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## **Migration, multilingualism and adaptation: language as social capital in a present-day Mexican ethnic enclave in the U.S.**

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**MIGRATION, MULTILINGUALISM AND ADAPTATION:  
LANGUAGE AS SOCIAL CAPITAL IN A PRESENT-DAY MEXICAN  
ETHNIC ENCLAVE IN THE U.S.**

A Thesis

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the

Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

July 2019

by

**Citlali Ochoa**

Department of Modern Languages

College of Liberal Arts and Social Sciences

DePaul University

Chicago, Illinois



*A mi comunidad que, pase lo que pase, todos los días se levanta a chambear. Siempre vamos a sobresalir.*

*Y en especial, a mi madrecita—Nonantzin, cada palabra en esta obra se escribió con todas las lágrimas, el sudor, y, en especial, el amor brotas por nosotros, tus hijos. Nimitztlazohtla nochi noyollo.*

-Citlali Ochoa

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**Con mucho amor,**

**Citlali Ochoa**

## Abstract

**Ochoa, Citlali. *Migration, Multilingualism and Adaptation: Language as Social Capital in a Present-Day Mexican Ethnic Enclave in the U.S.* Master of Arts, Spanish, July 2019, DePaul University, Chicago, Illinois.**

As the Spanish language continues to thrive in the U.S., so do the linguistic needs of immigrants. This study investigates, from a sociolinguistic perspective, the Spanish language within a Mexican immigrant enclave in Chicago, Illinois. Language use was investigated within four business and translators there in. It aims to uncover valuable insight into the understanding of the specific linguistic use of the businesses within this enclave and how it may, or may not, be contributing to the language maintenance and language shifts of the Spanish language in the U.S. The study also examines the effects of globalization and immigration policies that affect bilingualism, multilingualism, biculturalism, multiculturalism and the overall Mexican migrant experience. In addition, it furthers the discussion on the importance of the relationship between the sustainable urban planning of a modern city, and future migration and language forecasts. Ethnographic, oral histories and asset mapping was used to collect data from the participants.

The analysis of the research found that these businesses and translators create linguistic tools that manifest in the form of translation services and

marketing techniques, as well as the creation of social and cultural capital through the use of language and translation skills in the form of community-based services as they concurrently respond to an institutionalized immigration system that lacks in providing such support. The research suggests that the power of the Spanish language is seen through the forced creation of a sustainable legacy within a racist and discriminating landscape.

**Key words:** Sociolinguistic, Translation, Spanish language, Mexican immigrants, Asset mapping, Ethnic enclaves, Language maintenance, Language shifts.

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July 2019



## Chapter 1

### Introduction

So, if you really want to hurt me, talk badly about my language. Ethnic identity is twin skin to linguistic identity—I am my language. Until I can take pride in my language, I cannot take pride in myself. Until I can accept as legitimate Chicano Texas Spanish, Tex-Mex and all other languages I speak, I cannot accept the legitimacy of myself.

-Gloria Anzaldúa, *Borderlands: The New Mestiza = La frontera*

### Background of Study 1.1

#### *Introduction 1.1a*

The trajectory of immigrants in the United States is not linear and neither is the history of the communities that they have settled once their migration path has taken course. I, like many Mexican migrants before me, did not fully know the history of my receiving community and its Mexican settlers in Chicago, Illinois, until I began a masters in Spanish at DePaul University. Being an in-group member of the Mexican immigrant community in the southwest side of Chicago versus being a Mexican immigrant in academia has offered me on not only insight and also brought on the emotional and psychological struggles of studying, *mi comunidad—mi cultura, mi lengua nativa y mi gente*. And just like Gloria Anzaldúa (1999) suggested, I couldn't take pride in myself until I was able to take pride in my language. Many of these struggles stem from my positionality as a privileged



member of the community I am studying. As one of the few of the lucky ones that get to go to college, let alone pursue a graduate degree, and then having the opportunity and support to conduct scholarly research.

I, like many researchers before me, struggle with owning the authenticity and validity of my research work. This particular struggle brought on two questions for me, a personal and an academic one, that needed to be addressed in order to fully carry out this work. The first one is, “Who am I to be writing this?”—a question that plagued me as I reformulated and display my *comunidad* in a new light for only certain eyes to see. The answer to this question is that I am an immigrant who believes it is critical to understand the effects and manifestations of my *lengua nativa*, in my *comunidad*, in this particular place and time. The second question that arose was, “How do I apply theory and methodology into this research as both an in-group and out-group member?” I approached this question by utilizing a survival technique that I have used as an immigrant to solve everyday problems, which is to use a wide variety of resource mapping techniques to address them and make educated decisions. In other words, I use a multidisciplinary approach. My primary goal in forming the multidisciplinary theoretical framework and methodology in this project was to ensure that the qualitative aspect of it drew specific attention to not only the social realities of the Spanish language within a particular set of businesses in La Villita, but to also draw close attention to the way bilingualism creates unique processes within the everyday life of those who utilize it in their workplace, beyond the closed comfort of their own home. I will demonstrate that this invaluable in-group insight into the community facilitated my

ability to gather ethnographic and oral history data that goes beyond a simple snapshot of a particular community.

This research study began as an ethnographic research project from a course taken as part of the MA in Spanish at DePaul University titled *Communities of Practice*, in which the social aspects of language are considered in the study of communities, organizations and cultures. Within this course, and as a final project, I completed an initial observation-based ethnographic study of certain businesses in La Villita that advertised translation services on their front window displays—something that I had observed out of my own personal interaction within this community. I collected information on the translation services and the other variety of services offered. My conceptual framework within that project was two-fold. Using the Asset-Based Community Development (ABCD) approach by John P. Kretzmann and John McKnight (1993), I collected publicly accessible information about the services provided by these businesses to Spanish-speaking clients. Additionally, a Sociolinguistic analysis allowed me to consider language use by the service providers. I found that they use the Spanish language as a marketing tool through signage and other propaganda to promote all their services to customers and potential translation service clients. For example, all the businesses employ a notary public that is dedicated to the translation of birth and marriage certificates. In summary, the businesses use language as a commodity in these exchanges and appear to have developed and possibly currently employ a business model driven by the specific needs for certain translation services in the community of La Villita. Having looked at these businesses from a somewhat semi-macro

perspective I was then inspired to explore these businesses from within this specific immigrant enclave through a micro-perspective in relation to language, migration and translation.

### *Mexican migrants in the U.S. 1.1b*

The Mexican migrant experience in the North America has been that of continued migration flows between Mexico and the United States since the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Romo and Mogollón 2016, 18). Mexicans continue to migrate to and from *el norte* in search of stability and a living earning. It is an experience laden with sacrifices, resiliency and hard work, and violence and discrimination. Mexican immigrants continue to face fraud, exploitation and racism, and are continuously the targets of mass incarceration, detention and deportation.

The sociohistorical reasons offered as to why Mexicans leave their birth country are many and controversial. As Mexico continues to be plagued with high levels of unemployment, poverty, violence and corruption, Mexicans continue to seek opportunities and refuge *en el norte* through whatever means necessary, including entering the U.S. without the proper documentation and permits. Reasons notwithstanding, as the migration process shifts as current political and economic policies take form, and, as immigration laws become more restrictive and racist, the U.S. is actually seeing a decrease in Mexican immigrants entering the country, as well as a decrease of Mexican immigrants willingly returning to Mexico after extended periods of time in the U.S. (U.S. Department of Homeland Security 2018,4) With the number of returning Mexican immigrants dropping from 29.5% in

2000 to 27.6% in 2014 (Batalova and Zong 2018), the cyclical and circular migration pattern of Mexicans has changed once again, the migration process is being forced to become less cyclical. In turn, this more permanent relocation has led to longer periods of integration and assimilation for now multiple generations of Mexican immigrants in the U.S.

### *Language diversity and human capital of Mexican migrants 1.1c*

The ecology of languages around the world is in an ever-shifting stream of stems from languages being born, languages dying, and languages evolving. This process increases in rapid globalization, and by technological changes and advancements. Projections for the year 2115 show that there will be about 600 languages left on earth (McWhorter 2015) out of the approximate 6,900 of today's languages (Baines, 2012). The Spanish language, on the other hand, continues to increase significantly its number of users. Between 2000 and 2011 the number of Spanish speakers increased by 807 percent (Baines, 2012).

Language diversity in the U.S. has also experienced rapid changes over the past thirty years. In U.S. homes, this includes a 148 % increase in languages spoken other than English and, more specifically, a considerable increase in use of the Spanish language (Ortman and Shin 2011, 1). The migration of Mexicans into the U.S. over the past one hundred years has contributed to the diffusion and the maintenance of the Spanish language throughout its territory (Escobar and Potowski 2015, 19) and, more importantly, to the placement of the Spanish language as a permanent facet of the U.S. linguistic profile (Lipski 2008). Currently

language minority populations are at a rise in the U.S. and, per a 2011 U.S. Census report, the Spanish language showed the largest numeric increase (Ryan 2013, 4).

Mexican migrants in search of opportunities for economic growth (Kandel and Massey 2002, 982) arrive in their in the U.S. with a varying array of capacities, needs and demands. As a result of interregional migration, they also experience what Francisco Moreno-Fernández (2015, 624) calls heteroglossic migration, which occurs when immigrants speak a different language than the host country. With the majority of immigrants following the lead of trusted social networks in order to adapt and integrate, most seek residence in ethnic immigrant enclaves in which they can rely on the linguistic and cultural skills of already established immigrants (Bueker 2006, 10). Although about 69% of Mexican immigrants in 2014 reported limited English proficiency and were less likely to be proficient in English compared to their U.S. foreign-born counterparts (Batalova and Zong 2018), they work hard and stand strong among a slew of extreme anti-immigrant, anti-Spanish, anti-Latino, xenophobic rhetoric that permeates throughout past and current U.S. history, government, principals and policies. According to a report written by the Migration Policy Institute (MPI), there is a rise in human capital among recent immigrants to the U.S. in 2017. Utilizing the U.S. Census Bureau data, MPI analyzed an incoming cohort of immigrants between 2011 and 2015 while comparing it to different cohorts stemming from 1986 and found that: 1) the highly skilled immigrant population has rapidly grown in the U.S. during the last 15 years;

2) Latin Americans (including Mexicans) are now the second-largest group of highly skilled immigrants, with Asian immigrants being at the top of this list; and 3) that recently arrived immigrants are more likely to be college graduates than their U.S.-born counterparts and have higher levels of bilingualism than earlier arriving cohorts (Batalova and Fix 2017). Although this change in age, skills and language trends in the immigrant population in the U.S. will surely bring about significant change, this study privileges the experiences of earlier cohorts of Mexican immigrants who with less formal educational skills have utilized social networks and strategies in conjunction with bilingual and entrepreneurial skills to create a sustainable way of life in an emerging Mexican enclave in the Midwest of the U.S.

*High-skilled migrants vs. low-skilled migrants 1.1d*

What is already known is that Mexican migrants with well-established cultural values and language skills who come to the U.S. as professionals and/or entrepreneurs with the proper documentation not only continue to promote and sustain the Spanish language use in U.S. commercial establishments and work sites, but also use Spanish in their own work, sustain strong ties to others in Mexico, and establish organizations to promote their business, social, and cultural interests and activities (Romo and Mogollón 2016, 6). Keeping this in mind, it is these well-established immigrants who have successfully reconfigured their lives in the U.S. while having to generate a variety of strategies and coping mechanisms to adapt and thrive through today's rise in anti-immigrant hate, undocumented or otherwise (Moreno 2017).

To the contrary, Mexican immigrants that arrive to the U.S. with less formal education, a lower level of linguistic skills and without proper documentation find themselves at a cross-roads with a state system that is currently ineffective at safeguarding their human rights (Valdéz-Gardea, 2009). For these migrants, becoming politically incorporated through naturalization in the U.S. (Bueker 2006, 10) provides many economic benefits (Bueker 2006, 2) and, for those that are interested, have the ability and are not afraid to do so, it is a long ongoing process with many complex steps in which certain linguistic skills play a significant role. The road to U.S. citizenship begins with obtaining lawful permanent residency—a process that starts with the need for applicants to provide translations of their birth and/or marriage certificates and other official documents from their country of origin (U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services 2019). Vulnerable applicants, new in the U.S where their legal status is stigmatized and marginalized, must find trusted sources for translation services due to the use of the English language in nearly all government functions even though English is not the official language of the U.S. at a federal level. The state of Illinois is one of 36 states that have English as the official language. Furthermore, some states such as Florida have gone as far as recognizing the importance of the Spanish language among their constituents and established it as the official second language.

## **Statement of the Problem 1.2**

In the case of the predominantly Mexican enclave La Villita<sup>1</sup> in Chicago, Illinois, the bilingual knowledge of the Spanish and the English language plays a major role in everyday economic transactions and economic development. Several businesses within this enclave have incorporated translation services into the gamut of their overall services, which seemingly aims to provide this type of assistance. What is clear is that the existence of these businesses provides a large array of services to the Spanish-speaking community around them. What is unclear is if these businesses that form part of the intricate social fabric of the community are: already established migrants in these ethnic immigrant enclaves; if they themselves have transformed their knowledge of Spanish into a non-material livelihood asset; and, more specifically, what their linguistic repertoire consists of and how their translation skills came to be. Gaining a close look would provide insight into the profile and history of these businesses and the entrepreneurs and/or notary publics therein.

## **Purpose & Significance of the Study 1.3**

The Spanish language in the U.S. has taken a strong and permanent place, as it continues to be the second most spoken language in the country. Concurrently, the U.S. is home to the second largest Spanish-speaking population, just behind Mexico and before Columbia and Spain (Instituto Cervantes 2018).

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<sup>1</sup> [Little Village]; also known as South Lawndale



This signifies that any explorations and studies of the Spanish language in the U.S. are important because they address and expand our understanding about various aspects of its vitality, usage and influences. This is especially so, since the Spanish language finds itself in linguistic crossroads with an Anglophone nation that is currently experiencing rapid social, cultural and linguistic landscape changes. Furthermore, the study of the social conditions and the production and circulation of the Spanish language in the U.S. through a sociolinguistic lens has various benefits. First it sheds light on the progression of the language shift experienced by this minority language, which includes the impact of using multilingualism as a commodity. Secondly, it informs us of the dynamics of language use as a linguistic tool with identifiable patterns and functions, as well as the role of service providers and small business owners in contributing to the social capital of inner-city ethnic communities. Third, it helps uncover some of the elements for developing a self-perpetuating linguistic legacy for the long-term benefit of communities where Spanish is more dominant than English.

The main goal of this research project is to study the linguistic sustainability in an urban area where a foreign, minority language has flourished. This research project studies focuses on a specific Spanish-speaking community within La Villita through a handful of businesses that offer translation services and sets out to uncover the possible social, cultural and migration networks that seem to help build and/or reinforce social and cultural capital within this community.

Ethnic enclaves are intricate social networks composed of immigrants who have varied skills and educational backgrounds. As time passes and along with

mainstream American society, these networks experience changes due to economic and social policies within minority/dominant urban cultural settings (Foley and O'Conner 2013, 5). At a glance, the linguistic exchanges occurring within these businesses are not easy to summarize. The understanding needed to do so requires observations, documentation and analysis of the findings to identify patterns of how the English and Spanish language co-exist. This study aims to uncover valuable insight into: understanding, from a different viewpoint, the specific linguistic use of this enclave and how it may, or may not, be contributing to heritage/native language maintenance and language shifts of the Spanish language in the U.S. It assists in furthering the discussion on the effects of globalization and immigration policies on topics such as bilingualism, multilingualism, biculturalism, multiculturalism and the overall Mexican migrant experience. In addition, it furthers the discussion on the importance of the relationship between the sustainable urban planning of a modern city (such as Chicago), and future migration and language forecasts.

This research study addresses the discursive gap between a language specific, modern and location-based migrant community in the Midwest of the U.S. and the specific use of the Spanish and English languages by certain private businesses within ethnic enclaves. Arguing that language is a communication tool utilized to create social and cultural capital, this specific site research project in an inner-city ethnic enclave also: identifies and studies the types of social networks that may exist in these for-profit businesses and in this specific ethnic urban enclave; identifies and studies the role of notaries from a new perspective;

considers the different effects the for-profit businesses might have on non-profit translation services and any community gap that might also be of assistance; and explores the short and long-term impact of small businesses on the social fabric of urban ethnic communities.

#### **Research Questions 1.4**

The research questions guiding this project were established to determine how multilingualism and the use of each language are being utilized within specific contexts, from the perspective of the individuals interviewed, and from the collective perspective of businesses located in La Villita. The research question regarding bilingualism and the language service providers was:

- 1) If bilingualism is being utilized daily and in a spoken and written form in order to conduct business, how is language being used as a tool and what kind of patterns are being produced?

The research questions regarding the language contact between the English and Spanish languages were:

- 1) In what ways does the dominant language, English, coexist with the minority language, Spanish, within this setting?;
- 2) And/or, could it be that the minority language is in the position of higher power since these particular linguistic exchanges are occurring within a migrant ethnic enclave where the knowledge and utilization of Spanish is

required by the businesses/language service providers in order to attract consumers and create viable revenue?

### **Research Hypotheses/Thesis 1.5**

This project's overall goal is to document and analyze the linguistic exchanges that are occurring in this specific ethnic enclave and, more specifically, the linguistic dynamics being created by these particular social interactions through the use of translation skills and services. There are many influential factors when it comes to the formation of social and cultural capital. I argue that the linguistic use of the Spanish and English languages within these businesses and their specific social conditions do in fact create linguistic tools that manifest in the form of translation and marketing, thus producing specific linguistic patterns which then create social and cultural capital. I also argue that these translation services are a response to an institutionalized immigration system that forces migrants to create their own sustainable legacies, due to the lack of state sponsored linguistic support within their communities. And, lastly, I contend that even though English is used to officially document, in a written form, most or all official business with the city of Chicago and the state of Illinois by these businesses, the use of the Spanish language carries more important weight and power in terms of client interaction and engagement in their everyday business transactions than English does.

## **Methodology 1.6**

The research methods utilized in this study consist of two different instruments. The first instrument used was an ethnography which included the collection of the oral histories of four language service providers composed of business owners and notaries who also carry-out or have carried out translation work. Additionally, the ethnography included the collection of public information about the businesses and their services through visual walk-throughs of the neighborhood and the businesses themselves.

The second instrument in the data collection portion of this project was the merging of the ethnography, interview responses, and archival research into a mapping system of the individual capacities and oral histories of the language service providers. Based on the data collected through the oral histories of the business language service providers, an individual capacity inventory was created for each individual business and each individual person interviewed.

## **Theoretical Framework 1.7**

Due to the interdisciplinary nature of this project, a multi-layered theoretical framework was developed and employed. There are three different sets of perspectives and theories that were chosen for the analytical portion of this project. The first set analyzes the use of the Spanish and English language within the context of the Mexican-American experience in the U.S. from a sociolinguistic standpoint. I use a *sociolinguistic and critical linguistic perspective* to address how

bilingualism plays a major role within the everyday business transactions by focusing on the deployment of a linguistic system(s) in different social encounters (Martínez 2006). In connection to the first set, the second set analyzes the correlation between language use and its relation to power. It draws from Bourdieu's critiques of the traditional approaches to language. Lastly, the third set analyzes the livelihood through a *sustainable livelihoods approach* that is comprised of the capacities, assets, and activities required for a means of livelihood for the language service providers interviewed (Stepputat and Nyberg Sorensen 2014, 94).

### **Organization of Study 1.8**

The presentation of this research study is divided into four chapters. Chapter I is the introduction which includes the background of the study, statement of the problem, purpose of the study, significance of the study, definition of terms, theoretical framework, methodology, research question, and the research hypotheses. Chapter II presents a comprehensive review of the literature. Five main headings were chosen to show the relevance behind the topics chosen for discussion within this project. The headings include Spanish in the United States, social capital, translation, notary publics and language as a form of power.

Chapter III is separated into three sections. The first section explores and discusses the complexity of the migration process and networks as experienced by migrants and how the migration industry affects them as agents within this

dynamic. The second section provides a brief history of La Villita as it highlights the complexity of language use and contact within the Mexican migrant experience. Then, the first two sections are merged together by outlining the possible micro and macro levels of the migration process of Mexican migrants in La Villita. Lastly, chapter IV of this project provides the methodology and the theoretical framework in full, presents the results and ends with the final discussion points and conclusions of the study.

### **Conclusion 1.9**

Exploring a project that speaks to the linguistic abilities of *mi comunidad* has not been easy. Going from a macro to micro-perspective, this research project ventures through the language ecology, migration patterns and translation matters in the lives of Mexican migrants in La Villita. As language diversity in the U.S. is led by the increase of the use of the Spanish language, it will be interesting to see how multilingual skills are transformed into cultural and social capital with current U.S. immigration policies playing a significant role in the lives of those who lack those very same multilingual skills. How Spanish manifests itself in translation service providing businesses begs the questions: who are the individuals who have established and/or are running these businesses? Has their knowledge of Spanish transformed into a non-material livelihood asset? And lastly, what does their linguistic repertoire consist of and how did their translation skills come to be? Through a sociolinguistic lens, this study focuses on the language ecology of Spanish in a Mexican enclave located in an Anglophone nation while attempting

to discover what linguistics tools are being used to create the critical social and cultural fabric that reinforces sustainable self-sufficient communities.



## Chapter 2:

### Literature Review

#### Spanish in the U.S. 2.1

##### *Language shifts of Mexican migrants 2.1a*

This research project is an investigation into the language use and positionality of Spanish in a Mexican American ethnic immigrant enclave in the United States against the backdrop of the dominant language, English. The extent and intensity of the migratory flows of Mexican Spanish into the English-speaking territory of the U.S. is and should be significant for sociolinguists, as well as linguists and sociologists (Moreno-Fernández 2015, 626) alike—or for anyone who is interested in how Spanish, or a minority language for that matter, manifests itself in different social settings. The vitality of the Spanish language, as well as its maintenance and shifts, in the United States has been an ongoing, multifaceted relationship that has been nurtured by the continuous streams of incoming Spanish-speaking immigrants with the majority stemming mainly from Mexico, but also from other Spanish-speaking Central and South American countries (Veltman 1990, 120; Moreno-Fernández 2015, 626). Mexican immigration continues to contribute to this implicit movement (Cronin 2006, 45) of Mexican culture and the Spanish language. This, in turn, contributes to this linguistic vitality and to the appearance of the many linguistic varieties of Spanish in countries where Mexican

Spanish-speaking migrants have migrated to (Moreno-Fernández 2015, 624) and, more specifically, on the U.S. linguistic profile (Lipski 2008, 77). On the contrary, there is now enough research on this language shift that indicates that unlike their migrant Spanish-speaking parents, second, third and so forth generation immigrant children experience a rapid intergenerational language loss (Lopez 1978; Veltman 1990, 122; Lipski 2008, 77) of their parent's mother tongue, which indicates a language shift in the Spanish language upon contact with English and occurs more frequently and rapidly with each generation (Veltman 1990, 122; Lipski 2008, 77).

*Disparities between the value of Spanish 2.1b*

The Spanish language in the United States continues to exist in a dichotomous form. Upon this binational shift caused by immigration, it goes from being a dominant language to a minority language (Escobar and Potowski 2015, 1). Once in the U.S., the speakers of the now minority languages experience anti-immigrant sentiments and policies that include English-only rhetoric (Kibbee 1998, 118; David 2013, 121). This contributes to Latinos internalized oppressive notions of their cultural heritage. As a result, in order to assimilate and feel less shame, some Latinos and/or migrants end up denying their cultural heritage altogether, which also includes their Spanish fluency and use (David 2013, 120). On the other hand, for the non-Latino, second language learners in the U.S., Spanish language acquisition and proficiency is increasingly considered an asset, while vitality is also maintained by these L2 learners in the U.S who are non-Latino (Escobar and Potowski 2015, 231) it is a painful contradiction that is evidently racially motivated.

This indicates that the value of knowing Spanish for Latino/immigrant individuals, who are culturally connected to the language, is considered less than the value of knowing Spanish for those that are non-Latino. Therefore, the Spanish language continues to be a form of power and capital for some and a form of marginalization for others (Ríos-Aguilar, et al 2011). This differential power difference is in part due to the monoglossic bilingual education systems that value each language according to monolingual standards (García 2011) and the language ideologies that govern the belief systems of people about language, the way it is spoken, its ties to social identity, nationalism (Allard 2014, 337), and the social systems of domination and subordination they are involved in (García 2011).

Kim Potowski (2007, 2015) has researched the Spanish language in the U.S. within the educational system and how the different types of language planning affect Spanish native/heritage (L1) speakers. On the different types of bilingual education programs, Potowski has found that dual immersion programs have several more important advantages than other bilingual education programs available. This advantage is due to the fact that as native/heritage Spanish-speaking students continue to learn and maintain their Spanish they also, simultaneously, learn English since they are also integrated with native English-speaking peers. Even so, the availability of programs that can assist in language maintenance for the Spanish native/heritage (L1) speakers at a primary school level is scarce and, as a 2016 study found, this type of education model can be used to privilege the already privileged by placing these programs in schools that serve mainly white, wealthy, English-privileged students in high-value-capital

areas (Valdéz, et al, 620). Such programs for native English-speaking children have recently surged due to the continued increase in the Spanish-speaking population in the U.S. and as a result, the availability and accessibility of Spanish as foreign language classes and the attraction of upward mobility through bilingualism (Adamy 2016).

Spanish fluency and ethnic identity have a strong connection and, according to Jonathan Rosa (2016), language ideologies also greatly affect the marginalization of Latinos in the U.S. and their experience with racialized language identities. Rosa found that assimilation is not just a matter of a person self-identifying as American, but that through a raciolinguistic perspective, it is also a reflection of structural inequalities that position populations. In the case of U.S. Latinos, such inequalities can be seen in areas such as citizenship, education, health, housing, employment, and the criminal justice system. In terms of the positionality of the immigrant population and the naturalization process, the U.S. English literacy requirement imposed upon applicants for citizenship (Del Valle 2003, 93) constitutes structural inequality. This means that within this sociopolitical context and with the immigration and acculturation process already placing them in a stressful and difficult situation (Morales and Hanson 2005, 471), the continuous influx of Spanish-speaking migrants, in turn, requires the bilingual and bicultural skills of other Spanish-speaking individuals (Orellana 2001, 367; Weisskirch 2006, 333) in their new host country while they are in transition and in the process of learning English.

### *Spanish language research in the U.S., Midwest, Chicago, and La Villita 2.1c*

The linguistic study of Spanish within the Mexican American community started out gradually in the early twentieth century with the work of Aurelio M. Espinosa. It wasn't until the 1950s when research on Spanish-speaking groups started to appear in the form of theses and dissertations that focused on southwest Spanish and the Calo and Pachuco varieties that stemmed from the same area of the country. In the book *Varieties of Spanish in the United States*, John M. Lipski (2008) provides a framework beginning in the early 1970s, including the sociolinguist research on Spanish-speaking communities in the U.S. established by the collaborative work of Joshua Fishman, Robert Cooper, and Roxanna Ma (1971), and the early work of William Labov (Lipski 2008, 22). After the 1974 bilingual education landmark decision of *Lau v. Nichols* by the United States Supreme Court, there was an immediate need and surge in bilingual education research. This was followed by a surge in Spanish language scholarship well into the early 1990s (Lipski 2008).

In general, Spanish language communities in the Southwest of the U.S. have been the subject of lengthy academic research. But, the same cannot be said about Spanish language research in the Midwest, let alone in Chicago and La Villita, to be more specific. The earliest Midwest Spanish language research found was on Spanish speakers in the U.S. in general (Soriano and McClafferty 1969), followed by research on: Mexican youth and their Spanish and academic achievement (MacGregor-Mendoza 1999); parental motivations and attitudes

toward a Spanish immersion program (Romero-González 2008); Spanish language abilities and cultural awareness of a group of healthcare workers (Baig, et al. 2014); intergenerational transmission of Spanish and maternal perception of agency (Velázquez 2014); and on heritage speakers of Spanish (Velázquez, et al. 2015).

With Chicago being an epicenter for immigrant communities, especially that of Mexican and Central American immigrants, one would imagine a long list of Spanish language research being conducted, but unfortunately that is not the case. There are a number of studies that address the issues and realities of Mexican immigrants when it comes to healthcare, education, gang violence, and environmental and housing inequities. On the other hand, there is very little research that addresses the Spanish language and/or linguistic profiles of Latinos and/or Mexicans in the city of Chicago. The earliest readily-available research focuses on anglicisms in Spanish with English lexical influence on Chicago Mexican Spanish (Teschner 1972), followed in chronological order by research on: Spanish language shifts (Potowski 2004); bilingual discourse markers in Chicago Mexican, Puerto Rican, and Mexirican Spanish (Torres and Potowski 2008); dynamics of Spanish-language neighborhoods in Chicago and Atlanta (Ishizawa 2009); and, the most recent, a pilot study of service-learning in a Spanish heritage speaker course (Petrov 2013).

Following the declining trend in the amount of Spanish language research in the Midwest to Chicago, one of La Villita's earliest research studies is titled, *A Profile of the Spanish Language Population in the Little Village and Pilsen*

*Community Areas of Chicago, Illinois and Population Projections: 1970-1980*, written by the Chicano Mental Health Training Program and the Centro de Estudios Chicanos e Investigaciones Sociales in 1975. This is one of the only studies that focuses on the Spanish language-speaking population of La Villita. Although the study's goal was to determine Spanish-speaking population projections from 1970 to 1980, it also discussed the alienation, discrimination, exploitation, and political repression experienced by people in La Villita (Faught, et al 1975). This study is followed by research on the intergenerational Spanish language transmission in two Mexican-American communities, including La Villita (Velázquez, 2008) and the capitalization on the language and culture of Latino school children (Olmedo, 2009).

This lack of research into the Spanish linguistic profile of Latinos and immigrants in the Midwest in such high-density communities of Spanish-speaking immigrants indicates a critical discursive gap and missed opportunities on how to understand, learn from and improve the English-Spanish linguistic abilities and services of those who need it the most.

## **Social and Cultural Capital 2.2**

### *Capital is value 2.2a*

The study of social capital and its different forms of usage within the context of culture and ethnic enclaves is not new and can have different approaches. Being the less tangible of the different types of capital due to the fact that it is based on

the social relations among people, social capital has the ability to: facilitate productive activity within groups where there is extensive trustworthiness and trust; and place value off of this trust that then creates resources to achieve the interests of the actors in a social structure (Coleman 1988, 100).

In 2014, Mexican immigrants made up about 11.7 million of the U.S. population (Batalova and Zong 2018) out of the estimated 36.6 million individuals of Mexican origin and/or descent (U.S. Census Bureau 2017). Constituting the largest immigrant group in the U.S. (Alarcón 2011, 186), the Mexican origin population increased by 54 percent between 2000 and 2010 and had the largest numeric change in growth — from 20.6 million in 2000 to 31.8 million in 2010 (Ennis 2011, 2). This population continues to belong to the lower income bracket even though their economic power as consumers is strong. Moreover, remittances sent to Mexico to support family members in 2016 totaled about \$27 billion (Gillespie 2017), which accounted to almost 27% of total income in receiving households (López-Felman and Chávez 2017). This means that they are active contributors to both the U.S. and Mexican economies.

Latinos are often accused of not contributing to the US economic tax base, particularly those that are undocumented, but the rise of direct marketing initiatives geared to Latino communities has increased in the last two decades exposing a different narrative. In fact, Latino ethnic groups collectively make up about 16.3% of the population in the U.S. (U.S. Census Bureau 2017). As of 2014, their purchasing power totaled \$1.3 trillion having increased 495% since 1990 and is projected to rise to \$1.7 trillion by the year 2019 (American Immigration Council



2017). In 2007, Latino-owned businesses accounted for \$350.7 billion in sales and receipts and employed about 1.9 million people (American Immigration Council 2017). Immigrants are two times more likely to become entrepreneurs than native-born U.S. citizens. As new entrepreneurs in the U.S. become more diverse, the general immigrant population continues to greatly contribute to the U.S. entrepreneurial ecosystems (American Immigration Council 2017).

### *Social and cultural capital of immigrants in ethnic urban enclaves 2.2b*

Recent studies have increasingly focused specifically on the relationship of human capital with career mobility and social capital (Coleman, 1988; Lin and Huang, 2005), and on minority ethnic and/or immigrant communities and their efforts to develop self-sustainable economies (Foley and O'Connor, 2013). In their study about a specific group of indigenous cultures characterized by conflict-affected stories within the dominant settler urban culture, Dennis Foley and Allan John O'Connor found that the indigenous and minority ethnic entrepreneurs specifically draw upon internal (family and friends) and external (businesses and, institutions in the community) network ties to build social capital through bridge-building and bonding. Furthermore, when looking at the structural component of social capital, their study revealed that education became important when it came to the access of social capital in the dominant settler society (Foley and O'Connor 2013, 291). Cecilia Ríos-Aguilar, et al, observed the same dynamic among underrepresented students in the academic landscape and found that professionals working with this demographic must be able to provide tools to be

able to: recognize their funds of knowledge; access various forms of capital; convert their funds of knowledge into forms of capital; and, to activate/mobilize that conversion into social and cultural capital (Ríos-Aguilar, et al 2011). This means that once students can access their funds of knowledge, they linguistically and culturally become the conduits between their education system and their communities, which in turn adds to the social fabric of their communities, as well as the social fabric of the educational institutions. This can be seen in action at universities where there is study abroad and community and/or experiential learning-based curricula, where students of these ethnic communities become linguistic and cultural translators, mediators, and contributors to the social fabric of such institutions. They become great value, not only as competitors in the job force, but also as valued members of society. Meaning their financial and in-kind contributions also become critical benefits to the fabric of their communities, schools and society.

### **Translation 2.3**

#### *The translation profession in the U.S. today 2.3a*

The translation and interpreting industry in the U.S. have seen continuous job growth in the past two decades. According to the U.S. Department of Labor's Bureau of Labor Statistics, this trend is projected to grow by 18% for the 2016-2026 period, which surpasses the 7% average growth of all other occupations (Bureau U.S. Department of Labor 2019). Furthermore, the demand for Spanish

translators, as well as translators of Mexican and Central American indigenous languages will remain high (Cabrera 2017, 2; U.S. Department of Labor 2019). In the 2017 study titled, *The Translation and Interpreting Industry in the United States*, Tamara Cabrera found that the growth for Spanish translators and interpreters will remain high due to the continued increased numbers of Latinos in the U.S., the enforcement of Language Access Legislation, and the appeal of Latinos as a consumer base to U.S. companies. According to Cabrera, the increased demand for qualified professionals in this field has also sparked an increase in the efforts of various organizations and institutions to create and implement certifications and accreditation systems (Cabrera 2017).

Transferring multilingual and multicultural funds of knowledge and abilities into the workforce is not simple. It has become a trend to place Spanish-speaking Latinos in bilingual specific tasks on the job, such as translation and interpretation, even when they have not received any type of formal training in Spanish, and on-the-job and/or formal training in translation and interpretation (Bischoff & Hudelson 2010). Just because someone can speak or knows Spanish, it does not mean that their linguistic abilities qualify them as employees who can manage any type of task where bilingualism and translation is involved. This has been proven to cause adverse consequences for Latino immigrants their legal and medical/healthcare matters.

The translation and interpreting professions are often misunderstood and confused for one another. Although each does require a complete set of different and unique language-specific skills and training, they have many overlaps and

areas in common in terms of overall goals. Interpreting is the conversion of a message from any spoken or signed language into a different spoken or signed language. It is often confused with translation, which is the process of carrying the meaning from one written language into another written language. No matter the delivery mode of the message being transferred into and from the two or more languages, the goal of bridging communication barriers stays the same. Translation and interpretation can be utilized in any setting of social life, in public and private spaces. The types of settings where both can be utilized and required can include: medical/healthcare, legal, business, education, faith-related, conferences, community based, etc. In the case of interpreters, they also must choose the appropriate mode of interpreting to fit the needs of the people requesting/needing the interpreting service.

Just like people learn languages in a myriad of ways, so do translators and interpreters. Although training and certifying programs exist, there is not one specific way to become a translator and/or interpreter. In the United States, doctors and lawyers (among other professionals) must obtain formal/job-specific training, degrees, licenses, and/or certification. The same cannot be said about translators and interpreters. There is no nationwide law stating that all translators and interpreters must obtain pre-determined formal/job-specific training, number or types of degrees, licenses, and/or certification. The investigations into the field of translation have soared over the past fifty years and up until today there are a large variety of definitions on what translation is and what its issues (Levý, et al 2011). are in terms of who is qualified to professionally translate. This also includes

different theories that account for its nature and the different functions characterized by globalization with the continuous movement of peoples, goods and cultures that make this language-based, sociocultural phenomenon so intricate (Laviosa 475). Over the past twenty years, the expansion translation and interpreting industry has been the response to a diverse demographic and linguistic landscape, a changing economy and the enforcement of anti-discriminatory and language access legislation (Cabrera 2017, 50). Technological and internet advancements in the translation field have increased global communication and competition, along with improvements in computer-assisted translation (CAT) tools and machine translation (Maginot 2018).

In contrast, the translation profession continues to be misunderstood or neglected by employers even though there is high demand (Hammond 1990, 134). A few of these misunderstandings are what a translator's job duties should be, how they should be trained and the fields they work in. Anthony Pym, in his 2003 article *Redefining Translation Competence in an Electronic Age: In Defense of a Minimalist Approach*, found that a translator's scope of activities is associated with the localization of the industry where they find themselves due to the fragmentation caused by the evolution of the profession itself. He concludes that there isn't one best or perfect model of translation training due to the 'multicomponentiality' of the work that translators carry out. With many translators also working as interpreters, fragmentation can also be seen in the challenges that today's freelance translators encounter to stay employed within the field, as opposed to in-house translators

and interpreters with steady salaries, where there is a decline in earnings due to rate stagnation and rising global competition (Maginot 2018).

The most recognized sector of translation is in the literary field, where most of the work is with technical and semi-technical texts (Hammond 1990, 134), and, according to the 2017 Authors Guild Survey of Literary Translators' Working Conditions: A Summary, about 83% of literary translators are White and the majority identify as female and are between 51 and 70 years of age (Authors Guild 2017). Historically, this is due, at least, in part to the historical development of the field of translation rooted to religious and diplomatic matters (Baigorri-Jalón 2015) and disregarding the work of those currently working in communities or the public sector where translation and interpreting is seen less than other professions (Mason 2001).

### *The urgency in translation and interpretation services for the LEP foreign born 2.3b*

Linguistic and cultural proficiency in translation and interpretation services is important. To achieve this level of proficiency, translators and interpreters must receive professional training that involves a particular context in which it is going to be practiced. They are also expected to maintain confidentiality and professional ethics and guidelines specific to those contexts. Linguistic challenges can be increasingly seen in courtrooms, medical/healthcare settings, social service and governmental agencies. For individuals whose English is not the primary language and can't effectively communicate in English to carry out important matters, having the linguistic assistance of a translator and/or interpreter can mean meaningful access to programs and services. Breaking the communication

barriers can lead to informed decision making about important matters in their lives.

## **Notaries 2.4**

### *The notary profession in the U.S. today 2.4a*

Notary publics are in an especially critical position in Latino communities. Their services are vital to the everyday functions of these communities and/or, as well as, some major services that are vital to the security and wellbeing of families and individuals. Their function as translators demands that they follow the same aforementioned professional standards of the field.

Generally, in the U.S., notaries are state appointed officials who administer oaths and confirmations of signature of documents considered legally binding. Depending on the state of residence, notaries are legally certified to carry out certain legal proceedings, such as oath administering, serving as impartial witness for important document signing, and confirming signature authenticity for documents. Each U.S. state has different qualification requirements for these procedures. In the case of the notaries in La Villita, it can be inferred that most of their services are probably conducted in Spanish and to individuals who might be immigrants. This means that, with or without their knowledge, these notaries are in a position of power by working with often vulnerable populations. Especially, when serving an undocumented population. But, what qualifications do they need to carry out this work as a proxy for the state of Illinois? How are they held

accountable to ethical business practices? Many practitioners take advantage of people that, for various reasons, may not have the literacies, linguistic capacity or personal support network to carry out official business needs on their own.

Anne E. Langford's study on notaries who have exploited Latino migrants highlights how high the personal stakes are in most immigration cases and how easily the role of a notary in the U.S. is confused with that of a notary from Latin America. In Latin America, *notarios*<sup>2</sup> are highly educated legal experts that must meet additional requirements to serve as such (Langford 2004, 119). With the lack of affordable and accessible legal services for the Latino immigrant, U.S. notary publics are filling that demand without being an immigration lawyer and/or an Authorized Provider of Immigration Services as appointed and authorized by the Department of Justice (Langford 2004, 119). Furthermore, the Limited-English Proficient immigrant does not understand the difference between the Spanish word *notario* and the English word *notary*. With both words being false cognates due to demographical differences, it can be easily confused by immigrants.

In another case study, Mary Dolores Guerra compares exploitative notaries as a social evil. She explains that immigrant families are victimized when they lack the proper knowledge of the legalities involved with their residential and/or citizenship application. Guerra states that there are documented accounts of notaries that prey on immigrants because of their vulnerability. Once defrauded there is minimal recourse available for the victims. Unfortunately, intimidation to

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<sup>2</sup> [Notario públicos = Notary public]



call immigration services on the client is used as a form of silence. Not only are the victims affected financially with this type of fraud, but they are also susceptible to losing their opportunity to become residents and/or citizens. Their paperwork is more likely been botched, raising the chances that their case faces adverse consequences and applications be denied. The recourse against fraud caused by notary publics is inconsistent among the states that have implemented regulations and can be lenient (Carvajal 2017, 13) and, even, ineffective (Guerra 2011, 25). For example, the state of California enacted the Immigration Consultants Act over thirty years ago to address (Carvajal 2017, 7) and prevent notary public fraud, yet it remains rampant (Carvajal 2017, 24). Even though they provide valuable services to vulnerable populations, they should be regulated and prevented from practices of which they are not legally qualified to carry out (Carvajal 2017, 6).

## **Conclusion 2.5**

The Spanish language continues to exist in the U.S. in dichotomous forms and within different spheres. For those who speak/know/use it because it's part of their native and/or heritage, it is deeply rooted in pride, culture and networking, which is constantly under attack/scrutiny. Although it is used a form of exploitation by some, it is used as a form of survival for immigrant communities, therefore playing an important role in the creation of not only social and cultural capital, but also for the creation and maintenance of social fabrics within vulnerable populations. What follows is an in-depth look at the Spanish language and its existence in a Mexican ethnic enclave in the Midwest.

## Chapter 3

### **Language and Social Networks within the Migration Process, and La Villita and its Mexican Immigrant and Mexican-American Population**

#### **The Complexity of Language and Networks through the Migration Process**

##### **3.1**

###### *Social networks of migrants as sources of social capital 3.1a*

A person migrating from one country to another travels not only with physical tangible items in tow, but also travels with in-tangible skills, such as some form of education, their native language, culture and different forms of social ties or networks in place. These social networks that can even motivate the decision to immigrate and guide them to a particular destination. Networks are social structures formed by individuals and organizations, denominated as nodes or clusters that connect through specific interrelations (Praszkier and Novak, 2012). At the same time, nodes are founded by the social behavior of an individual and are formed when such individual utilizes a specific aspect of themselves (race, gender, socioeconomic status, education, etc.) to form a connection with someone else with the goal of obtaining broader and better access to resources (Praszkier and Novak, 2012). Social networks are made up by an individual's primary social environment (family members, friends, classmates, coworkers, neighbors and/or other known members of the community) and upon forming a network, these

relationships can only be reinforced and maintained with trust and reciprocity, since the exchange is for the benefit of all entities forming the network (Abello Llanos, et al 1999).

Close-knit local communities with strong social networks make the immigration experience easier because it provides an already established foundation for settlement and prospects. As John Betancur points out in his 2011 study, "Gentrification and Community Fabric in Chicago", old residents in Latino communities, such as La Villita, view their communities as rich social fabrics in which they helped each other and satisfied their needs and aspirations by organizing resources between networks. By creating support systems that are mutually beneficial and reciprocal a place-based support network develops. Co-ethnic communities also provide assistance and vital information for their everyday needs (Betancur 2011, 394). Social fabric thus, became one of the most needed resource for immigrants who don't speak the English language and are not able to request assistance for vital services to the American English-speaking population. Displacement due to gentrification of residents who rely on this type of social fabric leads to serious disruption or destruction of their systems of support, exchange and reciprocity or social fabrics (Betancur 2011, 385). For all of these reasons, social fabric is crucial to anti-gentrification efforts in that it protects the needs of those most vulnerable in the community first, as opposed to it being a commodity that only serves one affluent gentrifier (Betancur 2011, 391). Furthermore, a strong social fabric in these disenfranchised communities offers a mode of resistance to

the effects of racial displacement and social cleansing that is brought on by deindustrialization and urban renewal-led gentrification.

All types of capital, including social capital and cultural capital, exhibit three common components. They are composed of: 1) a social network of group members; 2) a cluster made up of specific social norms, values, rules, understandings, and expectations for members within that social network to follow; and 3) *confianza* placed on the members, including sanctions such as punishments and rewards for when they comply and/or break the network norms that assist in maintaining the first two components of social capital (Halpern 2005; Praszkie and Nowak 2012). All three components can also have two other aspects that can help reinforce them. They can have a formal aspect in which the community in question can have explicit, institutionally codified and understood networks, norms and trust; or it can have informal, implicit, even, tacit aspects (Halpern 2005, 10). Nonetheless, by committing to the social norms of that social network, *confianza* is created, which in turn gives power to such relationships.

### *Migrant networks and cumulative causation 3.1b*

For many people, making a life changing decision, such as immigrating, means relying on those closest to you for advice and even help in some form or another. For those that have close friends and family members who have already migrated, the selection of destination and decision to migrate becomes easier when there is a receiving community in place and ready to receive them. Although this study doesn't focus on the theory and process of cumulative causation itself, it is important to note the significant connections it has with migration cycles,

migrant networks and the accumulation of social capital. Per Massey. et al (1993), network theory plays an important role in the transformation of perpetuating movement across time and space. They emphasize the crucial role of the sets of interpersonal ties of migrant networks. Not only do ties such as kinship, friendship, and shared community of origin connect migrants, former migrants and non-migrants to the destination communities, but they also increase the probability of international movement. Furthermore, network connections are a form of social capital that assist people in gaining access to foreign employment, which then helps expand the network connections, thus making the migration process perpetual (Massey, et al 1993, 448).

In their study of international migration from Mexican urban areas and cumulative causation, which explains how and why migration flows become strong and then continue to be strong, Fussell and Massey (2004) found that cumulative causation does have its limits and that the social processes of immigration for urban areas of immigrant-sending communities of Mexico are weaker than those from rural ones. This finding is important because it means that these already established immigrants promote the mechanism behind accumulate immigration-related social capital that helps transform the socioeconomic structure of immigrant-sending communities that perpetuate international migration (Fussell and Massey 2004). For instance, there are various recognizable cases of people from specific communities in Mexico who have migrated to the U.S. at different times to established immigrant networks in specific U.S. communities and neighborhoods. For example, the case of the Purhépecha indigenous population

from the state of Michoacán, Mexico who currently have a significant number of migrants in Burnsville, North Carolina (Leco Tomás 2009), and the Mixteca indigenous population from the state of Oaxaca, Mexico who have made a home in the state of California (Stuart and Kearney 1981).

### *Language as a barrier and as a bridge in the migration process 3.1c*

When individuals migrate, whether it is locally, nationally or internationally, they inevitably experience linguistic changes that affect them on various levels. Due to the change in location and becoming a minority in a new dominant society, migrants find themselves experiencing linguistic changes that affect the knowledge of their first language (also known as their native language and/or L1), and also simultaneously start experiencing the attainment/learning of a second language (also known as L2) of the dominant society. The rate and fluency of the second language acquisition for migrants varies depending on their own sociolinguistic variables and the type of exposure to the second language. Nevertheless, the linguistic changes experienced by migrants vary depending on which language you are referring to, their L1 or L2. Linguistic changes in the native language can include: language shifts in variety and dialect; language attrition, the decline of language proficiency; and/or language borrowing that can lead to code-switching upon language contact with the dominant language.

Another important aspect of the linguistic experiences of migrants is the language barriers that can arise at any time in their migration process to the U.S., as well as during their incorporation and integration processes. Having limited to no language skills of the host language can cause obstacles and a slew of

problems and issues for both newly arrived and/or established migrants as they confront everyday situations, such as accessing medical, bank, educational, shopping, and governmental services. On one side, the language barrier problem can be attributed to the immigrants themselves, but it is also important to re-assert that many service providers, in all sectors, lack the proper system or guidelines in place to deal with the linguistic and cultural differences of immigrants (Timmins 2002; Martínez 2010), whether it be by not having their written content properly translated, bilingual and bicultural staff that in-effectively communicate with immigrant clients, or by not providing the assistance of an interpreter and/or translator. It becomes alarming when language barriers: prevent migrant parents from fully participating in their children's education; cause lack of and/or improper access to health and human services; and can leave the migrant more vulnerable to fraud and exploitation. Furthermore, it can take just one small translation error or a misunderstanding for an important life threatening or life altering matter to go awry.

Although most migrants experience displaced livelihoods due to the loss of tangible assets, including the monetary kind, they do carry with them linguistic and cultural assets that are often devalued and/or underestimated in the U.S. (Chiswick and Miller 2009). No matter their skills or education, immigrants are assimilating and attempting to enter the labor market, it may take them longer periods of time to gain the skills and education that are in demand and necessary for upward mobility. In the case of Mexican immigrants, it can sometimes take up to the second and/or third generation for these significant changes to occur within U.S.

Mexican households. The delay can be attributed to many reasons such as, lack of: development for more contextualized immigrant adaptation frameworks; U.S.-specific human capital, such as formal education, work experience and English proficiency; and high motivation levels (Livingston and Kahn 2002).

On the other hand, for high-skilled and/or highly-educated migrants, the transition to upward mobility is faster and greater since they have the human capital to enter the labor market with much more ease (Chiswick and Miller 2009). Nevertheless, the majority of Mexican immigrants who move to the U.S. enter with high levels of motivation that allows them to transfer their skills and capacities into various forms of capital in the U.S. labor market.

#### *Language needs of migrants 3.1d*

As migrants move from one place to the next, they must go through settlement processes that may require the support of household, familial and community-based networks (Orellana 2003; Hondagneu-Sotelo 1994; Vélez-Ibáñez and Greenberg 1992). In terms of linguistic resources, immigrant communities can easily access information if content is presented in their native language and if they reside in ethnic enclaves where other linguistic support exists (Morales 2012, 541). However, if they don't have the access to those resources, non-English speaking immigrants must look for someone they trust to assist them (Weisskirch 2006, 333; Morales 2012, 521). For those who have settled and now have English-speaking children and adolescents, many times they utilize their children's assistance to translate that content (Morales, et al 2012, 521). These youths face obstacles, challenges and look for solutions, thus becoming agents



that enact change, as opposed to merely beneficiaries, through language brokering and facilitate their families' access to information and resources in a variety of settings when they informally translate and/or interpret for them (Orellana 2001, 378). They utilize their linguistic knowledge in multiple languages by translating and/or interpreting face-to-face interactions, transactions, documents, bills, letters, contracts, and insurance and/or medical forms (Weisskirch 2006, 332; Roche 2015, 78). Empirical data in the study of children as language brokers has shown that placing children in such an important position can be both beneficial (Orellana 2001, 334). and/or problematic (Weisskirch 2006, 334; Roche 2015, 78). Although this type of linguistic assistance can be extremely helpful to the immigrant family, these young language brokers have their limitations and more specialized linguistic support is needed outside of the familial network if the content is beyond the reach of the child. Additionally, further research is needed to answer questions such as how language brokering has affected them into adulthood (Weisskirch 2011, 43). and the linguistic dynamics of the immigrant family as a whole (Morales, et al 2012, 523).

Nonetheless, immigrants who have the accessibility of an ethnic enclave and whose linguistic needs cannot be covered by language brokering must outsource whatever translation service is needed. Immigrants look for alternatives to find the services they need and/or create new ones out of necessity. If the immigrant is looking to obtain residency or citizenship status in the host country, they must find English and Spanish-speaking bilinguals who can translate their birth and/or marriage certificate. In addition, these translations must include a

certificate of translation (U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services 2018), signed by someone who attests that they are fluent in English and in Spanish. Thus, they must look for a trusted service provider that they can communicate with in their native language, and possibly that can relate with their cultural and political circumstances.

## **Language and Socialization 3.2**

### *Language in the workplace 3.2a*

It is critical for businesses to be able to fully communicate with their clients, which is why having their linguistic and cultural knowledge is important, as well as the need for creativity in advertisements for the business community (Hammond). According to Bayley and Schechter (2003), language is central to the workplace because it is used in two different forms. The first form is primarily work-related and requires different types and levels of communication in order for individuals or work teams to carry out their daily tasks. In the second form, language plays the role of social connector in the workplace by allowing the social interaction between coworkers, other groups and larger social networks (Bayley and Schechter 2003, 235). When looking at the work-related use of language Bayley and Schechter emphasize the importance of understanding of what it means to talk about language as oral and written communication. Although not all workplaces or jobs require the written and oral use of language to communicate, many workplaces do rely heavily on the relative presence of language to carry out the daily tasks and

activities. This relative presence of language is an indicator of the degree of isolation of different categories of workers which then affects the relationships between different language groups in the workplace (Bayley and Schechter 2003, 236).

### *Service providers and language 3.2b*

In order for service providers or businesses to make the successful attempt at reaching their intended audience, they must be able to project trustworthy communication with them. They must hire individuals who can provide the services needed to be able to connect with clients and provide them with the appropriate services. Using more than one language during work time involves the use of specific communication networks and it makes work-related social networks and one-to-one encounters crucial for service providers (Bayley and Schechter 2003, 236). If language is used to produce units of meaning, then these service providers utilize language as a tool. In the case of ethnic enclaves that are made up of immigrants that speak a language other than the host country, the service provider can be called language service providers (LSP's) because it is through the knowledge and use of the minority language that they can interact with the non-English-speaking customer in their exchange for information. This means that LSP's are bilinguals or multilinguals who, through the needs of the job, find themselves performing a wide variety of tasks in more than one language. In other words, they are strategically using the structures and functions of languages.

## La Villita 3.3

### *Introduction 3.3a*

To the untrained eye, it only takes one visit to La Villita<sup>3</sup> to be able to recognize it as a thriving Mexican immigrant and Mexican-American community. As one passes through the heart of this ethnic enclave your senses will immediately reveal the *mexicanidad* that permeates from every corner. The many restaurants and *tortillerías* allow you to smell, and almost taste, the *carne asada* and *toritillas* that are created daily. The great variety of businesses allow its residents the accessibility of having almost every type of service needed visually accessible with advertising through the dominant use of Spanish which is unique to this community since almost all businesses carry a name in Spanish and/or advertise mostly in Spanish, with a few providing the English translation. Other important visual aspects are: the use of bright, almost neon-like, colors that are typical in Mexican culture and housing to decorate the facade of buildings; the Mexican flag displayed on businesses and outside of homes; and the Aztec motifs and prominent Mexican figures incorporated into the many art murals through-out the neighborhood. Auditively and orally, the English language seems almost non-existent since the vast majority of people carrying out their daily lives are heard speaking Spanish and songs in Spanish are blasted in full volume outside of various businesses that force you to take notice when passing by.

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<sup>3</sup> Also known as Little Village and South Lawndale. Name shift depending on the period being discussed.



# SOUTH LAWDALE

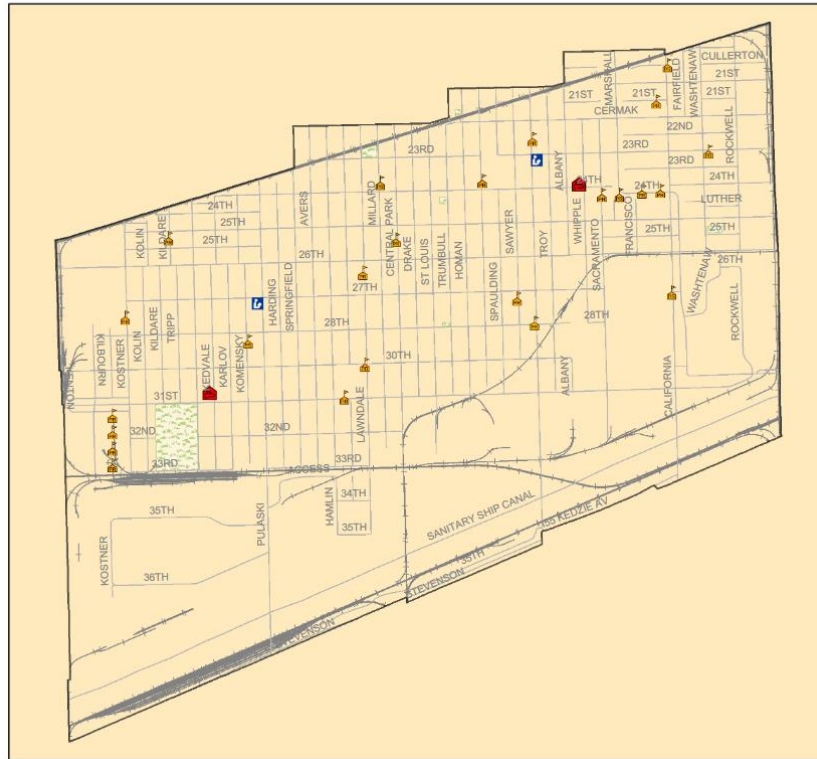


Figure 1.1: Map of La Villita/ South Lawndale

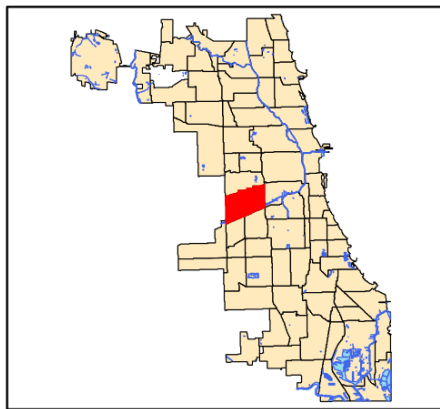


Figure 1.2: Map of the city of Chicago

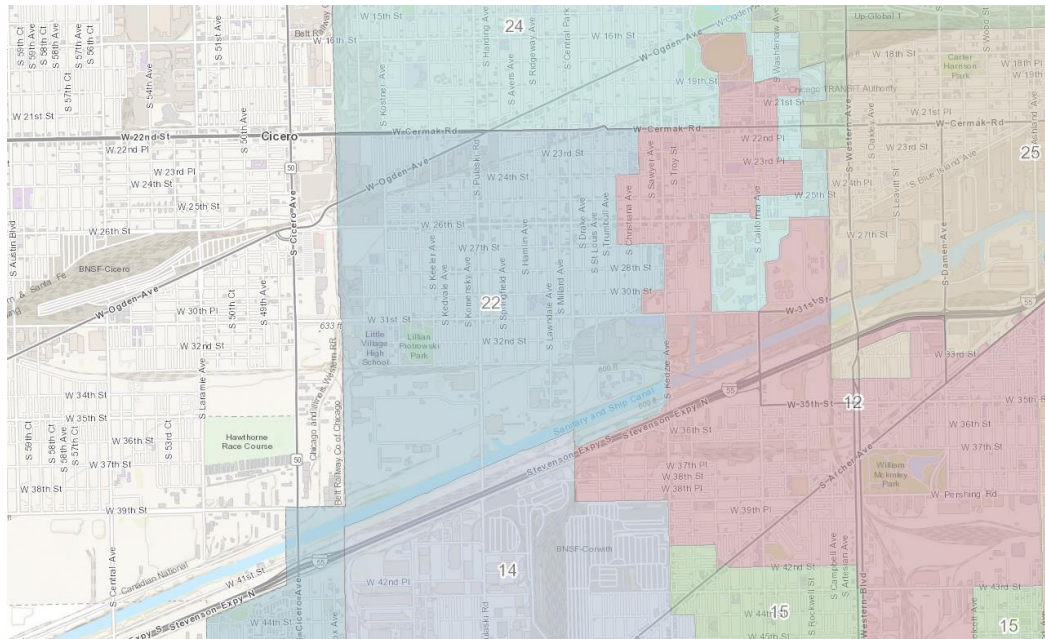


Figure 1.3: Map of the wards that compose La Villita (City of Chicago 2019)

### *Location of La Villita 3.3b*

One of the 77 well-defined community areas of the city of Chicago (City of Chicago 2019), located two miles West of the downtown area, La Villita sits amid an industrial corridor and the neighborhoods of North Lawndale, Pilsen, Cicero Township, Brighton Park and Archer Heights. The streets and significant markers that delineate its limits are: Ogden Avenue, Cermak Road and the Chicago Transit Authority (CTA) Pink Line Train tracks on the Northside; Western Avenue on the Westside with the Cook County Department of Correction less than a mile in; the train tracks near Cicero Avenue on the Eastside, with the Cicero Township following; and the Stevenson (I-55) expressway to its Southside. Belonging to

three different wards out of fifty in the city of Chicago, La Villita is part of the 12<sup>th</sup>, 22<sup>nd</sup> and 24<sup>th</sup> wards (City of Chicago 2019).

### *Brief history of La Villita 3.3c*

The formation of modern day La Villita is preceded by the same condition experienced by other Latinos, more specifically Puerto Ricans and African-American minority groups, when it comes to housing in Chicago, that which is affected by an internally dominated labor segment and being considered second-class citizens—conditions that continue to be reproduced (Betancur 1996). Annexed by the city of Chicago from Cicero Township in 1869, South Lawndale, as it was called then, has followed the same trend of white flight, urban renewal and gentrification of other growing urban areas in the city of Chicago (Betancur 2011) at the beginning of the twentieth century through the beginning of the twenty-first. White flight occurred as soon as people of color and other non-Eastern European immigrants would move into the urban neighborhoods inhabited by the white, Eastern European descents that had laid the foundation for development; they would move further out of the city into more racially homogeneous suburban areas (Graham 1969, 358).

As John J. Betancur (1996) explains, concurrently during this time in Chicago, and various parts of the Midwest, there was a significant steady flow of Mexican migrants brought to fill the need of low wage labor in the industries of railroad, steel and meatpacking. Two specific periods of large import of Mexican migrants happened between 1916 -1928 and 1942-1964. This type of importation of migrants was part of the industries' strategies at labor control that systematically

subjected Mexicans to labor segmentation. The high demand in low wage labor meant constant work, which led many migrants to remain or come back as undocumented workers, encouraged others to follow, and ultimately created a chain for circular migration (Betancur 1996).

The Mexican immigrant worker population has been living in Chicago's South east and South west side since the early 1900s. The majority lived in concentrated numbers around the industrial basin near the Chicago River which includes South Chicago, Back of the Yards, and the steel yards in the farther south (Lindberg 1997, 314). During the first period of large Mexican migrant import to Chicago between 1916 and 1928, the Pilsen neighborhood West of South Lawndale began to experience white flight when Bohemians and other Eastern European immigrants left for South Lawndale, and further West, when the Mexican migrant work force began to move in. (Betancur 1996), offsetting and increasing the housing stock in South Lawndale (Enlace 2019). By 1927, the Mexican population in Chicago had reached about 2,600 (Lindberg 1997, 314) and by World War II, Bohemians became the dominant ethnic group in South Lawndale, which they called "Czech California", and businesses began to develop along 26<sup>th</sup> Street (Enlace 2019). Manpower shortages brought on by WWII ushered in the second period of large Mexican migrant import to Chicago between 1942 and 1964, which resulted in the international bracero contract labor agreements of 1942 and 1943 that allowed Mexican braceros a temporary entry as migrant farm laborers and who established themselves in the following Chicago neighborhoods: New City,



Back of the Yards, Pilsen, South Lawndale and the Heart of Chicago (Lindberg 1997, 315).

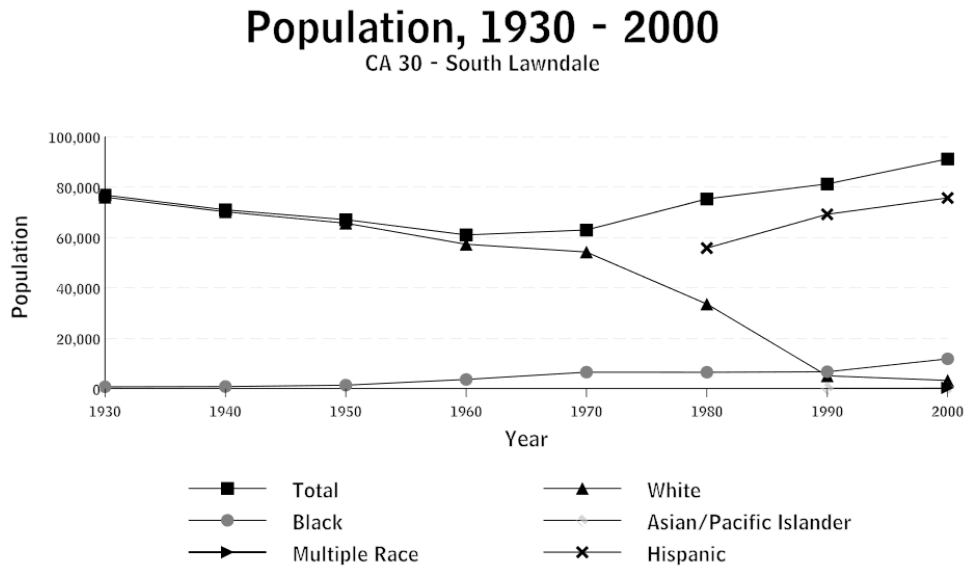
By the mid-1900s, South Lawndale continued to be made up of mostly Czech immigrants meaning that the neighborhood's dominant language during that time was not English and instead was the Czechoslovakian (Graham 1969, 358). Around this time, North Lawndale began to experience an influx of African-Americans who had been forced to seek housing in the area due to inequality of housing practices elsewhere. As North Lawndale began to experience deteriorated housing stock, overcrowded schools, industrial job decline and lack of city services, the residents of South Lawndale petitioned to change their name to "Little Village" to distance themselves from the now predominantly African-American neighborhood of North Lawndale (Enlace 2019) which saw up to 40% of its Czech residents migrate further West to Berwyn and/or Cicero (Graham 1969, 358).

Mid- to late 1900s brought many significant changes to the South Lawndale area. With the second period of large Mexican migrant import to Chicago transpiring, the earlier half of the 1960s saw a growth of lower paying manufacturing jobs in the industrial corridor in the South Lawndale neighborhood, which gave it the ability to sustain a much larger population. With the influx of Mexican migrants arriving and willing to work for less to fill those blue-collar, labor jobs (Lindberg 1997, 310), white flight occurred again, causing the sectioning off of large residencies to fit the new working-class residents. Large brick buildings were replaced with two-flats and bungalows for the new working-class residents (Enlace 2019).

By the latter half of the 1960s, the industrial corridor experienced major economic displacement and deindustrialization, such as the closure of the International Harvester plant and the Western Electric complex (Reed 2019). Then, urban renewal, mainly brought on by the expansion of the University of Illinois at Chicago campus, slowly but surely began to gentrify Pilsen and displace its vulnerable, low-income residents, mostly Mexican immigrants and Mexican-Americans, out of Pilsen into La Villita (Betancur 1996; Lindberg 1997, 322). This also meant that as Bohemians and Eastern European immigrants continued to move into the surrounding suburbs. This increase in available space allowed for the Mexican population to reach up to 85% of the area in 1990 (Betancur 1996), as it became a port of entry for not only Mexican immigrants. The late 1960s ushered in a new era of business ownership run in Spanish in La Villita with about 75% of the businesses owned by the new Mexican origin population (Pacyga and Skerrett 1986, 250).

During the 70s and 80s, the Mexican immigrant and Mexican American population continued to increase in La Villita, even though Mexican residents in Pilsen and La Villita also began to move to the surrounding suburbs when they had the financial savings to do so (Lindberg 1997, 318). By the 80s, 66% of La Villita's 75,000 residents were of Mexican heritage (Pacyga and Skerrett 1986, 250), and by 1987 there was an estimated 5,000 independently owned businesses in La Villita (Lindberg 1997, 318). Although by the 1990s the Mexican origin population reached 85%, there was also an unemployment rate of 14% (Reed 2019). In 1994, along with already established minority set-aside programs, the

city of Chicago received a \$200 million federal grant whose goal was to provide the help necessary to Latinos and immigrants to start their own businesses (Lindberg 1997, 318).



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Figure 1.4: Graph of the South Lawndale Population in the city of Chicago between 1930 & 2000 (Kouvelis 2004, 33).

South Lawndale		1992 & 2002 CDPH Demographic and Health Profile						CA 30	
Demographic Measures					Health Measures				
1990		2000		1992		2002			
Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Rate/Pct	Number	Rate/Pct		
Total Population	81,155	--	91,071	--	Births (R)	2,406	132.9	2,089	106.3
Age and Sex Distributions					Infant Mortality (R)	14	5.8	14	6.7
< 5	8,856	10.9	9,032	9.9	Low Birthweight (P)	131	5.4	132	6.3
5-14	15,753	19.4	15,290	16.8	No Prenatal Care (P)	56	2.4	15	0.7
15-24	17,681	21.8	20,253	22.2	Teen Births (P)	401	16.7	339	16.2
25-44	26,571	32.7	31,816	34.9	Maternal Smoking (P)	59	2.5	32	1.5
45-64	8,329	10.3	11,101	12.2	Death Rates by Cause*				
65-74	2,350	2.9	2,153	2.4	All Causes	342	946	287	805
75+	1,615	2.0	1,426	1.6	Heart Disease	104	331	79	275
Males	44,866	55.3	52,515	57.7	All Cancer	66	205	51	149
Females	36,289	44.7	38,556	42.3	Breast Cancer	2	6	4	13
Females 15-44	18,099	--	19,658	--	Lung Cancer	11	35	11	34
Racial/Ethnic Composition					Stroke	19	67	10	31
Non-Hispanic Black	6,652	8.2	11,759	12.9	Accidents	21	26	22	25
Non-Hispanic White	5,037	6.2	3,210	3.5	Chronic Lower Respiratory Dis.	8	26	5	18
Hispanic	69,131	85.2	75,613	83.0	Diabetes Mellitus	10	28	14	34
Non-Hispanic Other	335	0.4	213	0.2	Influenza and Pneumonia	11	34	9	33
Non-Hispanic Multiple Race	No Data	No Data	276	0.3	Assault (homicide)	19	20	9	7
Socio-Economic Status					HIV Disease	3	3	4	10
Median Household Income	22,260	--	32,320	--	Chronic Liver Dis. and Cirrhosis	8	17	6	13
Below Poverty Level	18,146	24.0	21,057	26.5	Reportable Disease Rates				
Below Twice Poverty Level	46,691	61.6	47,306	59.6	Syphilis	No Data	No Data	NR	NR
Childhood Poverty	8,212	28.5	9,050	32.5	Gonorrhea	No Data	No Data	93	102
High School Graduates	12,159	30.9	17,343	37.3	Chlamydia	No Data	No Data	391	429
Unemployed	4,633	13.8	3,626	11.7	AIDS	15	18	15	16
					Tuberculosis	19	23	14	15
					Elevated Lead Screenings	No Data	No Data	366	29

\*Death rates age adjusted to US projected year 2000 population. 2002 mortality data are coded in ICD-10; Calculations for 1992 use comparability modified data for cause of death.  
 No Data = Data not available at time of publication; NR = Data not released

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Table 1.1: The South Lawndale Population in the city of Chicago between 1930 & 2000 (Kouvelis 2004, 34).

*Current population composition of La Villita 3.3d*

Just like the State of Illinois and the City of Chicago continue to decrease in population numbers, La Villita is experiencing the same based on various factors. According to a 2015 Community Data Snapshot conducted by the Chicago Metropolitan Agency for Planning (CMAP), the population in the city of Chicago decreased by -6.3%, while La Villita's population decreased by -18.8% between

2000 and 2016. In 2016, La Villita had a total of 73,983 residents with 84% being Hispanic or Latino, with only 49.6% having attained less than a High School graduate degree, with \$31,766 being the median income per household and 77.3% of the population speaking Spanish (Chicago Metropolitan Agency for Planning 2015). In 2014, La Villita was the second most densely populated Chicago Community Area across 77 designated areas, as well as the third in highest social and economic hardship indicators (Herber-Beirne, et al, 2018, 420). Residents have also experienced low quality of life affected by environmental degradation, insufficient access to open spaces, fear of crime, low sense of community (Stodolska and Shiness 2009).

With the majority being Latino and Spanish-speaking, this high-density area continues to experience low employment and education rates (Lichter, et al 2010). With most of the population being under 20 years of age, local public schools are filled to capacity (Reed 2019). In addition, La Villita has gone from a manufacturing-based economy to an information-based economy that depends on computer science and communications, limiting the jobs available for those that don't have the educational background to enter this specific workforce (Schwartz 2006). Currently, the jobs for Latinos in general are in the service (Schwartz 2006) and sweatshop manufacturing sectors, in which they continue to get paid minimum wage (Betancur 1996). More specifically, Mexicans have experienced being employed and laid off at convenience, imported, deported, and prevented from competing for higher paying jobs. This has led to them being stuck in the lower end of the income bracket (Betancur 1996). And unlike their Eastern

European/Anglo-Saxon predecessors, Latinos in La Villita continue to experience racism (Hernández, et al 2017, 711) discrimination and social inequities, which is seen in the various forms of manipulation and exploitation that affects their mobility and settlement (Betancur 1996). Furthermore, due to ethnic restrictions, Mexicans next or near the steel mills, railroads and meatpacking houses were clustered in their own spaces (Betancur 1996) and were forced to pay an inflated rental value due to racist factors (Betancur 1996).

As reported by Teska Associated, Inc. and Axia Development for the Little Village Special Service Area #25 in their 2012 Market Analysis and Economic Development Plan, La Villita, at that time, had around 608 businesses in a small area. The majority, at 20%, of businesses are anchored in general services, which reflect the entrepreneurial spirit of La Villita and its immigrant community. These businesses included travel agencies, financial services, insurance agencies, laundromats, photography studios, etc. (Teska Associated, Inc. 2012,13). Not only do these businesses provide employment for residents, but it also brings in a high number of employees that come into La Villita each day that, in turn, become potential customers for the businesses in the area (Teska Associated, Inc. 2012, 23). Not immune to the inequities that affect its residents, businesses in La Villita have also been greatly affected. A rise in retail space vacancies can be seen in the large gaps of general merchandise, health and personal care, and convenience shopping. This has raised concerns, because the study confirmed the importance of restaurants and groceries as an engine for growth in the neighborhood (Teska Associated, Inc. 2012, 6). Although building assets have allowed for small

businesses to open with limited space for growth and high rents, small storefronts have allowed for intensive specialization in these businesses (Teska Associated, Inc. 2012, 10).

Negative public perceptions are perpetuated by bad street lighting, lack of public improvements (Teska Associated, Inc. 2012, 52). As well as, gang violence (Spergel 2007), undermined efforts to reduce gang violence (Vargas 2016), and the distrust of the Chicago Police Department (Vargas and Scrivener 2018) and its multiple databases of suspected gang members that has been used to target undocumented immigrants, as well as Black and Latino young adults, in La Villita and throughout the City of Chicago. Notwithstanding and against all odds, La Villita, widely known for its vibrant commercial district, attracts customers from different areas of the city, surrounding suburbs, and the Midwest. Referred by many as Chicago's Mexican Magnificent Mile, it brings in over \$900 million in revenue annually. This makes the two-mile commercial strip on 26<sup>th</sup> Street the second highest gross in the city and unlike Michigan Avenue, that brings in \$1.8 billion annually, its resident shoppers earn an average of \$33,000 a year.

Many community leaders, residents, and agencies have been working together to continue to fight against the many social and political injustices of the community. They have continuously questioned their realities and have used innovation and entrepreneurship to improve their conditions. Many initiatives, taskforces and studies have been carried to assess the needs and areas of improvements. To address the housing inequities, the Second Federal Savings

bank offered fair mortgages to Mexicans and opened bank accounts for the undocumented by breaking normal discriminatory lending practices (Enlace 2019). They have fought for their children's education by fighting and demanding new schools to be built and/or reformed, such as Gerald Delgado Kanoon Magnet School, Maria Saucedo School, and most recently, the Little Village Lawndale High School Campus (Pacyga, 1986, 252; Enlace 2019). To build on the strength, pride and culture of the community, SSA #25 rehabilitated the Arch located east of Kedzie Avenue (Teska Associated, Inc. 2012).

### *Shifts in political climate, the "Trump effect", and La Villita 3.5e*

In the past 2 years, since this research project began, the United States has seen drastic immigration policy shifts since the Republican President Donald Trump and his administration took office in January of 2017. After having inherited an extremely well-organized and funded deportation infrastructure from the Obama administration, the current administration has continued the practice of increasing immigration policies that restrict immigration flows, legal and unauthorized, by dramatically reducing the admission of refugees, expanding the reach and power of state and local enforcement, and eliminating temporary protections for noncitizens. Their efforts also include altering immigration courts and making modifications to the federal agencies that have important immigration roles by funneling money from various government programs and departments. This includes establishing policies that separate and detain immigrant families, increasing application and procedure requirements and delaying application processes that have created massive backlogs in immigration cases and



applications across the country, which delay and/or deter an immigrant's application for legal status.

All of these changes have inherently begun to negatively affect immigrants and their communities alike. Known as the "Trump effect" and caused by his campaign, election, and, most importantly, current volatile rhetoric, there has been an increase in harmful bullying, harassment and violence against racial and religious minority groups and an increase of hate groups (Kaleem 2017). According to a 2018 article by Psychology Today, this type of behavior is based on the use of power through strength or influence to intimidate certain groups. Furthermore, partisan ideologies, while paired with a tendency to bully, can then lead to harmful long-term impact on minority populations (Sword and Zimbardo 2018). This has affected La Villita greatly since it has caused fear of immigration agents showing up throughout the neighborhood. The community is on constant high alert for ICE agents, which has caused a decrease in revenue.

### **Conclusion 3.4**

The migration process is greatly affected by different factors and it is human nature to gravitate towards what is familiar. For immigrants who might be short on different types of resources, getting through everyday matters becomes increasingly harder, thus trusted social networks that provide the services needed are important. One of the biggest challenges to the settlement of immigrants is the

barrier created by not knowing the dominant language. Having access to services through a person that can linguistically and culturally assist becomes essential for their incorporation and integration, thus, the social fabric of a community becomes a safety net.

For over a century, the ethnic enclave of La Villita has continued to be shaped by its Mexican immigrant and Mexican American residents. Even after building a strong social fabric, La Villita continues to be riddled with displacement caused by racism, urban renewal and gentrification, which is constantly testing the resiliency of those who live there.

## Chapter 4

### Methodology and Theoretical Framework

#### Data Collection & Instrumentation 4.1

##### *Introduction 4.1a*

Although one can assume that most of the businesses in La Villita are owned by Mexican immigrants, Mexican-Americans and/or Spanish-speakers, very little is known about who they are, their migratory experiences or what their linguistic repertoire consists of. With translation being a very technical and purposeful process, the Spanish and the English language seem to be essential in the production of their services. We know that migrants travel with different types of capital, which can then become assets. Being a member of this community since I immigrated to Chicago from Mexico at 6 years old and after many years of noticing the “*Traducción*” signs, I became very intrigued about what this specific service fully entailed. Within this research project, my goal is to find out how these specific businesses and their owners transformed their linguistic skills and knowledge into non-material livelihood assets. Furthermore, I want to know what strategies, in terms of linguistic tools and patterns, have been formed in this specific context.

Of course, the work of an ethnographer can get tricky when ascribing to the terms of objectivity and subjectivity, which are linked to the process of conducting

ethnographic research. Representation of other cultures can include theoretical and personal biases, skewed sampling, and lack of ethical consideration. Taking all of this into consideration as a newcomer to ethnographic research and as an in-group member of this Mexican immigrant and Mexican-American community, I knew I had to decide as to how much of my academic and personal identities to include and allow to lead my research and thought process for this project. Knowing that I, personally, have a deep linguistic and cultural connection to this community, I determined that it would be impossible to be objective and reject my dual positionality. Therefore, I decided to ensure that I implemented a proper way to impartially document and interpret the findings, while allowing the ethnographic process to be open-ended and subject to continuous self-correction during the inquiry process. Being a translator and interpreter myself came especially useful because of the vast experience I have practicing impartiality and neutrality.

Upon the beginning of this project, I knew that most of the businesses in La Villita are owned by Mexicans. As far as the translation services offered by a variety of businesses, the only detail I knew was that they existed due to having seen an increase in front window advertisements in Spanish of such services over the past 25 years. Not knowing the types of documents that were being translated, I became intrigued in the possible linguistic dynamics that exist within these businesses due to translation. Since the act of translating documents requires certain linguistic skills and determined processes to complete, this, in turn, allowed me to gather data in a highly focused and purposeful way. I pre-determined that whoever was completing the translation work within the businesses must have a

certain set of linguistic and technical skills to carry out such work. Based on all of this, I chose to utilize three different instruments to gather data—ethnographic and archival research, as well as oral histories. When I completed the mini-ethnography project that led me to this master’s thesis, I found that only employing the instruments of ethnographic and archival research was not going to allow me to find out the actual background on the businesses and the translators therein. Adding the oral history component was imperative to fully understand these businesses, individuals and their translation services at a micro-level.

*Instrument 1- Ethnography and oral histories 4.1b*

The practice of ethnography was chosen to be able to document the history narratives of the individuals interviewed in this community. It allowed me to systematically observe, participate and gather implicit visual and audible data to find out what social and cultural cues were being used concurrently with the Spanish language in La Villita. Being a trilingual individual in Spanish, English and American Sign Language (ASL)<sup>4</sup>, I had the unique opportunity to be able to read and hear the Spanish and English cues, but also to visually look out for more than words. Having studied ASL and Interpreting and Translation as part of my major as an undergraduate student, I had the formal training to look out for and identify cultural and/or social cues that separate the reality between the hearing community versus the Deaf community, particularly, in Chicago, Illinois. These cues could be represented visually through different art mediums, and religious and patriotic items throughout South 26<sup>th</sup> Street from Central Park Avenue to the railroad bridge

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<sup>4</sup> ASL is a visual, sign language, compared to English and Spanish which are spoken and written languages.

that separates the City of Chicago with the Town of Cicero immediately after Kostner Avenue if going west.

In the mini-ethnography project, I had already conducted a walk-through between the one-mile stretch between Central Park Avenue and Kostner Avenue and had noted that the Spanish language use in the marketing and naming of the businesses therein was the primary language of use. Within that project, I identified five different businesses that offer translation services as part of the gamut of work they do. After approval of my proposal in November 2016, I scheduled the first interview attempt (which will be described in greater detail in the upcoming section, *Instrument 2 and Data- Oral Histories 4.1c*) on Thursday, December 22<sup>nd</sup>. Having greeted the first person met upon entering the businesses, I read my Verbal Recruitment Script for Participation in the Research Study.

After noting the language and visual cultural markers use of the exterior signage, I was greeted in Spanish by the receptionists upon walking into all the businesses and all of the communication thereafter took place in Spanish as well. Although the employees in charge of the translation services were not present during the first interview attempt of all five businesses, I was able to find out what days and times of the week they were typically in. The only business that refused the possibility of interviewing the translator was the currency exchange type business. Then, after noting the language and visual cultural markers use of the interior, I thanked them and left each building. At home, I also researched if any of these businesses had any online presences and, if so, which languages were being used.

Following the interviewing guidelines in place by the IRB Board, I then conducted interviews with four out of five businesses that agreed to partake in my study. In order to capture the Oral Histories, I asked questions based on the following themes: their business purpose, models, practices; sociolinguistic variables, such as country of origin, race, language spoken, age of second language acquisition; language use; the community they belong to and live in; the translation field and their experience with it; their thoughts and opinions on their motivation in the work they carry out; past experiences with the community and network building.

*Instrument 2: Capacity Inventories: Asset mapping of the findings 4.1c*

Once all the data from the ethnography and interviews was collected, a capacity inventory was created for the businesses and for the individuals interviewed. This allowed for the analyzation and comparison of all five businesses and their translation services, as well as for being able to display the data collected in a systematic way. These inventories consisted of creating tables in Excel to track the information found. For this, I utilized the process of asset mapping, borrowed from the Asset-Based Community Development (ABCD), to allow me to identify networks and/or patterns of language use for official business purposes that involve translation needs. The business capacity inventory combined interview answers, the archival results and the observational details on the business' variety of services, as well as the observation of interior and exterior signage. Based on the data collected through the oral histories of the business language service

providers, an individual capacity inventory was created for each individual person interviewed.

## **Theoretical Framework: Interdisciplinary Combination 4.2**

### *Sociolinguistic & Critical Linguistic Perspectives 4.2a*

Stemming from a sociolinguistic standpoint, I analyzed the use of the Spanish language within the context of the Mexican American language experience in the United States. According to Glenn A. Martínez (2006), the way that bilingualism has been defined within this context consists of three different perspectives. Out of these three, two were utilized in this project, which are the *sociolinguistic* and *critical linguistic perspectives*<sup>5</sup>. The *sociolinguistic perspective* focuses on the deployment of linguistic system(s) in different social encounters and, more specifically, how they are utilized and controlled depending on the social reasons for using different languages during different times, in different places, and with different people (Martínez 2006). A *critical linguistic perspective* also focuses on the deployment of the linguistic system(s) in different social encounters, but it also attempts to explain the formal manifestation of the languages in contact and their functional distribution, while reflecting upon the ideological systems of dominance and subordination that underpin the social hierarchies and the political ramifications of the contact between the languages (Martínez 2006).

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<sup>5</sup> The third perspective that Martínez discusses is the *linguistic perspective*, which focus on the specific varieties of Spanish and English in order to describe how Mexican American speech is different than other forms of speaking.



### *The Sustainable Livelihoods Framework 4.2b*

In order to analyze the livelihood that is comprised of the capabilities, assets, and activities required for a means of livelihood for the language service providers interviewed, I turn to a *sustainable livelihoods approach* as the second part of the multi-layered theoretical framework. This approach stems from a human ecology standpoint and it is employed to consider and analyze the role of social capital in the linguistic exchanges in this particular social network in this specific place and time. A *sustainable livelihoods approach* mainly focuses on the non-material livelihood assets of migrants since many live without formal status in their host country and must utilize tangible and intangible assets in order to make a living and/or legal residency. The non-material livelihood assets can include human capital such as health, education, skills, experience and social capital (Stepputat and Nyberg Sorensen 2014).

### *Language as a Form of Power 4.2c*

Lastly, Pierre Bourdieu's account on language use and its relation to power, from his 1991 book, *Language and Symbolic Power*, is employed to determine the power dynamics between: language service provider and migrant customer; and the specific usage of the Spanish and English languages beyond the scope of simple communication tools. According to Bourdieu—in his critiques of the traditional approaches to language—language is more than just a means of communication, and instead it is a medium through which power can be obtained based on individual interests. I chose this approach, because as a L2 learner of

English, I have experienced situations in which the use of Spanish has been looked down on, ridiculed and even criticized.

## Chapter 5

### Results, Discussion, Limitations, and Conclusions

#### Results 5.1

It can be easily determined by simply walking through La Villita that it is an ethnic enclave where Spanish visually and audibly dominates the community. This specific study set out to answer the following questions: what kind of linguistic tools and patterns are being used with Spanish to conduct business therein; the ways in which the dominant language, English, coexists with the minority language, Spanish, within this setting; and if the minority language is in the position of higher power. The instruments utilized to collect the snapshot of the wide array of language use, contact and attainment sheds light on the complexity of the existence of the Spanish language in the neighborhood of La Villita at this time.

#### *Results of Instruments 1 and 2 5.1a*

There was a total of five businesses that were looked at for the ethnography and oral histories. All five had completely different main services, but translation and notary public services were the two services in common across all five. Two businesses matched in tax services, and the other three focused on realty, travel and currency exchange services. Out of those five, only four agreed to participate in the study. The currency exchange business denied participation during the first

visit. Although it took two weeks of multiple visits to catch each of the participants during their regular work hours, all agreed to partake upon being read the IRB approved Verbal Recruitment Script for the Business Owner and/or Notary Public for Participation in the Research Study. Participants were asked a set of different questions depending on their job title within the business. They were broken down into questions for the business owners and the translators/notary publics. To keep the identity of the individuals interviewed anonymous, the results are presented in narrative form. Please see Appendix 5 for a list of the questions. The table below shows the allotted letter code for each interviewee, the type of businesses and services they work with and the linguistic and cultural markers visible in their exterior and interior advertisements.

Allotted Code	Main Service/s of the Business	Language Used for Name of Business	Exterior Signs in Spanish	Interior Signs in English	Visual Cultural Markers	Website?	FB page?
A	Tax & Accounting	English	Corporaciones, Fotocopias, Contaduría, Licencias, Notario Público, Traducciones, W-7, Servicio Electrónico	Income Tax, Accountings, Licensees, Notary Publics, Translations, Corporations, Photocopies, W-7, Electronic Filing	Exterior: None Interior: Paintings depicting themes central to Mexican identity	N/A	N/A
B	Tax	English	Servicio de Impuestos (Rapid Refunds & Servicio Electrónico), Aplicaciones ITIN Number, Notario Público, Traducciones, Cartas poder	N/A	Exterior: None Interior: Statue of La Virgen de Guadalupe w/flowers and candles	N/A	FB page w/ basic Info in English
C	Realty	English	Venta de casas, Cartas de poder, Traducciones	Income Tax, Notary Public and one small sign on the door saying that they do not offer Immigration services	Exterior: Spanish surname "Téllez" is engraved in the front gravel Interior: Mural of Aztec related art; frame of the "Téllez" armorial history w/coat of arms; Paintings depicting themes central to Mexican identity	N/A	FB Page w/ basic info in English, but Services are listed only in Spanish
D	Travel	Spanish	Notario Público, Traducciones, Cartas de poder, Viajes	N/A	Exterior: None Interior: Small statues/artwork depicting the Aztecs & Mexican related themes; framed portrait of Jesus Christ	Website in ENG (Except the sentence 'Hablamos Español' under their telephone number)	N/A
E	Currency Exchange	English	Traducciones de Actas de Nacimiento y Matrimonio	Authorized Notary Public, Checks Cashed, Car Titles & Plates Registration & Renewals, Pay Chicago Tickets, Money Orders, Pay Utility Bills, Auto Insurance, Auto Plate & City Stickers	Exterior: None Interior: Framed portrait of La Virgen de Guadalupe	N/A	N/A

Table 1.2: Asset Map of the Language Use of Each Business

Results for both instruments show that all four of the individuals interviewed actively translate for the place of employment as part of the gamut of different job duties they carry out to serve the different functions of the business. Collectively, all are Mexican-born, native Spanish speakers between the ages of 52 and 58, moved to the U.S. at a young age in their lives (between 12 and 25 years of age) between 1971 and 1985. They have all lived solely in Chicago since migrating and have, at some point, lived in La Villita, with all four of them now living in the surrounding suburbs. Although they all feel the most comfortable speaking Spanish at home, only half prefer using it in the workplace. The oral use of Spanish is mostly used with clients, while the written form of English is what is mostly used for paperwork.

In terms of educational attainment, two obtained a bachelor's degree and started their businesses in relation to their degrees. Interviewee A majored in Accounting at a university in Chicago, IL, and started the business with a friend who asked to become partners. Interviewee D majored in Travel and Tourism Management in Mexico and started their business independently. The other two interviewees did not start their businesses where they are now notary publics/translators. Instead, they began working there because the owner was an immediate family member—spouse and sibling. They continue to work there because they like working with their family. In addition, these two interviewees found the process to becoming notary publics easy.

Regarding their translation skills attainment, three learned translation from a coworker and one from a community college course, but all four pursued it because

of the specific need for translations in La Villita. All four businesses offer translation services for a variety of certificates, such as birth, marriage, divorce and death, and three out of four also offer translation of medical documents. Most, if not all, of the documents are going from Spanish to English and stem from Mexico. They all noted that in recent years, they have seen an increase in translation needs for documents stemming from El Salvador and Guatemala. Although only three enjoy the actual act of translation, two stated that they find it difficult.

Obstacles experienced while carrying out translations are documents being too long and containing unfamiliar Spanish terminology, because they stem from different Mexican states or contain terminology that is too medically specialized/technical. To ensure accuracy on the translations, the following quality assessment measures were mentioned: having their translations reviewed by a coworker, and, in one case, by their adolescent children; utilizing online and paper dictionaries; and keeping a glossary of difficult terminology.

As mentioned before, all four businesses have translation and notary public services in common. Except for the business that offers travel services, income tax, accounting and letters of power of attorney are the other three services that are common. When the businesses are not able to fill the need of the client, three of them refer them to other businesses and/or resources that might be able to assist. When it came advertising, all four businesses displayed in Spanish their translation and notary public services in the exterior and interior signage. When asked why they chose Spanish for their exterior and interior signage, all four stated that this was due to the specific area their business is in, while one stated that their

main goal is to always be a bilingual business. All four believe that using Spanish instead of English will attract more customers. Lastly, online research revealed that only one business had a website which had all of its content in English, and another business had an official Facebook page which had their notary and translation services listed in Spanish.

#### *Discussion of findings 5.1b*

The following section will discuss the implications of the results presented in the *Results of Instrument 1 & 2* section. First, the findings collected from all two instruments will be discussed in reference to possible explanations of the findings and their relationship with the research questions and hypothesis of this study, followed by the theoretical and research implications of the study. Finally, limitations of the study will be reviewed and suggestions for practice and future research will be provided.

This research study set out to determine how multilingualism was being used within a few translation-providing businesses in La Villita. The positionality of Spanish within this specific context is multifaceted as it coexists with English. In terms of the hypothesis for this study, I stated that the linguistic use of the Spanish and English languages within these businesses and their specific social conditions create linguistic tools that manifest in the form of translation and marketing, thus producing specific linguistic patterns which then create social and cultural capital. I also argued that these translation services are a response to an institutionalized immigration system that forces migrants to create their own sustainable legacies, due to the lack of state-sponsored linguistic support within their communities. And



lastly, I contended that even though English is used by these businesses for official written documentation with most or all official business with the City of Chicago and the State of Illinois, the use of the Spanish language carries more important weight and power when it comes to client interaction and engagement in their everyday business transactions. This hypothesis is soundly supported by the results.

Based on the findings, the Spanish language exists as the driving force behind the everyday use, communication and decision-making that happens within the four businesses that were studied. Spanish is not only used as a marketing tool, but also, in conjunction to translation, as a form of providing language-specific services that are needed by the residents of this community. More specifically, the existence and need for Spanish to English translation services signals that Spanish-speaking clients are carrying out very important legal and/or immigration matters within the confines of their external networks, but within this enclave. The businesses seeing a rise in non-Mexican Spanish-speaking clients coincides with the U.S. current increase in Central and South American migration flows. Equally important, these translation services contribute to the vitality of Spanish in this context, given that it forces and encourages the employees within these businesses to maintain their native Spanish fluency, as well as their English.

Connections between all four individuals interviewed and their clients exist not only at a linguistic level, but also at a cultural and migration experience level. All four interviewees share a collective migratory experience with their clients, since all four migrated to Chicago from Mexico during the 1970s and 1980s boom

of Mexican immigrants in La Villita, as well as the wave of highly skilled immigrants of the 1980s that came to the U.S. with higher levels of bilingualism than earlier arriving *paisanos*. Seeing there is a constant need for translation services in the neighborhood they first arrived in, they have used their bilingualism as a coping mechanism and strategy that, in turn, meets the needs of Spanish-speaking immigrants who have less resources.

Furthermore, all four businesses were roughly opened between the late 1980s and early 1990s, indicating that while these entrepreneurs drew upon their internal networks to staff their businesses, they concurrently built social and cultural capital and were a source of employment during a time when low employment rates plagued the community. By offering a very niche-type of translation services and ensuring their work is proofread, the translators themselves become experts within the documents they handle, while maintaining a two-layered quality assurance process. And although only one of the four interviewees obtained formal education in translation, these translators find themselves within a fragmented localization industry that is unregulated by the U.S. government, while being appointed officials as notaries.

Taken collectively, these findings indicate that these businesses form part of the intricate social fabric of the community in which they are located. The strong connection between Spanish fluency and cultural ethnic identity in these already established immigrants has transformed into a non-material livelihood asset. Furthermore, their linguistic repertoire and translation skills allow them to create a self-perpetuating linguistic legacy for the long-term benefit of this community.

In order to obtain quality interview data for the oral histories, it was necessary to ensure that the interviewees felt comfortable enough to allow me to ask them questions within a 15 to 30-minute timespan. This meant that part of my methodology needed to include that I utilized my out-group member skills as a budding academic researcher, but also my in-group member skills, which included my linguistic and cultural skills. A core ethical concern arose when attempting to maintain anonymity and confidentiality of each participant's personal details as well as interview data. I addressed the matter by ensuring that I notified all interviewees prior to interviewing them that I would not disclose their identity by not providing details on the actual name of the businesses, their own names or any other identifying factor. I found that this format worked since all interviewees immediately made time to meet with me and answered all of my questions clearly and without hesitation. Additionally, all of the interviewees wished me luck on my research and degree completion. Gaining trust from the interviewees from the beginning was a methodological benefit, since it is widely known that these communities don't easily trust individuals that don't represent their them.

The results of this study have implications for the understanding of the coexistence and survival of languages within immigrant ethnic enclaves in the U.S. An important contribution is that this study extends the previous literature on immigration, the maintenance of Spanish in the U.S, social fabric in ethnic enclaves, social and cultural capital, and translation. As noted by Lipski (2008), there is a language shift that indicates that the second, third, etc., generations of immigrant Spanish-speaking parents are experiencing rapid intergenerational

language loss. To combat this language loss, heritage language and translation programs could benefit from taking a closer look at: the linguistic tools and patterns that are used by already established immigrants to not only create social capital, but also cultural capital; and what other translation needs are the immigrant population experiencing. Since Latino immigrant families continue to experience displacement through gentrification, a closer look at how language plays a role within the social fabric of ethnic enclaves would help shed light on how the maintenance of minority languages can assist as a defense mechanism.

#### *Limitations 5.1c*

As a relatively small, qualitative study, some of the limitations included a small sample size and the use of note taking during the interview portion. There were more businesses that offered translation services overtly and, possibly covertly, within La Villita that could have been included in the study. Studying a larger pool of individuals and businesses at one time would give a better sense of how many are run by the same people that reside in that community, and if they themselves are native Spanish speakers. Since I was not able to write everything that was said by the interviewees and memory becomes distorted with time, this limited the amount of data I could have possibly collected. Having recorded the answers using an audio format would have made it easier to capture all that was said. A complete examination that addressed these limitations would extend our understanding of what makes these businesses so successful and needed within the context that they find themselves in.

## **Conclusions 5.2**

Results of this study support the hypothesis presented in Chapter 1 that within these businesses the use of the Spanish and English languages create linguistic tools that manifest in the form of translation and marketing. The creation of social and cultural capital is formed through the use of language and translation skills in the form of community-based services as they concurrently respond to an institutionalized immigration system that lacks in providing such support. This forces immigrants to create their own sustainable legacies while they leverage and then raise the weight and power of the Spanish language. Consequently, this power allows fluent bilinguals within this context to be agents of change as they address the needs of their own communities, thus creating a stronger social fabric.

As Mexican immigrants and Mexican-Americans continue to live as targets who face fraud, exploitation, discrimination and racism in the U.S., one fact is real: the minority status of Spanish is embedded in ethnic enclaves and the country as a force of power and change. It sustains the linguistic diversity in Chicago and reinforces the ethnic social fabric in La Villita.

## **Appendix 1**

### **Verbal Announcements**

#### **Spanish version:**

Anuncio verbal para el/la recepcionista: Primer contacto

Hola, buenos días/tarde. Me llamo Citlali Ochoa, soy una estudiante universitaria y estoy llevando a cabo un estudio de investigación en el que voy a estudiar como los idiomas inglés y español son utilizados en negocios locales que atienden a la comunidad que habla en español en La Villita. Estoy buscando al dueño del negocio y/o el notario que trabajan aquí. ¿Se encuentran aquí hoy? ¿Podría hablar con ellos?

#### **English version:**

Verbal Announcement for Receptionist: First Contact

Hello, good morning/afternoon. My name is Citlali Ochoa, I am a university student and I am conducting a research study where I will be studying how the English and Spanish languages are used in local business that attend to the Spanish-speaking community in La Villita. I am looking for the business owner and/or the notary public who works here. Are they here today? May I speak with them?

## Appendix 2

### Verbal Recruitment Script for the Business Owner and/or Notary Public for Participation in the Research Study

#### Spanish version:

**SCRIPT DE RECLUTAMIENTO VERBAL PARA EL DUEÑO DEL NEGOCIO Y/O NOTARIO  
PARA LA PARTICIPACIÓN EN UN ESTUDIO DE INVESTIGACIÓN**

Hola, mi nombre es Citlali Ochoa y soy una estudiante de la universidad De Paúl. Estoy llevando a cabo un estudio de investigación en el que voy a estudiar como los idiomas inglés y español son utilizados en negocios locales que atienden a la comunidad que habla en español en La Villita. ¿Está interesado en participar? Si acepta, podemos llevar la entrevista ahora o puedo regresar en otra ocasión.

#### English version:

**VERBAL RECRUITMENT SCRIPT FOR THE BUSINESS OWNER &/OR NOTARY PUBLIC  
FOR PARTICIPATION IN THE RESEARCH STUDY:**

Hi, my name is Citlali Ochoa and I am a student at DePaul University. I am doing a research study about how the English and Spanish languages are used in local business that attend to the Spanish-speaking community in La Villita—it involves interviewing business owners and notaries. Are you interested in participating? If you accept, we can conduct the interview now or I can come back at another time.

## Appendix 3

### Verbal Information for the Business Owner and/or Notary Public for Participation in the Research Study

#### Spanish version:

**INFORMACIÓN VERBAL PARA EL DUEÑO DEL NEGOCIO Y/O NOTARIO**  
**PARA LA PARTICIPACIÓN EN UN ESTUDIO DE INVESTIGACIÓN**

Migración, multilingüismo y adaptación:

Lengua como capital social en un enclave étnico mexicano actual

Investigadora Principal: Citlali Ochoa, Estudiante de Posgrado

Instituto: Universidad De Paúl, EE.UU.

Consejero de la Facultad: Jacqueline Lazú, PhD- Departamento de Lenguas Modernas

Estoy llevando a cabo un estudio de investigación porque estoy tratando de aprender más sobre como la lengua es utilizada en un negocio que proporciona servicios en español e inglés en una comunidad de migrantes. Mi propósito es practicar el uso de las diferentes maneras de cómo abordar y entender el uso de lenguas, y como el lenguaje puede ser utilizado en redes sociales y como como un recurso económico.

Estoy solicitando su participación en este estudio porque usted trabaja, como el dueño o notario, en un negocio que proporciona servicios de traducción, específicamente en este vecindario y porque tiene es de edad 18 o mayor. Si usted acepta participar en este estudio, se le pedirá que complete una entrevista y todas sus respuestas e información se quedará confidencial.

La entrevista incluye preguntas sobre lo siguiente: su país de origen; sexo y edad; los idiomas que conoce y como los aprendió; como se hizo dueño o como empezó a trabajar aquí; traducción y como llevan a cabo ese proceso; los idiomas que usan para comunicarse con sus clientes; y los idiomas que usan para los anuncios interiores y exteriores.



Todas las preguntas se llevarán a cabo en persona. Si existe una pregunta que usted no quiera contestar, usted puede elegir no contestarla.

Este estudio tomará aproximadamente 30 - 45 minutos de su tiempo durante la sesión de la entrevista. Los datos de la investigación adquiridos serán mantenidos confidenciales y los datos serán tomados en notas solamente. No va a ver nada grabado en audio o video.

Su participación es voluntaria que significa que usted puede optar a no participar. No habrá riesgos o beneficios directos al participar en este estudio.

Usted tiene que tener 18 años de edad o mayor para estar en este estudio. Este estudio no está aprobado para inscripción de personas menos de 18 años de edad.

Si tiene preguntas, preocupaciones, o quejas sobre este estudio o quiere obtener información adicional o proveer información sobre este estudio, por favor contacte a:

- Citlali Ochoa al 312-841-5327; cochoa@mail.depaul.edu
- Dr. Jacqueline Lazú al 773-325-4631; jlazu@depaul.edu

Si tiene preguntas sobre sus derechos como sujeto de un estudio, puede contactar a Susan Loess-Perez, directora de cumplimiento de investigación de la universidad De Paúl, en la Oficina de Servicios de Investigaciones al 312-362-7593 o por correo electrónico a sloesspe@depaul.edu. *La persona de este número o correo electrónico a lo mejor no podrá leer o entender español, entonces sería necesario que usted tenga a alguien que conoce que hable inglés para que le ayude con la llamada o con la traducción del correo electrónico.*

También puede contactar la Oficina de Servicios de Investigaciones en la universidad De Paúl si:

- Tiene preguntas, preocupaciones o quejas que no fueron contestadas por el equipo de investigación.
- No puede contactar al equipo de investigación.
- Quiere hablar con alguien aparte del equipo de investigación.

**English version:**

**VERBAL INFORMATION FOR THE BUSINESS OWNER &/OR NOTARY PUBLIC**

**FOR PARTICIPATION IN THE RESEARCH STUDY:**

Migration, Multilingualism and Adaptation:  
Language as Social Capital in a Present-day Mexican Ethnic Enclave

**Principal Investigator:** Citlali Ochoa, Graduate Student

**Institution:** DePaul University, USA

**Faculty Advisor:** Jacqueline Lazú, PhD- Dept. of Modern Languages

I am conducting a research study because I am trying to learn more about how language is used within a business that provides services in Spanish and in English, in a community of migrants. My goal is to practice utilizing the different ways to approach and understand language, and how language can be used in social networks and as an economic resource.

I am asking you to be in the research because you work, as the owner or notary, in a business that provides translation services in this specific neighborhood and you are the age of 18 or older. If you agree to be in this study, you will be asked to complete an interview and all of your answers and information will be kept confidential.

The interview includes questions about the following: your country of origin; gender and age; the languages you know and how you learned them; how you became the owner or how you started working here; translation and how you carry out that process; languages used to communicate with your clients; and languages used to in your interior and exterior signage.

All questions will take place in person. If there is a question that you do not want to answer, you may choose not to answer it.

This study will approximately take about 30 - 45 minutes of your time during the interview session. Research data collected from you will be kept confidential, and the data will be collected through note-taking only. There will be no audio or video recording.

Your participation is voluntary, which means you can choose not to participate. There will be no risks or direct benefits from participating in this study.

You must be age 18 or older to be in this study. This study is not approved for the enrollment of people under the age of 18.

If you have questions, concerns, or complaints about this study or you want to get additional information or provide input about this research, please contact:

- Citlali Ochoa at 312-841-5327; [cochoa@mail.depaul.edu](mailto:cochoa@mail.depaul.edu)
- Dr. Jacqueline Lazú at 773-325-4631; [jlazu@depaul.edu](mailto:jlazu@depaul.edu)

If you have questions about your rights as a research subject, you may contact Susan Loess-Perez, DePaul University's Director of Research Compliance, in the Office of Research Services at 312-362-7593 or by email at [sloesspe@depaul.edu](mailto:sloesspe@depaul.edu). *The person at this number and email address may not be able to read or understand Spanish so it might be necessary for you to have someone you know who speaks English to help with the call or help translate your email.*

You may also contact DePaul's Office of Research Services if:

- Your questions, concerns, or complaints are not being answered by the research team.
- You cannot reach the research team.
- You want to talk to someone besides the research team.

**Appendix 4**  
**Interview Questions for Possible Business Owners**

**Spanish version:**

Preguntas de entrevista para los posibles dueños de los negocios

¿Cuántos años tiene?

¿Dónde nació?

¿Dónde nacieron sus padres?

¿Si usted no nació en Chicago o en los Estados Unidos, cuantos años tenía cuando se mudó aquí?

¿Dónde más ha vivido?

¿Usted vive en este barrio?

¿Si no vive en este barrio, usted vive en un barrio dónde se habla español?

¿Qué idioma aprendió primero, ESP o ING?

En general, ¿con cuál idioma se siente más cómodo/a hablando?

¿Cuál idioma prefiere usar en casa?

¿Cuál idioma prefiere usar en el trabajo?

¿Cuál idioma prefiere usar más seguido?

¿Usted estudió ESP en la primaria?

¿Qué tal en la secundaria?

¿Qué tal en algún otro lugar?

¿Usted inició este negocio?

¿Usted lo inició por qué quería ayudar a su comunidad con sus servicios?

¿O por razones económicas y/o personales?

¿Lo inició porque usted tenía una habilidad que podría ayudarlo/a a ganarse la vida?

¿O lo inició porque tenía un deseo de abrir su propio negocio?

¿Usted heredó este negocio?

¿Quién se lo dejó?

¿Usted sabe por qué iniciaron este negocio?

¿Lo iniciaron porque tenían una habilidad que podría ayudarlo/a a ganarse la vida?

¿Y/o lo iniciaron porque tenían un deseo de abrir su propio negocio?

¿Cómo dueño del negocio, cuáles son algunos de sus deberes laborales?

¿Cuál idioma usa en su documentación?

¿Cuál idioma usa cuando habla con clientes?

¿Usted realiza algunos de los deberes de traducción?

En caso afirmativo, ¿dónde aprendió como traducir? ¿Le gusta? ¿Es difícil de hacer?

¿Por qué escogió en convertirse en dueño de un negocio?

¿Cuál fue el proceso en convertirse en dueño de un negocio?

¿Qué tipo de servicios de traducción ofrece su negocio?

¿Qué tipo de documentos para traducir piden los clientes?

Cuénteme sobre los obstáculos que enfrenta como traductor.

¿Tiene un patrón sobre cómo seguir las traducciones que usted o su notario completan? Si tiene uno, ¿quién lo creó?

¿La mayoría de las traducciones son del ESP al ING? O, ¿viceversa?

¿De qué países son los documentos que traducen?

¿Es difícil administrar el vocabulario de un país diferente al suyo?

Como un profesional bilingüe, ¿qué hace cuando no conoce una palabra en ESP o en ING y necesita saberla para su traducción?

Por ejemplo, ¿usa un diccionario en ESP y/o ING para buscar la palabra? ¿Qué tal el internet?

¿Mantiene una lista de esas palabras?

¿Trabaja directamente con los clientes? O, ¿es la/el recepcionista quien trabaja con ellos?

¿Qué pasa si no ofrecen un servicio que un cliente pide?

¿Lo ayuda a encontrar el servicio que necesitan en otro lugar?

¿Usted conoce a otros dueños de negocios? Si la respuesta es sí, ¿usted sabe si ellos ofrecen los mismos servicios que usted?

¿Usted pertenece a una organización que promueva el trabajo que usted realiza como dueño de un negocio?

¿Quién decora o diseña el exterior del negocio?

¿Por qué la mayoría de (o todos) los letreros exteriores son en ESP?

¿Quién decora o diseña el interior del negocio?

¿Por qué la mayoría de los letreros interiores son en ESP?

¿Usted cree que letreros en ESP ayuda al negocio a atraer más clientes?

## **English version:**

### **Interview Questions for Possible Business Owners**

How old are you?

Where were you born?

Where were you parents born?

If you were born not born in Chicago and/or the US, how old were you when you moved here?

Where else have you lived?

Do you live in this neighborhood?

If not, do you live in a Spanish-speaking neighborhood?

What language did you learn first, SPA or ENG?

In general, which language are you more comfortable speaking?

Which language do you prefer to use at home?

Which language do you prefer to use at work?

Which language do you use more often?

Did you study SPA in grammar school?

What about in High School?

How about anywhere else?

Did you start this business?

Did you start it because you wanted to help out your community with your services?

Or for personal and/or economic reasons?

Did you start it because you had a skill that could help you make a living?

And/or did you start it because you had a desire to open up your own business?

Did you inherit it?

Who left it to you?

Do you know why they started this business?

Did they start it because they had a skill that could help them make a living?

And/or did they start it because they had a passion that could help them make a living?

As the Business Owner, what are some of your job duties?

What language do you use in your paper work?

What language do you use when you speak to clients?

Do you perform any translation of the duties?

If so, where did you learn how to translate? Do you like it? Is it hard to do?

Why did you choose to become a business owner?

What was the process of becoming a Business owner?

What kind of translation services does your business offer?

What kind of documents to translate do clients request?

Tell me about the challenges you face as a translator.

Do you have a template on how to follow the translations you or your Notary Public carry out? If so, who created it?

Are most of the translations from SPA to ENG? Or, vice-versa?

What countries do the documents your business translates come from?

Is it difficult to manage vocabulary from a country other than your own?

As a bilingual professional, what do you do when you don't know a word in SPA or in ENG?

For example, do you use a SPA and/or ENG dictionary to look up the word? How about the internet?

Do you keep a list of those words?

Do you work directly with the customers? Or, is it the receptionist that works with them?

What happens if you don't offer a service a customer is requesting?

Do you help them find the service they need somewhere else?

Do you know other business owners who have similar businesses? If you do, do you know if they offer the same services as you?

Do you belong to an organization that promotes the work that you do as a business owner?

Who decorates or designs the exterior of the business?



Why is the exterior signage all (or mostly) in SPA?

Who decorates or designs the interior of the business?

Why is the majority of your signage inside in SPA?

Do you think signage in SPA helps the business attract more clients?

**Appendix 5**  
**Interview Questions for Possible Notaries**

**Spanish version:**

Preguntas de entrevista para los posibles notarios

¿Cuántos años tiene?

¿Dónde nació?

¿Dónde nacieron sus padres?

¿Si usted no nació en Chicago o en los Estados Unidos, cuantos años tenía cuando se mudó aquí?

¿Dónde más ha vivido?

¿Usted vive en este barrio?

¿Si no vive en este barrio, usted vive en un barrio dónde se habla español?

¿Qué idioma aprendió primero, ESP o ING?

En general, ¿con cuál idioma se siente más cómodo/a hablando?

¿Cuál idioma prefiere usar en casa?

¿Cuál idioma prefiere usar en el trabajo?

¿Cuál idioma prefiere usar más seguido?

¿Usted estudió ESP en la primaria?

¿Qué tal en la secundaria?

¿Qué tal en algún otro lugar?

¿Cómo llegó a trabajar aquí?

¿Conocía al dueño/a antes de trabajar aquí?

¿O fue referido a este trabajo por un familiar? ¿Un amigo/a?

¿Qué tipo de servicios de traducción ofrece este negocio?

¿Qué tipo de documentos para traducir piden los clientes?

¿Hay documentos que no puede traducir?

¿Cómo notario/a, cuales son algunos de sus deberes laborales?

¿Usted usa el ING y el ESP en su papeleo?

¿Cuándo habla con los clientes, usa el ING y ESP?

¿Es fácil traducir? ¿Le gusta? ¿Es difícil de hacer?

¿Aprendió a traducir aquí en su trabajo o aprendió a hacerlo en otro lugar?

¿Le gusta ser un/a notario/a?

¿Por qué sigue trabajando en esto?

¿Cuál fue el proceso para ser notario/a?

¿Le gustó ese proceso?

¿Necesita algún tipo de certificación para ser notario/a?

¿Qué tal para ser traductor/a?

Cuénteme sobre los obstáculos que enfrenta como traductor.

¿Tiene un patrón sobre cómo seguir las traducciones que completas? Si tiene uno, ¿quién lo creó?

¿La mayoría de las traducciones son del ESP al ING? O, ¿viceversa?

¿De qué países son los documentos que traduce?

¿Es difícil administrar el vocabulario de un país diferente al suyo?

Como un/a profesional bilingüe, ¿qué hace cuando no conoce una palabra en ESP o en ING y necesita saberla para su traducción?

Por ejemplo, ¿usa un diccionario en ESP y/o ING para buscar la palabra? ¿Qué tal el internet?

¿Mantiene una lista de esas palabras?

¿Trabaja directamente con los clientes? O, ¿es la/el recepcionista quien trabaja con ellos?

¿Qué pasa si no ofrece un servicio que un cliente pide?

¿Lo refiere a otro negocio?

¿Usted conoce a otros notarios? Si la respuesta es sí, ¿usted sabe si ellos realizan los mismos deberes que usted?

¿Usted pertenece a una organización que promueva el trabajo que usted realiza como notario/a?

¿Quién decora o diseña el exterior del negocio?

¿Por qué la mayoría de (o todos) los letreros exteriores son en ESP?

¿Quién decora o diseña el interior del negocio?

¿Por qué la mayoría de (o todos) los letreros interiores son en ESP?

¿Usted cree que letreros en ESP ayuda al negocio a atraer más clientes?

### **English version:**

#### Interview Questions for Possible Notaries

How old are you?

Where were you born?

Where were your parents born?

If you were born not born in Chicago and/or the US, how old were you when you moved here?

Where else have you lived?

Do you live in this neighborhood?

If not, do you live in a Spanish-speaking neighborhood?

What language did you learn first, SPA or ENG?

In general, which language are you more comfortable speaking?

Which language do you prefer to use at home?

Which language do you prefer to use at work?

Which language do you use more often?

Did you study SPA in grammar school?

What about in High School?

How about anywhere else?

How did you end up working here?

Did you know the owner before you started working here?

Or were you referred to this job by a family member? A friend?

What kind of translation services does this business offer?

What kind of documents to translate do clients request?

Are there documents you can't translate?

As a Notary Public, what are some of your job duties?

Do you use ENG and SPA in your paperwork?

Do you use both ENG and SPA when you speak to clients?

Is it easy to translate? Do you like it? Is it hard to do?

Where did you learn how to translate? Did you learn here at work or somewhere else?

Do you like being a Notary Public?

What keeps you working in this?

What was the process of becoming a Notary Public?

Did you enjoy that process?

Do you need some type of certification to be a Notary Public?

What about for translation?

Tell me about the challenges you face as a translator.

Do you have a template on how to follow the translations you carry out? If so, who created it?

Are most of the translations from SPA to ENG? Or vice versa?

From what countries do the documents you translate come from?

Is it difficult to manage vocabulary from a country other than your own?

As a bilingual professional, what do you do when you don't know a word in SPA or in ENG and you need to know the translation?

For example, do you use a SPA and/or ENG dictionary to look up the word? How about the internet?

Do you keep a list of those words?

Do you work directly with the customers? Or, is it the receptionist that works with them?

What happens if you don't offer a service a customer is requesting?

Do you refer them to another business?

Do you know other Notary Publics? If you do, do you know if they perform the same job duties as you?

Do you belong to an organization that promotes the work that you do as a Notary Public?

Who decorates or designs the exterior of the business?

Why is the exterior signage all (or mostly) in SPA?

Who decorates or designs the interior of the business?

Why is the majority (or all) of your signage inside in SPA?

Do you think signage in SPA helps the business attract more clients?

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