagogy. Yet as they traversed their academic paths they learned "how to play the game" and often talked about the "politics" across campus. Thus, they started seeing engaging in transactional relationships at the administrative level as opportunities to really gain leverage in materializing some of the larger scale shifts in programming and opportunities for Latinx and underrepresented students and faculty across campus.

These women were very cognizant about how they moved. They were strategic in the committees they served on, in what capacity, and how they made alliances. Marina, a Chicana motherscholar at a prestigious university describes how she tactically teamed up with a colleague effectively to get what they wanted,

> I am the co-director for the Institute of Public Policy. My co-director's a white male in law and society. I think he's actually great. We are fantastic, and the reason we work well together is that we each have our own set of resources that we bring to the table, both symbolic and material.
>
> Researcher: Mmmmm (affirmative)
>
> Marina: Derek is a white guy and I just told him, you're the one who's going to talk to our white donors.
>
> R: Mm-hmm (affirmative)
>
> M: 'I'm going to develop our immigration and politics of immigration agenda. I'm going to run our race workshop. You go talk to the people of DC.' And it works.

Aware of the politics of how her Latina identity would be perceived in comparison to her white male colleague, Marina leaned into those biases. By 'playing the game' she has been

able to pursue successfully professional objectives that positively impact multiply marginalized Latinx communities.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have discussed the ways that formerly incarcerated Latinas and Latina faculty navigate(d) the social networks they were incorporated in within their carceral and academic institutions. Viewed through an intersectional and social embeddedness framework, I highlight the ways that institutions and Latinas use race, class, gender, region, and generational status amongst other aspects of identity to mitigate institutional incorporation, group membership, personal relationships and resources. While each sample experienced particulars to each institution, there were key continuities amongst both populations.

First, while institutional mechanics may categorize and funnel Latinas into certain spaces and affiliations, internal fractions that are in group reveal the heterogeneity amongst Latinidad. Gender, class, region, and generational status play a large role in how Latinas actually relate-or not- to one another. As indicated by the many examples throughout this study, these aspects of identity often supersede ethno-raciality. Second, both populations affirm Stanton-Salazar's (2001) thesis regarding multiply marginalized communities organizing in response to structural exclusion and segregation. Both groups surround themselves with other Latinas and women of color whom they feel protected by. These safety circles are largely in response to feelings of hyper-surveillance at each site whereby getting too close emotionally can render them vulnerable to attack. Finally, the politics of both sites require ample resource sharing and the building of transactional relationships. While there is

risk involved, the women across this study that did engage establishing weak ties did so using the barrio ontology of "playing the game." Knowing that each institution was an arena that had rules of engagement that only pertained to those spaces, incarcerated Latinas and Latina professors skillfully made connections to access the resources they needed. The ability and insight among senior Latina faculty to cultivate weak bonds over time reveal the possibility of working class origin people of color from carceral communities to undermine their oppressive formative social embeddedness; if even when they deliberately intend to keep those ties shallow due to the aforementioned need for protection, paranoia of surveillance, and playing the game. Combined, these findings demonstrate how carceral and academic institutional dynamics are informed by and therefore reflect the unequal material and ideological consequences that each institution purports to aim to remedy.

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CHAPTER FOUR:

INSTITUTIONALIZATION

> …right off the bat I, even though I didn't know them, I did know them and it wasn't too scary because I had already heard about it. I had already associated with people that had already been in the system so I kind of knew what to expect. I don't know… I knew I had to follow their rules.
>
> –Paola, formerly incarcerated mother and college student

Paola was one of the first participants that I met with that was actively involved in her school's organization supporting formerly incarcerated and system impacted students. Of my formerly incarcerated sample, she was the only one that filled out her documents online and scanned them back to me. While that may be seemingly routine to others, I noted that she likely had access to the technology, clerical skills, and a different relationship to time than others in this study. I would soon find out that this was true. Paola excelled academically at her university, was active and recognized for her work in support of formerly incarcerated and system impacted students. She was so successful in her efforts that she had been sought out to do this work in a professional capacity.

Yet Paola's contemporary success was far removed from her tumultuous adolescence. Being moved from school to school, fighting her way to popularity in every new schools, and

eventually getting introduced to gangs by way of a romantic love interest, she was entrenched in criminalized networks. By thirteen years old, she and her adolescent peers were charged in a murder case with some of them tried as adults. Although she beat the charge, she would become well acquainted with the inner workings of incarcerated life inside the juvenile halls across the Bay Area.

In the opening quote I asked her to recall being socialized into juvenile hall for the first time. As Paola describes it, despite never having been there before she felt a sense of familiarity with the space and the daily inner workings of the carceral facility she was placed in because her peer network had experience navigating the terrains of the juvenile hall. Their experiences provided her foresight into what to expect and in some ways alleviated the sense of worry and fright she may have otherwise experienced had she not been introduced to those expectations beforehand. Additionally, when Paola says, 'even though I didn't know them, I did know them' in reference to the girls that would be her affiliates behind bars, she is making a powerful declaration to a sense of knowing and connection that goes beyond direct experience. She is alluding to how strong her affiliations are inside juvenile hall and the "outs"[31]- that despite not meeting these young girls previously, the carceral institution's rules of engagement are so deeply engrained that she could rely on being received by others that share in her affiliations and networks.

This chapter examines how carceral and academic institutions are embedded with existing hierarchies of power and oppression and how they socialize their members in ways that reify these relationships and dynamics as common sense. Specifically, I discuss how

[31] Colloquialism referencing social life outside of carceral facilities.

formerly incarcerated Latinas and Latina professors were first socialized into their institutions, how they relied on peers to help them navigate the precarious terrain of each institution, how participants shared in their perspectives of what a good versus a bad institutional member looks like, and how each institution utilizes sanctions to set the expectations and parameters around institutional performance. These formal and informal sanctions reinforce untenable and contradictory circumstances for incarcerated Latinas and Latina professors to contend with as they navigate each respective institution and ultimately reinforce the existing relationships these Latinas have within each institution. Before sharing these findings, I discuss how prisons are not total institutions so different from academia but instead are a site where institutional fusion takes place. Shifting the paradigm of total institution theory to importation theory, I use organizational literature to situate both the prison and academia as related sites that are imbued with the power structures and ideologies present across society. These institutions socialize members by utilizing surveillance, punishment, and reward to erect the parameters of the affiliations, relationships, and trajectories of Latinas within. In examining the parallels between the socialization practices of Latinas within these institutions, I demonstrate how the seemingly natural affiliations and relationships of Latinas across these sites are shaped by neoliberal value laden institutions.

BACKGROUND

While there is ample scholarship on prisons, there is a dearth of first hand ethnographic accounts of prison life because of the difficulty of being granted access for research (Wacquant, 2002). Despite the limited access to prisons, Goffman's (1961) theory of total institutions is the prevailing paradigm used to describe prison life. This theory posits

that total institutions are closed systems of work and home whereby a group of people lead lives that are directed by those in control. Separated from the outside world, those residing in total institutions like prisons are believed to go through a socialization process that teaches them a set of rules governed by deprivation. This process, referred to as prisonization (Clemmer, 1958), teaches incarcerated people their situated roles (Goffman, 1961) in the carceral facility whereby surveillance and punishment are used to discipline them into prison culture (Foucault, 2012). Thus, they are taught the "rules, expectations, and hierarchy of the social order" (Ellis, 2021, p. 179).

Yet some have pushed back on the primacy of total institution theory to instead suggest that the social ecology of prisons is predicated by imported experiences and belief systems of inmates prior to entering prison (Mears, et al., 2013). Arguing that prisons are porous institutions given that people enter and leave them daily and that the Prison Industrial Complex is deeply entangled in economic and political interests, Ellis (2021) theorizes that prisons engage in institutional fusion. Ellis describes institutional fusion as, "the ways in which an outside institution proffers attitudes, practices, and resources that individuals may draw on to shape their tangible and interpretive experiences within a host institution" (176). This is significant because it presents prison no longer as an anomaly amongst institutions and is instead viewed as inseparable from the other institutions that shape incarcerated peoples' lives in important ways. By making this paradigm shift from total institutions to institutional fusion as a part of importation theory, scholars are better able to view prison within the context of an organizational approach which ultimately allows researchers the opportunity to "investigate the varied linkages between the prison and its surrounding institutions on the ground, as they actually exist and operate" (Wacquant, 2002, P. 387).

Thus, this provides a sound model for juxtaposing the organizational dynamics of academia with the carceral system.

Like prison, academia reflects the systems of power and privilege that pervade society. Organization scholars have long argued that workplaces- like organizations- are organized around aspects of identity with attached hierarchies in place (Acker, 1990). Gender (West & Zimmerman, 1987; Acker, 1990; Williams, 2006) along with combinations with other axes of identity such as race and class (West & Fenstermaker, 2016; Acker, 2006; Segura, 2003; Collins, 1986), are used to categorize and differentiate organizational and institutional members. This institutional affiliation process differentiates and clusters people of marginalized identities by horizontal and vertical segregation. Acker (2006) describes this institutional othering outcome as the product of inequality regimes. Defining inequality regimes as the "interlocked practices and processes that result in continuing inequalities in all work organizations" (441), she identifies institutional and organizational inequality in the systematic discrepancies between those with power and those without and the discretion excercised by dominant groups in determining institutional goals, resources, and outcomes; decision making; stability in maintaining their roles and financial incentives; respect; and their job satisfaction (443).

The social order of institutions is largely based on institutionally defined collective identities that are then internalized by members. In prisons, inmates undergo a categorization process that uses race and region as proxies for gang identity. Thus, while some inmates may not affiliate with a given gang, their race and regional origins inform institutional staff of their placement. These situated identities ascribed to them follow them throughout the carceral apparatus inside and outside of prison walls as it maintains the same, "permanence

and inescapability as race within the institution. It comes to define one's role within a segregated social system and stays with the individual throughout their term" (Lopez-Aguado, 2018, p. 33). These roles shape access to resources, relationships, and space (34). While these collective identities are institutionally defined, so too are they carried out by those they are imposed on (Goffman, 1961; Lopez-Aguado, 2018). Over time, institutional members get socialized into a social order where these identities become naturalized. Organizations, like prisons, share in this naturalization of institutionally defined and differentiated categorization of members where the clustering of marginalized demographics is taken for granted as "common sense" (West & Zimmerman, 1987).

Yet this clustering is anything but race, gender, and class neutral as institutionally situated roles and identities come with distinct material and ideological expectations attached. The segmentation of marginalized members to segregated units and roles within an institution largely results in institutional ghettos whereby those with marginalized identities are treated inequitably by the institutions they reside in (Duffy, 2007, 333). Beyond inequity, institutions often strategically exploit marginalized identity to boost institutional productivity and profit (Emmanuel, 2015). Unfortunately, while these roles are both ascribed and voluntary, West and Zimmerman (1987) assert that their performance provides the day to day scaffolding of the social structure that works to reinforce social control (147). Thus, prisons and academia can best be understood as not institutional silos but instead framed as "interfaces" as contested sites where material and ideological battles are wrestled with (Gilmore, 2007; Ellis, 2001, p. 194).

FINDINGS

Acclimation

Despite the carceral system and academia seeming to be drastically different institutional spaces, Latinas across both samples in the study reported them to have aspects that felt reminiscent of the toxicity they have experienced in their home lives. Aspects of that familiarity had a range of impacts on them with some settling into their new institutional roles with ease and others on edge because of it. Overwhelmingly, they perceived a lack of any formal acclimation process in both institutions. While a few Latina professors remarked about professional administrators giving them a lay of the land in terms of laying out protocol, processes, and resources, the majority of Latina professors and formerly incarcerated women received little to no formal instruction in terms of acclimating them to their new institutional roles. This lack of care by institutional authorities led to increased reliance on peer groups for getting acclimated. These peers assessed the Latinas in this study based on their past experiences and accomplishments. For formerly incarcerated women, this was done quite literally as they were expected to show their 'paper work.[32]' For Latina professors, their accomplishments were well known and scrutinized over by their peers as new hires for tenure track positions. Neither population was walking into their respective institution as a blank slate to their peers.

Formerly Incarcerated Latinas

Alicia was the only participant in the study that could accurately be included in both samples. A formerly incarcerated Latina with a Ph.D., she was reflective and critical of her

[32] Referring to documentation that thoroughly lists their criminal histories.

experiences with neglect, violence, substance abuse, and problems in the academy. While venturing into an entirely new world in academia and leaving her tumultuous past might read to others as Alicia's path to redemption and leaving her former life behind, I admired her consistent grounding of her current success in the struggles of her past. Describing the several interviews we exchanged as cathartic, she remarked that every time we met she was able to process more of what her past was like and make sense of it. Curious about the potential similarities and differences between the carceral system and academia, I asked her if one felt more familiar entering than the other. She responded,

> I would say more than anything being a juvenile incarcerated is what felt more familiar to me in the sense of the isolation of my peers. Silence, the silence. Right? Like these, these things are familiar to me, in that sense of like, the violence on us that occurred between peers, but also between the staff and the youth. You know what I mean? A lot of times it was sexual violence. You know what I mean? So it's like, and a lot of times it was, it was the way that they talked to us, you know what I mean? It's like, it was demeaning. It was really negative.

In some ways, Alicia's acclimation process was less potentially jarring because her entrée into this punitive and neglectful world of the carceral system was an extension of her childhood past before ever stepping a foot inside the juvenile detention facility. The isolation and deafening silence in disregarding these children, the verbal, physical, and sexual violence amongst peers and directed at them by adults in power mimicked life on the outs. Alicia's experiences affirm the feminist pathways perspective (Belknap & Holsinger, 2006) in that girls and women that experience abuse are more likely to end up in the criminal justice system. However, the fact that Alicia references the violence of her childhood and adolescent

past as providing entrée into acclimating into her toxic juvenile detention facility is yet another reminder of the reach of the carceral continuum. Even as Alicia described her interaction with peers while incarcerated, she iterated that the same interactional politics within matched those in her home. Speaking about about racial divides within the juvenile detention center, she said,

> those racial politics [and] racial dynamics didn't just exist inside when you are incarcerated, it is something that existed in my home too… because you hear those perspectives. You see those behaviors. … so for me, prison was always something I had in my purview you know because it was something that was familiar to me even as a child.

Thus, the social rules of prisonization preceded containment for some of these women highlighting the meeting and meshing of ideologies and what are customarily framed as carceral epistemologies (Wacquant, 2001).

While there was a sense of familiarity for many of these women, this did not provide insight into what the formal protocols of intake and carceral life would be like. Xiomara is a formerly incarcerated mother and social worker. She discussed her wanting to really pursue work with incarcerated girls because the facilities she was placed in lacked basic direction- much less rehabilitation and counseling services. Describing any semblance of being formally introduced to the space by administrative staff she said, “guards I don’t think I’ve ever seen like more hateful people than guards at a detention center…they never like guided me or gave me a protocol or anything. It was like, ‘here’s some underwear and here’s some shirts’ and like that’s it.” This introduction to their carceral facilities framed their stay and for many sabotaged efforts for them to stay under the radar from staff members who had great

authority when they would be released. Margarita, a formerly undocumented Latina from Latin America, was taken into custody by Immigration Customs Enforcement (ICE) and received no substantive protocol overview by ICE and found herself getting screamed at for simply taking a shower when it was outside the time frame that was for bathing. From that point on she knew that she had to be deliberate about going elsewhere to learn the rules and regulations about the detention center if she wanted to avoid prolonging her stay and suffering a negative outcome from her deportation proceedings.

Yet in order for these women to find those on whom they could rely to acclimate them by introducing them to protocols, they had to undergo a screening process by their peers. As they entered carceral facilities, many of these women disclosed that it was standard to show their peers their paper work. Caro, described this process to me:

Caro: anything you say goes on your paperwork and when you get to prison that's the first thing they check.

Researcher: Who's they?

C: People in prison.

R: How do you know? How do they get access to this info?

C: Oooooh you know the rules are, as soon as you get to prison you gotta show your paper work. It's either to whoever's running the yard, anybody else from your area. Usually it's anybody else from your area… when you get there and there's somebody from your area, you need to show your paperwork.

R: And why do you think that they have you do that?

C: Because they want to make sure that you stay loyal to the cause by not snitching on your gang or your homies.

R: Mmhmm.

C: I was more concerned about that than about throwing away my life in prison.

This scrutiny was not to be taken lightly. Caro told me that knowing that her paper work would be examined by her peers even impacted her behavior on the outs. She told me that even when she did not commit crimes she was compelled to not tell the police that she did not do it because even professing innocence was against code. Jenny, a formerly incarcerated, middle aged, community college student and mother told me that while it's not required of you to show your peers your paper work, not disclosing paper work to peers upon entering the facility would be a poor start and would likely result in a peer-led beat down. Incarcerated people that wanted to obscure things from their past- like being police informants, child abuse, or elder abuse- had little recourse.

Latina Professors

Valentina is a Bay Area raised, Chicana assistant professor at a southern flagship university. Going up for tenure in two weeks, she was anxiety ridden waiting for the administration's decision despite receiving a unanimous affirmative vote from her department. She struggled with imposter syndrome in her position despite overachievement throughout her academic career. When we discussed this she told me that her department was being run heavy-handedly by "a Chicana scholar with a chip on her shoulder, ivy league education, who was going to claw her way to the top at everyone's expense," and that "no one can make you feel like a piece of shit like another Chicana, right?" I was floored by her comment because I understood it immediately. She referenced high-achieving academics of color that experienced adversity at the hands of their privileged peers and now

overcompensated by mistreating junior academics of color. Calling Ethnic Studies departments "a dysfunctional family" where faculty fall into situated toxic roles, she found that the hyper-criticality of others in her department mimicked her authoritarian rearing. Valentina responded by internalizing a deep seated imposter syndrome despite her clear competency demonstrated throughout her career. She said,

> the fucked up part is about that was that it was super familiar. It was like talking to my dad …it sort of mirrored all that kind of insecurity of a certain sort of social position with family. So yea, so the imposter syndrome continues.

While not all of the professoriate participants in this study directly referenced this relationship, many alluded to this dynamic. Among those constructed as Latina 'exceptionals' and high achievers, it is worth mentioning that perhaps this familial socialization form contributed to the tenacity of their academic careers.

While many of the women in this study are senior faculty having achieved great professional success, it was not for having received effective instruction from those responsible for introducing them to their roles as faculty. Most of the women in the sample did not receive adequate introductions to their roles to help them acclimate to institutional expectations. Additionally, many discussed introduction issues that arose as a result of differences in race, class, gender and age between them as working class origin Latinas and their professional superiors. Rose, a mother and senior scholar in her discipline, describes her experience,

> I remember I go in, they gave [me] an office, one of the worst offices that they had because that's all they had available. They gave me my start up money and they said,

> ‘Okay, here's your TA, here's your office, this is what you're going to teach. Good luck.’ I mean, that was basically it… Like, no faculty came to introduce themselves to me. I would see them at faculty meetings. That was pretty much it. And I remember commiserating with a postdoc who was there, an African American woman who was about my age. And I said, ‘I didn't know what to do.’ I said, ‘I just moved here… and I'm supposed to just work.’ I kind of worked with her trying to figure out, well, how do I go about like setting up my syllabus, ordering my books, and just kind of getting oriented that way.

Rose represented only one of approximately fifteen faculty in her department and said that in a school of seventy five faculty, there was only one Black woman and one Chicana. Yet she was in a joint appointment in an area studies program where the chair was an intersectionality scholar. Saying that “the senior people were like old white men who'd been there for 30 years... passing judgment on these young people when they themselves had never gotten an NIH grant” she says that their race, class, and gender positionality played a major dynamic in the difference between them and her area studies introduction to her role as professor,

> But then in _____ Studies though, they were much more, the faculty would come and [be] like, "Oh, Rose, let me introduce you to so and so’, or ‘let me take you to lunch,’ or ‘have you heard of so-and-so? They'd be really interested in the work that you're doing.’ So they were very much about making sure I was okay, orienting me to the environment, helping me make connections to people, making sure that, giving me advice about how to protect myself and the do's and the don'ts and all that kind of stuff. So it really came out

of the [area studies] kind of space more than the [mainstream discipline] space. So I think if I didn't really have the [area studies] people it probably would've been more difficult.

Discrepancies in race, class, and age especially played large roles in how effective Latina professors felt their acclimation and professional introductory process was. For example, although Jamila was in an area studies program full time, she also felt that the age and inception of when the all-male faculty in her department entered the professoriate was a major hindrance to getting a good overview of her new role as professor. Jamila, who would be the first woman in her all male department to be granted tenure, discusses her experience,

> I think, you know, the, the two older ones, they've been so far, far removed from it, like their tenure standards, like there wasn't really no publication expectations when they went up. It was like you do enough service and you're good. But by the time we came around department standards existed for research, for teaching, for publications, and service and those didn't exist when they became tenured. As a matter of fact, when the co-founding faculty member that was there, he didn't even have a PhD. And he was chairing the department without a PhD. And so the standards were very, very different.

In Jamila's case, age of inception played a major factor, yet in Michelle's experience, class based assumptions really set her first year on the tenure track into chaos because of the financial precarity she found herself in. Some of the "unknown rules" that were not told to her surrounded taxation, reimbursement, and the cost of living. She expands on how a lack of class consciousness impaired their abilities to give her an accurate layout of protocols and expectations on the job,

No one told me that I would be charged close to like 30% of whatever I spent[33]… I'm not sure because I think more than just race, I think there are intersections of class too because I think a lot of them are very wealthy because of their spouses… One of the concerns was the low salary, right? And I remember asking some of them like, 'Are you able to live on that salary? Can you buy a house with that salary,' And they're like, 'Yeah, yeah, yeah you can. It's totally fine.' And I get here and they're married to engineers that make bank, things like that. Of course if I'm married to an engineer I can buy it. But I am not. I'm fucking poor. So that's something I wish I would have known. So I think because they're higher class, that isn't even part of their consciousness.

Whether it was deliberate or not, getting a thorough introduction to work expectations, networks, and resources was deeply informed by positionality. Because Latinas represent such a miniscule amount of tenure-track faculty, chances are more often than not that the formal person entrusted with this role departed from their positionality. Thus, Latina faculty entered these spaces and roles with little instruction and had to find their own ways to tenure.

While the next section focuses on how peers help Latinas become socialized and get acclimated to their institutional roles, for some Latina professors their peers being privy to their background information led to them being unfairly judged and treated poorly. Sheena, a young Central American professor disclosed to me that after her first year she found out her colleagues were speaking poorly of her. Questioning the legitimacy of her being granted an assistant professor position, she was referred to as an 'affirmative action' hire to discredit her

[33] Michelle is referencing to being given an allotment for moving expenses only to find out she would be taxed at thirty percent. Making close to forty-thousand dollars a year (after taxes) as a full-time, tenure track professor, Michelle was forced to have this expense removed from her monthly check in increments of $800 a month to sustain her financial obligations.

experience and training. Others like Lily, another Central American very young scholar experienced similar treatment. While such background information is typically kept confidential, faculty told her that her being offered her position was actually because she was the second choice as the first choice candidate opted for another position. With a bruised ego Lily was hurt to find out this information, yet received support from a former mentor to move past it. Nonetheless, knowing such information left a negative impact on her. In sum, Latina professors and formerly incarcerated Latinas shared many similarities between entering prison and the academy. This included entering host institutions imbued with the power relations that echoed across society that rendered them multiply marginalized. These organizational epistemologies categorized and funneled them into affiliations and spaces based off of their both real and perceived ethnoracial categories, region, and even areas of study. Both groups also sensed a familiarity in their relationships at each site with their toxic home lives, were not thoroughly socialized by institutional authorities and led them to be reliant and scrutinized by their peers.

Reliance on Peer Navigation

Since Latinas across both samples failed to have an adequate formal introduction to their institutions, formerly incarcerated Latinas and Latina faculty had to rely on their peers to fill in the gaps in order to get acclimated. Their entrée into each space was very different. Because Latina faculty were overwhelmingly the first in their families to go to college much less into the professoriate, they had no roadmap or blueprint of expectations to follow. Formerly incarcerated Latinas often had expectations going in because they either came from families where criminalization was intergenerational and/or their peer network on the outs

had histories of criminalization. This gave them a sense of prison/carceral culture before entering. In both circumstances, their peers took on the responsibility to acclimate them. For formerly incarcerated Latinas, these teachings before and during incarceration by other Latinas immersed them deeper into a criminal network and for Latina professors 'women of color fairy godmothers' that they cultivated while after cautiously building community while on the tenure track–as referenced by Lily- pushed them towards tenure.

Formerly Incarcerated Latinas

Many of the formerly incarcerated women in this study referenced having an understanding of the carceral order and prisonization process prior to entering. Participants referenced that their friends that had already been funneled into the school-to-prison pipeline were some of their greatest socialization agents into their carceral facilities. Not speaking to police and other carceral codes were common knowledge among these women. As they entered these spaces, they were immediately met by others that shared areas of their social locations (most often, gang affiliations) and they were given a lay of the land. Xiomara, a formerly incarcerated Latina that started associating with gangs once incarcerated, says that they 'scooped her up and showed her the ropes.' As a middle class Latina with no prior involvement with criminalized networks prior to being incarcerated, she expressed that those that helped her out alleviated feelings of being scared and established her peer group. Others entered their carceral facilities with family names that were respected behind bars or were met by their friends that were incarcerated. Dee, a mother that did an extended prison term, said that her friend's lengthy criminal record meant that she was not scared because her friend was there to explain protocols to her, she could tap into her prison based network of

support, and count on them to protect her if need be. Thus, Dee had inherited a tremendous amount of support through her friendship.

For those with long records as juveniles with recidivism, they had acquired vast networks of friends. In conjunction with having their basic necessities met that would not otherwise be met on the outs, they came to view juvenile hall as an escape from the toxicity and neglect in their lives on the outs. Caro explains,

> I looked forward to [it] because it also made like a vacation time away from my family. And from my neighborhood. And you know… and meals. Three meals a day that I wasn't receiving and so like I, at one point feel like I looked forward to going to juvenile hall… at juvenile hall I feel like it was much easier because it was just, a whole bunch of girls that I did know. You know? And also it was just like, you were just pauses for a few seconds at school… where you lived at… you got to see your friends all the time.

Many of these girls and women had accrued a large network of support from currently and previously incarcerated friends that would ultimately serve to socialize them and acclimate them to their new institution.

Unfortunately, such support is not without its detriment. Consistent with existing literature articulating that imprisonment exacerbates criminality by teaching incarcerated people criminalized skills and resources from networks while incarcerated, incarcerated Latinas reported being exposed to new relationships that would embed them further in criminal behavior and networks (Rios, 2009, p. 158). Participants like Xiomara that were not raised around criminalized family members discussed being clueless as to major aspects of carceral culture. She describes what that was like, "they would ask me if I banged… 'what

the heck is banging?' I didn't know any of that. I did not. Had I not gone to juvie I wouldn't have learned- I learned more things in there than when I was out!

Others shared in that experience. Paola, who was incarcerated more than twenty times as a juvenile, said that, "just going into the system opened up a whole other world for me" to describe how it expanded her criminalization network. In going to juvenile detention facilities she was exposed to a vast network of other criminalized girls and eventually adults from cities across her region that gangbanged and indulged in illicit drugs. Paola discusses this 'whole other world' that was opened up to her by way of socialization in juvenile hall,

> Just going into the system opened up a whole other world for me. Laughs So I met all these other people, I met all these other girls that were doing the same things I was doing that were my age. You know, they weren't just from the areas that I was hanging out from, they were all over the Bay Area pretty much. So it pretty much like opened up my network I guess of gang activities, gang members, drug use, and it just got me deeper in so I wouldn't just hang out in San Mateo County anymore, I ended up in San Francisco, I ended up in the East Bay, I ended all over so it wasn't just a local thing anymore it was a whole Bay Area thing. So my parents were like, when they would find me they would like literally have to drive to where I was found. San Jose, Hayward, everywhere. So it became a bigger issue. The drug use became a lot more intense because it wasn't like I just had these people to go to like if I didn't have these people to go to I had a way bigger network now and I had people that drove so it was like, you know these guys or these girls would come and pick me up- it would be like no issue to them and I would lie about my age.

So while incarcerated Latinas were socialized to survive in a carceral setting where there was no real instruction or support by institutional staff, such reliance, community building, and acclimation embedded them further into criminalization. Between participants discussing carceral logic feeling familiar because of having been raised in those dogmas prior to being incarcerated and discussing how the socialization of incarceration exacerbated their criminality after incarceration, participants demonstrated the extremely dynamic scope of the carceral continuum.

Latina Professors

Where their institutional superiors failed to properly socialize them into their roles as professors on the tenure track, their network of tenured friends and colleagues stepped in to support them. Ensuring that they were en route and would be successful at achieving tenure was the overarching goal for those that socialized the Latina professors in the study. Efforts included but were not limited to" close mentorship, advising them on service designations, letting them know which folks in the institution to avoid, intervening when they might be setting themselves up for professional failure, and keeping them abreast of Retention, Tenure, and Promotion (RTP) standards.

Faculty continually pointed out that it was women of color and not only Latinas that supported them. Many described this network as a woman of color pipeline that was sustaining itself. Sheena, one of the few junior faculty in the study, described this multifaceted support,

Sheena: But what I did notice right away was that the women of color were the ones looking out the most, you know, in terms of just kind of similar to the hidden curriculum,

as you know, undergrad and grad. They were also kind of telling me like, ‘okay, for instance, when you look at RTP stuff…,’ which is the tenure track kind of packets, and all of that, that's what they call it there. They would tell me like, ‘these are some of the things you want to think about, these are some of the things that you should emphasize. Or these are the committees that you should stay away from your first two years,’ or whatever things that you know, I would have never known. I was just grateful. I've always been thankful.

Researcher: Would you say that the women of color, were more deliberate in making sure that you had knowledge about resources as opposed to those that weren't?

S: Absolutely. Yeah, I mean, they made it a point to do like a, you know, one of them was checking in on me every like two weeks. Another one was checking on me once a month. So it was just one of those things where it was just like, ‘how can I help you? How can I support you?’

Sheena elaborated that “this pipeline of women of color” that came from similar backgrounds saw much of her in themselves and that they had experienced a lot of turmoil as the first women of color in their departments. Rather than letting her be isolated and go through the type of hazing rituals that many faculty and especially women of color faculty face, they sought to provide her that foundation of support that she could always turn to.

Lily, another junior faculty member, shared in this experience as she expressed that they told her both minute tactical details in addition to big picture moves she should be making in her RTP progress. She shared,

they would tell me little things on the side, like tips, you know, so like, ‘oh, every quarter, there's going to be a college meeting. You're not going to feel like going, make

> sure you go, make sure you sit in the second row, because that's the Dean's meeting. That's our boss, he needs to see you there, you need to be there go shake his hand and say hello like little things like that.

Calling these folks (not limited to just women of color but included some men of color) her "faculty of color fairy godmothers," they went above and beyond to ensure that Lily was not falling off the road to tenure. At one point in our interview when I asked her about ever feeling under surveillance while at work she said that it was these very folks that did it. I was puzzled and she said, "I'm being watched over by like, my faculty of color fairy godmothers who know the institution better than I do, and who are trying to keep me out of trouble." She then proceeded to tell me a hilarious story about how her faculty meetings have an open bar and on one particular gathering where she had several drinks she was bold enough to pitch an idea to the dean. The chair of another area studies program casually intervened saying he needed her and said, "stop making promises to the dean while you're drunk!" While she felt the weight of being watched, she also knew that folks like him and others across her institution were invested in seeing her successfully achieve tenure.

Perceptions of a "Good" Institutional Member

Latina faculty and formerly incarcerated Latinas described what they perceived their host institution's ideal institutional member to be in nearly identical ways. While they used some different terms, the overall concepts mirrored one another. They both described the archetype essentially to be programmable. They saw the prison and the academy's need to institutionalize them into following orders as being of utmost importance as inmates were

expected to dutifully follow the orders of carceral staff and professors' commitments were assumed to be working their way through RTP standards in reaching for tenure. Additionally, both samples declared that not pushing back on administrative staff exemplified ideal subjects. Nearly all faculty that directly replied to this question about what an ideal professor looked like to the institution used the words, "doesn't make waves" in their answers. Jamila described why this was the case, "especially if you're a junior faculty, you don't want to make a whole lot of waves because you know that other people are sort of determining your fate." While formerly incarcerated women used different terms like "not causing ruckus" and "no talking back" to describe similar sentiments, one can imagine that the constraint they practiced was also due to the power that institutional superiors had in determining their fates across time.

Another resounding response by both groups as to what an ideal institutional member would look like included engaging in behaviors that would warrant favoritism from administrative staff and institutional superiors. They believed that such pandering were efforts at garnering privileges and/or nepotism amongst those that held power. For formerly incarcerated Latinas, the behavior that they most associated with this was "snitching." While they were under heavy surveillance at all times there were few times where they had private moments. Often during those times was when those incarcerated engaged in behaviors that violated institutional policy. "Snitching," informing institutional superiors about the doings of another inmate, was perhaps the greatest taboo in carceral culture. Still, Deion felt that these informants were the favorites of wardens and correctional officers. She responded to my question about what a "good inmate" looks like, "A snitch. A bitch that's over here being like, 'she's doing this over here' and 'blah, blah, blah.' They're gonna get brownie points

because they're catching this bitch do shit but pretty much a snitch. A kiss ass. And that's what I'm NOT gonna do!"

Amongst Latina faculty, they most perceived a "good professor" by institutional standards to be someone that "kissed up to administration" and this most centered around promoting what Jamila called, "a feel good story." This feel good story had race, gender, and classed dimensions to it. Many felt that Latina professors offered a form of neoliberal symbolism to their institutions as glowing examples of the university's commitment to upholding diversity and inclusion. However, they also believed that their value could not be exploited unless they were a "non-threatening Latina." To them, threatening Latinas were those that challenged the university and questioned the neoliberal contradictions within them. Thus, that feel good story fell flat and actually backfired if Latina professors had visibility as members of historically underrepresented groups and yet pushed back at academic hegemony. Monica, senior faculty at a community college talked about getting hired because she was a non-threatening Latina. However, over time institutional perception of her changed. She shared,

> why I got the job was I, I was checking all those boxes… and I was a Latina too. So that was a good, like, PR move right? Um, so I wasn't a threatening Latina…but ever since I started to get on that senate seat and I started voicing concerns and challenging and questioning and doing it in meetings I think there's a little bit of a 'hmmm.'

Institutional hesitancy emerged as her institutional power and voice did too.

Sanctions

Institutional sanctions were used in both the carceral and academic settings to demarcate clearly the expectations of institutional roles, put constraints on the relationships they had with their institutional peers, and iterate discrepancies in power between the institutional actors in this study and those that determined their fates in the institutional hierarchy. For those formerly incarcerated, sanctions came in the form of punishment. This started during arraignments, while building community, and when reporting violence offenses by institutional staff. For faculty, sanctions were coded as privileges that could be given or withheld- namely tenure. While endeavors that garnered profit for their institutions were praised; acts that supported underrepresented student retention and success were reprimanded despite a very clear expectation of Latina faculty to perform incredibly culturally taxing labor in the form of student mentorship and service work. Thus, Latina faculty were in an impossible situation where they felt they were being punished for doing their (and everyone else's) jobs.

Formerly Incarcerated Latinas

The use of sanctions is utilized throughout the carceral apparatus to construct criminalized profiles and control the criminalized. There were several instances throughout the study where the criminal courts penalized the then girls and women in this study in ways that criminalized them and worsened their experiences in jail and prison. Camelia was a young Chicana from the Los Angeles Metropolitan area. Raised by her father, she took several buses to attend a higher performing school than the one in her under-resourced neighborhood. Determined but often in trouble, Camelia was accepted into UCLA for undergraduate study. Her pregnancy during her senior year ultimately led to her opting out of

UCLA. While such tenacity might merit awe as she was a young Chicana, raised by her father, that grew up in the barrio and persisted academically, her efforts were later demonized in the courts and used against her. As she was being charged for crimes connected to her child's father, attributes such as her leadership skills as a community activist and her intellect were viewed as menacing. As a high school student she founded a local activist group concerned for the welfare of her community focused on police violence. Knowing that she had ample community support, the judge refused to read her character letters saying, "I'm pretty sure that all those support letters are going to have nothing but good things to say about her. That's what support letters do. So, I'm not even gonna read them." Camelia's intellect was also on trial. Finding out that she was accepted to go to UCLA and was resourceful ended up being used to villainize instead of celebrate the resilience of this teen mother. She describes how the judge perceived her situation,

> 'Miss Gonzalez is smart, she's manipulative. She's this and that. She's a mastermind.' So it like completely worked against me. Even things came up in our trial, like with my ex husband, he was working at the airport, making minimum wage, and we had a daughter. And I remember, I was looking for a job. And I kept on calling the gas company to be a customer service rep at least and I kept on hearing this job for like a meter reader. So he had his test coming up for that position. And I remember I made him flashcards, because I was a teacher's assistant at the time. And I made him flashcards so he could study, you know, math or whatever. And so that came up during our trial. And they were like, 'she was so ambitious, she was so this… she made him study.' And I was like, 'Isn't that like just a good partner?' So anything positive that I had done was put into a negative light and anything slightly like a fuck up was like magnified times 10.

Demonstrating that the judge was committed to prosecuting her, she was in a no win situation where her actions would be construed in a negative light to punish her.

Similarly, Margarita was reprimanded for actions that outside of a carceral context might be encouraged. Alone and scared, Margarita was in an immigrant detention center. As an educated woman and well versed in English and Spanish, she quickly was able to befriend others that were awaiting their own deportation proceedings by translating their official written letters and helping them understand demands by correctional officers. She quickly grew close to the other women despite not having a formal space to convene. Margarita said that the guards would get angry and yell at them if they were congregating and not isolated from one another. She said, "They would just get upset if we were building community… and I think that's definitely one way that keeps us down is to make sure we're not coming close or coming together or finding comfort within each other." By prohibiting the building of community, the carceral institution sought to establish parameters across institutional members' relationships.

For others, the lack of a response to institutional abuse of power and violence and subsequent retaliation for reporting of such sent home a clear message to members that they held little power in the institutional hierarchy. Most of the formerly incarcerated women in this study discussed the outright disrespect that guards and wardens showed them as both juveniles and adults. Making comments across the intercom to juvenile girls like, "lie on your backs like you're used to," insults by carceral staff were the norm. Deion grew tired of the disrespect and filed a grievance with the understanding that her written complaint would go to the lieutenant and that person would deal with it accordingly as the state had the plausibility of coming in to rectify wrongs not handled by the lieutenant. She received no

response. The same guard not only verbally mistreated inmates but did so physically as well. She explained to me the reasoning behind filing her grievance,

> I put in a grievance for him because at night it was FREEZING FUCKEN COLD in there during the day and night! At night they would put the fucken cooler on! They would put the AC on n_gga! We would get our pads and put them over the vents and shit to try to stop it. We would try to put toothpaste and paper to try to stop the air from coming through… The blankets they had- the blankets- the mattresses- okay, I'm a start with mattresses. The mattresses were so uncomfortable. They did have some brand new ones but only a few had them. Some bitches were ON THE FLOOR SLEEPING ON CONCRETE! NO MATTRESS. NO PILLOW. NO BLANKET.

Advocating for her cellmates, she filed her second grievance only to have it go unanswered. While the lack of a response sent a clear signal that inmates' feelings and physical well-being were of little concern to institutional staff, for other incarcerated women their grievances were responded to quickly and with physical force. Camila was granted a ward of the court status as she fought to be removed from her violent parents' custody. Placed in a rehabilitative medical treatment facility without a need for rehabilitation, Camila witnessed countless girls being sexually assaulted by staff members while being sedated. Camila started reaching out to the committees responsible for overseeing their treatment to report this abuse and when they refused to act, she got in touch with the human rights commission. Unfortunately, as she said, "nothing ever got done, nothing, ever, got, done! Nothing ever got done." What did happen was she then had a target on her back and male staff would physically attack her, trying to provoke her so they would have an opportunity to sedate her. In doing so, they could create the basis for criminalizing her as someone that did not have a

criminal record- thus starting her down that path. In both Deion and Camila's cases, the lack of a formal institutional response served as a reminder that accountability was a one-way street and that the institution had full power and discretion in how it would operate.

Latina Faculty

As the coveted end goal for most faculty, tenure promotion is the reward most often used to coerce faculty performance. While faculty had a list of criteria that they believed was rewarded by the institution, Iliana- a Central American senior faculty member succinctly named the most cited list, "So the research, publishing in the most prestigious journals in each field, writing the books, winning the awards, those things matter the most. And then everything else. I'd say now I'm realizing bringing in big grants will probably protect you from anything." Noticeably, she did not mention teaching nor serving the campus community in any capacity. As she recalls her experience writing up her first annual review at her research institution, the very layout of the institutional instrument is indicative of the values and expectations of her university. She explains,

> at the end of your first year, you have to submit all your materials to show what you accomplished. And I remember submitting it and they told me, 'Oh, you know, you have to include what you did in terms of research, teaching, and service. And this should only be' I think they said, 'four pages.' So I did two pages of research, and one page, each of teaching, or I think I did like a page and a half of, of teaching, and then half of service. And I was writing on and 'I, you know, worked with this student at this other campus, and I did this and I accompanied in whatever...' And my chair came back and said, 'You can't have more than a paragraph each of teaching and service. Everything else has to be

> research.' And I remember thinking, 'Wait, but I did so- like SO much of my energy went to this' and they were like, 'yeah, but they're not going to take you seriously if they see that much stuff on here' and so um, I understood right? That's how it had to be. But I didn't stop doing this stuff. I just know that that isn't something that I can highlight in these things for promotion.

The layout indicated the disproportionate significance of scholarly performance in the form of research in relation to teaching and service.[34] However, that faculty mentors indicated that admitting to serving students and the campus community in the form of teaching and mentorship would undermine her sense of scholarly acumen to the evaluators- and we might presume that this would likely be tied to granting her privileges and resources- speaks to the neoliberalization of the public university (Robinson, 2016; Darder & Griffiths, 2016). While this approach commodifies production based on economic gain for the institution, the cultural scaffolding of such a bottom line is premised around liberal social values. Thus, Latina faculty are positively rewarded based on acquiring grants and producing notoriety for their institutions in their scholarly work yet are simultaneously acutely responsible for doing the heavy lifting in actually fulfilling the demands of educational institutions purported to be committed to quality education and equity, inclusion, and access. Unfortunately, as suggested by Iliana's faculty mentor at a large public university, this workload is not only irrelevant towards tenure promotion but also rendered invisible by the institution.

[34] This reflects the overrepresentation of research institutions in the study.

One of the major areas that Latina faculty described being negatively sanctioned for- at least verbally- was on serving students too much. Citing teaching at Hispanic Serving Institutions (HSIs) as part of a disproportionately small number of Latinx faculty on their campuses as a major factor, Latina faculty reported a tremendously heavy student service load. While some of this was extra time in the classroom, much of this extra load was in providing emotional and professional support to students outside of the classroom too. Sheena was one of many of the women in this study that were chastised by their professional superiors for devoting too much time to students. She described her interaction with her department chair,

> she was like, 'you know, Sheena like, you really don't need to be here, you need to tell students that you are not available besides these two days. Don't make yourself so accessible because, you know, people will take advantage of that.' And yet, if it was something related to like, something that the department needed to get done, then that was important.

Each of the women that were discouraged from spending too much time servicing students were told that they were not going to get tenure if they spent so much time with students. There was an assumption- like that embedded within the interaction Iliana and her faculty mentor had- that service and scholarly production were incompatible. Yet as Valentina pointed out, despite the heavy taxation of doing both, Latina faculty indeed did,

> My original chair was like, 'You need to spend less time with students,' and I said, 'Thanks, but no thanks…' [she said] 'because you're never going to get tenure if you don't produce.' I'm like, 'Well, I'm producing.' She didn't look at my CV. She just assumed if I was working with students so much, I probably wasn't producing, which

> was wrong. So I said, 'I understand that you want me to put my effort in a certain way, but I can tell you that I'm going to do both. So I'm going to do both, and then that's kind of it. I'm going to teach the way I want to teach, and I'm going to mentor the way I want to mentor.' I'm not going to be told, 'You get 15 minutes with each student, and you shouldn't do more than that.' It's like, no, that doesn't feel good to me. That feels bad to me.' But that also means stressing a lot.

Valentina, like many throughout the study, expressed frustration with the contradictions embedded within the organization and their roles within the institution. On one hand they were scolded against too much service to students as it was perceived as a distraction from fulfilling the requirements for tenure, but on the other hand their hypervisibility on campus as racial and gendered marginalized faculty drew underserved students to them as institutional hegemony rendered those like them rare. Thus, the very organization of their institutions exacerbated their workloads and created the parameters for their heavy student service. Valentina likened the institutional reprimanding of her for serving students to an example of someone saying you should not eat a desert and then placing it right in front of you, handing you a plate, a napkin, and saying, "but you shouldn't do that." Yet she wondered as one of the few Latina faculty serving a large Latinx population- who would step up for those students if she did not? After all, within her first few years as junior faculty she had sat on every single MA committee that came through her department and had written fifty-seven letters of recommendation for her primarily Latinx students in hopes that they could reach their goals of getting into graduate school, landing jobs, or getting into study abroad programs.

The same metaphor and the question of- 'if not me (us) than who?' was consistent with parallel sanctions proffered by institutional superiors towards Latina faculty when doing departmental and campus based service. As racial and gender minorities among other axes of marginalized identities, they reported constantly being asked for service requests. There was a sense that as marginalized people, it was their responsibility to fix social problems related to inequities. As Monique put it, "the white faculty, they want you to perform the miracles" specifically in reference to Black and Brown students. Yet she said that there are many things they (Latina faculty) do not have control over and that they certainly try their best. As she said, "There's a lot and I try to do those things, but I can't change capitalism."

Latina faculty at R-1 institutions were largely blocked from heavy service. Often referenced as their departments "protecting them," there was less formal institutional pressure on them to serve on committees than there was at less research dominant institutions. Yet there still existed the demand from student organizations across the campus community and so they still performed heavily in that regard. Additionally, Latina faculty are also often in Latinx and other area study interdisciplinary departments that are smaller than most disciplines. Their small department size contributes to the amount of service work that Latinas in those departments must contend with (Segura, 2003).

Many aspects of institutional organization contribute to Latinas being coerced into heavy service and while these women found the cultural (and gendered) taxation daunting, they found the invisibility of it to be most frustrating. Rose, a senior scholar in a mainstream discipline at an R1 described how getting pulled into service by a cultural outsider often turns into a disservice for the Latinas that agree to it,

> They want to do work in the community and 'you look the part, you can speak the part, you can broker that relationship for me, so why don't you come work with me and do that labor for me?' That would be okay if there was mutual benefit in the relationship. But what usually happens is that the junior person doesn't get anything out of it in the end. There's no publications, there's no academic products to show that are going to count in the long run. That's their [white cultural outsider's] own intellectual contribution. It's invisible. Right? It's invisible labor.

Women in the study actually were penalized by the institution as a result of the tremendous amounts of service they performed. Valeria, faculty at an R-2, said that because her institution put pressure on her because of her shared identity as a first generation college graduate, she was pulled into a lot of extra work that delayed her review for full professor by two years. This was consistent with what Rose iterated. Calling it a service burden, she iterated that the demands pulled faculty away from research and writing and ultimately slows down the road to tenure. Rose explains the precarious positioning of Latina professors,

> That's why the trajectory towards being a full professor doesn't happen as quickly or they never actually materialize. I did this too, getting so committed to students and communities and paying it forward. And just being so committed to that and how emotionally draining that is. And because we're also vulnerable ourselves. We're vulnerable ourselves because we're trying to negotiate this space that we don't even understand and we need mentors. We're not making money and we don't own homes and we can't afford a housekeeper and we can't afford a babysitter. And so it's not only that you're helping these people and you're passionate, but you can't even help yourself.

Beyond the contradictions of competing demands between service and tenure, Latina faculty received push back when speaking out against injustices and unethical practices observed within the administration. Referencing her petite size and her being a racial and gendered minority, Natalia felt she was both under surveillance and silenced because of her dean not being used to someone from her background questioning him. She said that she was yelled at and policed differently because her advocacy came from her Latina embodiment. She said, "if you're a chair, if you're a Chicana, if we don't play nice, then we are usually punished in some form. And I've, I haven't known any Chicana colleague, especially a Chicana chair that hasn't been targeted in some way when she's simply doing her job." Not fitting into the Latina "feel good story" role, Natalia found herself under heightened scrutiny for performing what she thought was part of her job.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have discussed how carceral and academic institutions socialized formerly incarcerated Latinas and Latina faculty into their situated roles within each institution. Using an intersectional and theory of gendered (and raced) organizations framework, I demonstrate how institutional organization hegemony coerces Latina institutional members to fall into behaviors and roles that reify existing power dynamics. Despite each institution having prescribed protocols and scripts that are recognized as to how to maneuver each space, the conditions that incarcerated Latinas and Latina faculty are forced to contend with contradict those scripts. This ultimately compromises the outcomes for each group.

While context plays a tremendous role in understanding the distinct experiences of each group, there were similarities amongst them. First, institutional administration failed to adequately give a thorough introduction of the carceral facility and academy to members in order to acclimate them to the space and their institutional roles in ways that would ensure their success. Consequently, this vulnerability forced them to rely on the socialization processes of their peers. While their peers acclimated them, they were at their whim and under their scrutiny. Second, both institutions have nearly identical constructions of what each institutional group perceives the ideal institutional member to look like. More than anything, this person would be easily programmable- essentially someone that can be institutionalized and disciplined into what the institution wants, does not challenge institutional rules, and is non-threatening to the established order. Given the institutional responses to their practices in the form of punishment or reward, members of both sites got a sense of their constrained agency in the institutional hierarchy. Both formerly incarcerated Latinas and Latina faculty learned the parameters for the expectations of those in their roles not based off of formal rules but instead based off of how their institutions responded to their performance. Unfortunately, these findings highlight how institutional organization creates contradictory conditions to the detriment of Latina outcomes. Additionally, the acceptance of institutional neglect and Latina invisibilized labor reifies institutional hegemony as a common sense framework by which Latinas are devalued. This ultimately affirms that these neoliberal institutions are interfaces where neoliberal relations of power are contested.

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CHAPTER FIVE:

CONCLUSION

> So it's not even about me. What made ME special? What made… I'M exceptional??? No, it was more like 'what made HER go down such a bad path?' I beat the odds.
>
> –Azalea, professor and mother, in response to asking about her exceptionality and referencing her sister that has experienced significant adversity

The deeper into my research I got, the more the lines got blurred as to whom the exceptionals in my study were. Surely Latina faculty were beating the statistics, for most of them their presumed exceptionality was only clear to them when they considered the miniscule numbers of Latinas with doctoral degrees. Beyond the statistics, they felt unremarkable. Often referencing hard work or luck, their perspectives of their stations in life never led with a sense of intellectual authority. Most often, they cited their great responsibility to honor the sacrifices of their immigrant ancestors through taking advantage of opportunity in this country. Hearing story after story of the obstacles they overcame in their lives before and since academia, their humility felt simultaneously oppressive and

relatable as a fellow Chicana academic. On the one hand, I had firsthand experience in normalizing the path from the barrio to the doctorate. Yet when I removed myself from the equation- to hear their stories of persistence in the face of insurmountable odds as multiply marginalized women who succeeded in institutions neither designed for them or welcoming of them, they were in a sense exceptions, if not exceptional.

I witnessed extraordinary effort, perseverance, and achievement across this study. Formerly incarcerated participants bared intimate stories of their excruciating adversities and how they overcame such dire circumstances. I was constantly inspired as these women triumphed over conditions that would make most folks crumble. My admiration was not just reserved for those like Alicia, a former adolescent addict and high school dropout that eventually got her PhD and became a highly celebrated scholar; or Caro, the former Mexican Mafia enthusiast whose prison informal education led to her education at a leading public university and is now a Soros fellow; but also for participants like Martina, one of seven siblings that grew up in an impoverished house filled with drugs and violence that was able to shake her lifelong methamphetamine addiction upon embarking on motherhood. Women born into intergenerational legacies of poverty, gangs, incarceration and addiction, faced odds stacked against them and yet they refused to succumb to the structural mechanisms in place that rendered so many like them casualties.

Learning about their complex lives and how they navigated institutions, I shifted again and again in how I perceived these two groups as strata. Initially my intentions were to dispel the exceptionality and disposability continuum; I viewed the hierarchical categorization of the two groups to be a gross valorization of neoliberal politics of worth. Then, I found their labels to be offensive. While being labeled disposable was an obvious

pejorative term, I found the label of exceptional to be similarly distasteful as notions of exceptionality are rooted in the comparative approach of denigrating one's peers or in group. Cacho (2012) describes the harm in claiming value, "recuperating social value requires rejecting the Other. Ascribing readily recognizable social value always requires the devaluation of an/other, and that other is almost always poor, racialized criminalized, segregated, legally vulnerable, and unprotected" (17). As Latina "exceptionals" from carceral communities, the devalued Others from whom their exceptionality is based on are not abstract. They are their mothers, cousins, neighbors and friends. Who wants to get affirmation by how far they are symbolically and materially distanced from their homegirls, their neighborhood, or their families? When value is contingent on how purposefully one disavows their origins, what purposes does that valorization serve?

In being critical of these questions I shifted again in my perceptions of formerly incarcerated Latinas and Latina faculty to see them as exceptional in a different sense of the word. This construction of exceptionality was not in comparison to their Latina peers per se but instead aimed in contrast to the social constructions of professor and formerly incarcerated person. They were exceptions to the rule, exceptions to expectations, exceptions to a social script structured in dominance. The types of adverse experiences that Latina faculty from carceral communities contend with prior to and after entering the academy are beyond the scope of what most of their peers have grappled with. Overcoming multiple marginalization on an intergenerational level to finally make it into a professional sphere to contend with difficult differential expectations of them is exceptionally worthy and admirable. Similarly, while society may construct incarcerated and formerly incarcerated people as those that have committed unforgiveable transgressions through their free will and

therefore must continue to live ruinous lives of immorality, this too is false. The women in my study experienced tragic origins, were coerced into the carceral apparatus, and have lived lives fraught with the residue of containment. Whether living lives on the streets characterized by precarity as a result of their criminal pasts or having reached tremendous professional success and advocating against the evils of the carceral system, both experiences are far from the narratives constructed of incarcerated and formerly incarcerated Latinas that preach criminalization as a moral failing and incarceration as being a necessary rehabilitative function. When juxtaposed this way the paradox of exceptionality as a label becomes apparent, as while they are extraordinary, they should not have to be.

SUMMARY OF MAIN FINDINGS

Chapter Two explored the lives of the women in this study prior to entering academia and the carceral system. Situating the carceral community at the center as a major social determinant, I explored the material and ideological conditions within it that rendered young Latinas hyper susceptible to neglect and violence. I found that experiences of multi-faceted abuse and violence was rampant across both participant samples and participants from each group coped in divergent ways. There existed an abuse-to-prison pipeline and an abuse-to-academia pipeline, as formerly incarcerated Latinas engaged in survival mechanisms that criminalized them and Latina professors responded to violence by retreating to school as a way to flee their circumstances (Belknap & Holsinger, 1998; 2006; Chesney-Lind & Shelden, 2013; Flores, 2016). While they simply had two different responses to the same phenomena, where they fell along the exceptionality and disposability continuum was informed by neoliberal ethic of worth that blames victims for demonstrating symptoms of

oppression and celebrates survivors of oppression rather than focus on abolishing oppressive systems.

Chapter Three examined how the intersectional identities and experiences of the women in this study heavily influenced their navigation of their respective institutions. First I discussed how social ecology impacts access to networks and opportunities for people. Those from carceral communities are at the intersection of many social ills (Clear, 2007). Unfortunately, aggrieved groups can be socially embedded within strong closed networks that limit their access to the weak ties that are necessary to bridge opportunities for positive life outcomes (Granovetter, 1973; Stanton-Salazar, 2001). These 'social prisons' follow those from aggrieved groups and carceral communities into other spaces. I examined how institutions utilize the social locations of the women across the study to categorize and network them into the institutional hierarchy (Lopez-Aguado, 2018; 2016). Their identities play key roles in how they are integrated and/or segregated into the institutional landscape and how the ontologies of their adolescence in carceral communities has followed them into the academy and prison shaping their political maneuvering. These institutions construed as opposites function in much of the same way.

Chapter Four demonstrated how the carceral system and academia are imbued with existing hierarchies of power that socialize institutional members into dynamics that naturalize these unequal relationships. Both institutions fail to socialize their members formally which leaves them to rely on other institutional members. Yet in being forced to rely on their peers, they were vulnerable to their scrutiny. Additionally, these institutions use sanctions to set the parameters for what they expect of Latinas in each setting. Surveillance, punishment and reward are used to condition participants to their intended roles and the types

of relationships they expect them to have with peers. Unfortunately, these roles ultimately are fraught with contradictions that diminish the possibilities for success within each institution. These contradictions play a pivotal role in reifying existing institutional inequities.

DISCUSSION

Reification of the existing social order is precisely the intended outcome of utilizing neoliberal ethics of worth to ascribe value. It operates cyclically. Cacho (2012) writes, "Human value is made intelligible through racialized, sexualized, spatialized, and state-sanctioned violences;" these violences are perpetrated discriminately by the state, unevenly produce harmful consequences, and when aggrieved communities demonstrate the symptomology of state sanctioned selective divestment and other violences, they are shamed and punished (4, 17). Their work is done in the public imaginary. Capitalistic at its core yet fueled by white supremacist settler colonialism, patriarchy, and xenophobia, the state does not require intense cultural scaffolding to divert from the failings of an any semblance of a social warrant when communities of color, the poor and working class, women and non-binary people, and undocumented people are devalued as lazy, criminal, and menacing to hard-working Americans that earn their keep.

Thus, the framing of Latinas deemed exceptional and those deemed disposable serves to benefit capital and the state. In the case of this study, Latina dispossession and devaluation began in carceral communities. As communities that are deliberately divested from and only invested in when serving a specific capitalist enterprise (ie. prisons and immigration detention centers), its members sit at the intersection of many social problems. From dilapidated housing to crumbling schools and environmental racism to defunct economies,

the social ecology of the carceral community constrains the agency and life chances of its members (Rodriguez, 2020). Beyond the decaying material realities are ideological roadblocks that exacerbate an already bad situation.

These circumstances coerce their inhabitants, like the Latinas in this study, towards making contentious decisions they may not have otherwise made had they been valued as girls and women that matter on an interpersonal and structural level. Perhaps Alicia may have never started taking drugs as an escape from her social conditions if she did not grow up sleeping on a motel floor, hungry, without the bare necessities- much less get asked by a single adult that cared, "are you okay?" Perhaps if an equitably funded, safe, and decently performing public school existed in the Central American enclave of Los Angeles that Iliana grew up in, her mother may not have forced her daughter to painstakingly grin and bear it through the alienation, humiliation, and devastation of attending the elite private school her scholarship subsidized. Perhaps Camila would not have to run away at twelve years old with her grandmother's blessing and ten dollars in her pocket if the emergency room medical personnel took notice that the little brown girl that came in with bruises and lacerations was coming in monthly. Despite the possibilities, each of the women in this study responded to the social milieu in their lives with the tools and resources they had. Their righteous audacity to resist their circumstances with the limited means they had access to eventually led them to the professoriate or the carceral system.

Despite socially constructed as opposites, Latinas professors deemed as exceptionals and criminalized Latinas deemed as disposables are deliberately situated as such within the public imaginary to serve a powerful narrative about worth. The individualizing of professoriate success obscures the intense struggles that working class origin Latinas

overcome and the village of support that these women rely on to reach that point. Meanwhile, the individualization of Latina criminalization conceals the hyperbolic interpersonal and structural violence that these women contended with that catalyzed their trajectories of criminalization. Working in conjunction, this construction preaches a neoliberal meritocratic narrative that puts the onus of human behavior and outcomes on the individual all while enacting policies and practices that have devastating consequences in the lives of Latinas inside and outside of carceral communities.

Yet this juxtaposition of Latina faculty in the Ideological State Apparatuses (ISA) and criminalized Latinas in the Repressive State Apparatuses (RSA) also perfectly illustrates the neoliberal iteration of the racial capitalist project in motion. The RSA silences Latina undesirables, the very people that have firsthand experience of the consequences of racialized state-sanctioned violence. By repressing those with direct accounts of the ethical and material failures of capitalism, the capitalist class is able to maintain the façade of capitalism's success (Robinson, 2020). Yet this façade is also maintained by cultural scaffolding of Latinas in the RSA that paints Latinas as unproductive public charges in need of being controlled. This depiction justifies the moral imperative of these highly profitable systems of confinement. Latinas in the ISA also have a utility as those for whom the state anticipates will be consensually dominated (Gramsci, 1957). Removed from their communities of origin both physically and culturally, Latina professors are largely alienated from others that share in their experiences. In conjunction with the politics of social embeddedness, this leaves them lacking a cohesive professional support system. As part of the ISA, academia actively perpetuates the illusions of equity and access under the guise of neoliberal ideology. In the age of the Hispanic Serving Institution (HIS), academic institutions sing the praises of

inclusivity and diversity, while Latina faculty are doing much of the care/cariño work necessary to support the retention of diverse student bodies that are underserved (Gonzales et al., 2013). So, too, does this apply to remedying inequities at the department and collegiate level. Ironically, their differential workload and raced and gendered expectations impact their promotion to tenure and to full professorships as they work behind the scenes to uphold academia as a bastion of equity, access, and inclusion. This placement of the two groups works to contain and control Latina counterhegemony across the exceptionality and disposability continuum.

I circle back to reflect on my former close friend being ridiculed by her cellmates for destroying her future as she told them that I, her childhood close friend was 'going to be a doctor.' In considering the limited opportunities and choices that were so constrained that it feels wrong to use that word, it is extremely unlikely that she would have been in my current social location and much more feasible that I would have gotten ensnared in the expansive web of devaluation and in the interwebs of poverty, violence, and criminalization that she and so many others from my origins did. Such an experience is not so far-fetched as my points of reference of what that might have been like are in familiar places and people that I call home. That reality feels so palpable for me and other Latina academics that we struggle with the survivor's guilt of making it out while those we love and motivate us to do this work contend with the realities of state-sanctioned devaluation and dehumanization everyday.

The Mayan proverb, In Lak'ech Ala K'in roughly translates to, "You are my other me. What I do onto you, I do onto myself." That precept undergirds the deep-seated connections between Latinas across the exceptionality and disposability continuum. Sharing the complexities of both the positive and negative experiences of growing up Latina in carceral

communities, the seeds are there for Latina professors and criminalized Latinas to unite to fight against multi-sited Latina devaluation. Latina faculty are already disproportionately represented in areas of research that center marginalized groups and contesting inequities. Whether it be focused on combatting poverty, domestic violence, the militarization of our schools or educational inequities, Latina professors and formerly incarcerated Latinas have shared experiences and mutual investment in alleviating these social ills that adversely impact the community. As professors, Latina faculty have access to essential resources and analytical tools that can get support for this work across not only what may be considered potential field sites (schools, shelters, jails, etc) but also stakeholders and policy makers. Similarly, formerly incarcerated Latinas engage in praxis, different forms of communication styles and insights that may help establish a deeper and more trusting rapport, potential flexibility in time that faculty may not have access to, and a wealth of knowledge and survival strategies that we all can learn from. In uniting as communities of shared fate- using the spirit of accompaniment where each sees their reflection in the other and seeks to do this work not out of pity nor for promotion but out of a profound sense of responsibility to fight alongside one another for the collective goodwill we gain traction in the struggle for hegemony (Watkins 2019; Lipsitz 1988). After all, if the state radically restructures itself in response to shifting and changing conditions to extract as much profit as possible out of humanity, then so we must turn that hegemony on its head by using our situated knowledges as resources in the struggle for freedom (Gilmore, 1999; Robinson, 2018, p. 847). By building solidarity amongst diverse constellations of struggle, we align a constellation of resistance.

POTENTIAL FUTURE DIRECTIONS

There are two main areas that I anticipate expanding this work. The first is to expand the dissertation into a book manuscript that adds sections on familial relationships and health and wellness. Both of these areas were examined during the interview/critical narrative process and coded accordingly. Findings demonstrate strong parallels in familial dynamics and nearly identical patterns in the types of adverse health and wellness issues that Latina professors and formerly incarcerated Latinas face. Additionally, I intend to expand this work in the future to include more participants from communities housing immigrant detention centers. I want to compare and contrast the experiences of Latinx community members at these sites by disrupting the notion that carceral communities are solely urban, Black, masculine spaces but also rural, Latinx, immigrant communities. Furthermore, my intentions are to make visible that these communities are not isolated sites of divestment and devaluation but instead intertwined targets of an elaborate social ecology dedicated to maintaining a racial political economy invested in preserving the status quo (Kelley, 2016, p. 17). In doing so, my hopes are that these hypervulnerable sites of repression can engage in coalitional resistance tactics and instead create the blueprint for geographies of liberation.

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