"Building Justice" Podcast "The Psychology of Migrant Illegality" Transcript

Informational Items

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- About the Building Justice podcast: www.csus.edu/crisj

Transcript:

"Building Justice" Music Lyrics

Company under construction, the function, justice for the human family we demand it. Justice, true freedom, equality is a must. Thus, decolonization of the planet. So bust this. People be the power now we're Building Justice. Pulling out divinations, now we're Building Justice. Welcome the planet to the Podcast, "Building Justice," "Building Justice," "Building Justice." Building is to add on, or to do away with.

Monicka Tutschka: Welcome to Building Justice, a podcast by Sacramento State University's Center on Race, Immigration and Social Justice (CRISJ). We explore critical issues affecting our communities with the hope of creating a healthier and more just world. Your host for today is me, Monicka Tutschka. I'm a professor of political science at Sacramento State University, and I'm here with Basia Ellis. Basia is a professor of child and adolescent development at Sac State, and her research focuses on the experiences of undocumented immigrants. Basia also works closely with the Dreamer Resource Center on campus to support the well-being of undocumented students at the university. Even though we're not members of the same department Basia, you and I have come to know each other through a lot of committee service, and that service is incredible work and it creates some tight bonds. I also have the pleasure of knowing that you're Polish and I'm Polish. So let me begin by saying, "Hi" in Polish. "Czecz Basia." It's great to be with you today. I'm really looking forward to this conversation.

Basia Ellis: "Czecz Monicka, "Bardzo mie miło rownież." I haven't encountered too many Polish people in Sacramento or in California, so this is really special and I too am looking forward to the conversation.

Monicka: Your Polish is much better than mine. This is really great.

Basia, your paper that we're going to be talking about today, is called "The Psychology of Migrant Illegality: A General Theory," and it's currently in press with the *Journal of Law and Social Inquiry*. The paper presents the results of your research, and you've been working on this research for nearly a decade, 10 years. At a really general level, what you've discovered is a process that undocumented migrants undergo as they navigate the world carrying that status, that heavy status of illegality, and you argue that repeated experiences with this process (or within this process) has the potential to create a distinct and really dynamic undocumented migrant psychology. My mind, after I read your paper, just can't let go of this concept of the cycles of deportability. But before we move deep into the weeds, let me know how it all got started for you and what motivated you to pursue a research topic that's so important today that might not have been so obvious when you were an undergrad and a graduate student. What got you interested in studying the topic of undocumented migration?

Basia Ellis: Thank you for that question, and you're absolutely right that it wasn't obvious to me as even a topic worthy of study. You know, I was a Polish immigrant to Toronto, and that's a very diverse Canadian city. And I think that experience alone growing up with diverse groups brought me to an increased interest in human experience and diversity of human experience in particular. So I pursued psychology in college, and after that I was interested in going further with my graduate studies and began to look at phenomenology and socio-cultural psychology. These are research fields that study the structure of human experience or subjective life. And particularly with socio-cultural psychology, I was interested in how cultural practices, languages---and systems of meaning more broadly--- constitute the very contents of our thinking and feeling. So that said, while I was really interested in the nature of subjective life and how it is that we each have a unique one, I didn't have a particular group that I wanted to study when I was getting started with my graduate work. I genuinely thought that every group would be interesting because human experience is so interesting.

It really wasn't until I sat down with my supervisor in deciding on my doctoral project that he encouraged me to think about a particular group that I wanted to look at, and he began brainstorming with me, who I was already connected to. I wasn't too keen on studying Polish people, initially. I thought that, "I know Polish people, I don't want to study myself." And we started sort of thinking more about other groups that I had in contact with. And, you know, I did know at the time some [Polish] persons who were undocumented, I did know people in my community [who] had come to Toronto and worked under the table, and I even had family members who had had done that, and I never really thought of it as a major issue.

But I did bring it up for my supervisor to consider, and I remember asking him, "Do you think that would be a viable topic of research??" And he just turned around and said, "Well Basia, that would be fascinating!"

And I didn't quite see this as a topic worthy of study; undocumented migration is not a politicized issue in Canada. And secondly, I think I was still [so] familiar with this idea of persons coming in and working for cash, over working holidays, or what have you—that it didn't occur to me that this was a much larger social and global issue. So it was not until he really confirmed that I began reading up on it, that I began to see how migrant "illegality" and deportability were social-political constructs or categories—that I realized too that undocumented immigration was the fastest growing form of international migration around the world. So, it was these kinds of realizations that led me to see how migrant illegality was a viable and an important topic of study.

And I want to highlight here that "illegality" in the literature is left in quotation marks to highlight the social construction of this category. And I want to mark that no person is "illegal." Rather, people are "illegalized" by unequal immigration policy.

Monicka: Wow, what I'm what I'm hearing you say is that a variety of factors, some surprising and some less so led you to the study of undocumented migrants as a social phenomenon, a socially constructed and distinct group, that can be the subject of thoroughgoing research. You had your own experiences growing up living within a Polish immigrant community where there were people who were undocumented. You had a kind of (maybe) instinctual intellectual curiosity that led you to sort of deeply care about the diversity of human experience and the subjective experience of being and doing in the world. And, you had an awareness that your experiences, even your psychic experiences, are really shaped by social structures and social dynamics. And then you had this mentor who encouraged you to take what maybe you were thinking as a private personal issue, and made you see that this was not just something that personally you knew in your private life, but this was a political issue and a global issue and a serious object for sociological, psychological, cultural research. And sometimes it's really hard to turn something that you're so familiar with on a personal level into something that is a social phenomenon, that has global import and can be studied in so many ways beyond simply the exploration of the self and one's own personal history, which is important, but we also want to know about the world. And so you kind of wedded those and that brought you into the examination of immigrants and more particularly undocumented immigrants and even more particularly still, their psychosocial development.

Let me move forward and ask you about what led you to move to study not only Polish immigrants who are undocumented in Toronto, but in your research, you talk about a shift to Chicago. So what led you to study undocumented people in Chicago?

Basia: Yes. Thank you for that question, and I love how you really bring together exactly these multiple factors that contributed to this line of work. To your question, you know, after I started working on this issue, ---this discovery so to speak---[what] guided my research trajectory and took me to Chicago, was a participant of mine who was in Toronto. He was a Polish immigrant. He came as an adult to Canada, as a young adult, and and he was conscious of his decision to come to Canada. However, his story stood out from all of the others because he also had previous history being undocumented and growing up undocumented in Brooklyn, New York. So he was six years old when he moved from Poland. His parents took him to the United States, where he grew up in Brooklyn, and it wasn't until he was 16 that he realized that he was undocumented, and, and began to wrestle with the implications of that. This was a time before there was DACA or the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals policy that was implemented by the Obama administration in 2012. So this was a time when there was no recourse for him. He decided to go back to Poland and look for other alternatives to come back to Brooklyn, which he considered home. He wanted to pursue university in the United States—and that couldn't happen. So, in the meantime, his mom came to Canada and told him to come there; maybe there would be some better options. And, so he did end up coming to Toronto; and his plans there weren't working out.

So when I met him, he was working undocumented at a Polish deli, you know, twice undocumented, so to speak. And, you know, his story was so moving and again stood out so much from others. And it helped me really see the extent to which immigration laws and

policies could completely transform people's lives and children's lives, utterly blocking them from pursuing their aspirations and developing their desired adult lives. So, I was heartbroken for him and also then shocked that there were 2.1 million others like him in the United States.

So, as I was completing my graduate work, I then decided to apply for funding for a postdoctoral fellowship, and that led me successfully to pursue a postdoc at the University of Chicago. And, my project there was now focused on ethno-racially diverse undocumented youth.

Monicka: Basia, when you went to Chicago and you were embarking on this new study, I imagine that different researchers there study the young man that you described from different lenses. And, you mentioned the lens[es] of phenomenology, socio-cultural psychology, critical psychology, critical immigration studies. And, what I think you're saying is each one of these different sorts of disciplines or points of departure, kind of, interrogates or asks different sorts of questions or frames the issue in different kinds of ways. So could you, kind of, unpack that for us, as an audience that's not so familiar with the esoteric happenings at the University of Chicago?

Basia: Yes, absolutely. I do think that those very those various literatures really gave me the language to conceptualize and problematize the issues that I had an interest in, but not the language for.

So, from a phenomenological perspective, I was ultimately interested in the experiences of undocumented persons. Phenomenology, in the broadest sense, is the study of the structures of human experience. So, I was specifically interested in what it was like to live with deportable status or as someone who is deportable.

Cultural psychology, in turn, conceptualizes psychological life as a dynamic, dialogical process marked by tensions and contradictions between different internal positions, as well as our relations with the real others in other contexts. So, from this angle, I was interested in the psycho-social dynamics that characterized psychic life--again, assuming that our human experience is not a flat, singular thing, but rather characterized by these tensions and contradictions. So, I wanted to know what those dynamics look like for persons who were undocumented.

Critical migration studies, on the other hand, helped introduce me to deportability as a concept, and more importantly, as the social political condition produced by a migrant "illegality." It really helped me see how laws and unequal relations of power produced various conditions of deportability and "illegality." So it gave me language to articulate inequality as it is produced by immigration laws in particular.

But I wasn't interested in deportability exclusively as a social political condition, but as a psycho-social condition: a mode of being that differed from other modes of being. So, that's why I also then turned to critical psychology, which I also found helpful because this is a field of research that conceptualizes human experience within the context of broader social political processes that frame people's opportunities. And from there, it explores, you know, what it means to be or become a subject within specific social-political contexts, so, be it contexts of marginalization, oppression in differential social settings. What does it mean to navigate those and have unique experiences as a result of those social settings? So critical psychologists talk about subjectivity versus experience--and, in that sense, "What does it mean to become a subject in a particular social context?" And, so, in that sense, I was interested in the subjective life of deportability or the kind of subjectivity that migrant "illegality" and deportability

allowed for. So, these different fields ultimately, you know, brought me—gave me the language and the frame---through which I could think about what it is exactly that I want to explore.

Monicka: I hear you. I mean, when you, when you approach a topic that you're really interested in from these different frameworks, it's as if you're wearing a different pair of sunglasses every time. And, the phenomenological perspective really focused you in on experience and the structure of human experience. This cultural psychology perspective really helped you work through the idea that our psyches are unstable. We have multiple personalities within, that are in tention, that aren't sort of harmonized. To think through the language of critical migration studies and to wonder about structures of power and the production of this social category "illegality" and where it positions itself in the structures of power, and how it affects the lives of human beings who happen to be undocumented.

Critical psychology—bringing to your attention the idea that our own psychologies are produced or shaped by the structures within our society and around us, and maybe even our subjectivity itself—what it means to "be" and what [we] imagine as possible for us—is part of the structure. And, to think about how you so gracefully navigated all of those different lenses—that I probably haven't articulated sufficiently—and to, kind of, balance those in a research paper, and to keep all of those theories in your mind as you approach this topic is just a tremendous accomplishment, and it adds so much richness to the study. And, you know, I just applaud you for going at it whole hog.

Maybe we should take a break for a minute and be back, and we'll continue our discussion and talk about your findings.

Instrumental Music Break

Monicka: Welcome back to "Building Justice," and welcome back Basia. I hope you refreshed yourself during the break. I want to dive back in because I really am interested in hearing what you have to say about cycles of portability. So, tell us about your research, what you found, what you discovered, and what you talk about in your paper.

Basia: Yes, absolutely. Thank you. So my work shows how the experience of deportability is not a homogenous experience, or even a set of experiences, but it involves a dynamic and cyclical psycho-social process that occurs repeatedly in the lives of undocumented immigrants as they endure various kinds of status-related challenges.

So, you know, in the migration literature, deportability is often framed as the social-political condition that involves living with the fear of deportation. But what does that really mean and look like on a daily basis?

When I first started my work from a phenomenological perspective, I thought that I would somehow identify the basic characteristics or constituents of this experience (as if it was some kind of single or self-contained kind of thing). And what I learned through long term ethnographic observations, so by spending time with respondents over the course of their daily lives and for two years in Toronto at first, was that deportability involved not a single kind of experience or even a particular group of experiences, but this whole cycle of psychological and social dynamics that occurred again and again in the lives of my respondents—and, over time

contributed to discernible patterns of thinking, feeling, and relating to others that was related to their status situation.

Immigrants have to learn to navigate status-defined conditions to survive those conditions without authorized status. So, what are "cycles of deportability?" So, most essentially, what I observed was that my respondents would experience regular yet always unpredictable status-related threats or events. So, for instance, someone saying, "Where are you from?" or asking them for documentation. Every so often these situations would arise, and, in so doing would spur heightened fears and vulnerabilities. Then to respond to these, to these events required both practical and psychological strategies. So, given the practical exigencies—someone asking you, "Where's your documentation?" "Can I see your health card? in Canada, for instance, my respondents need to develop creative agencies, strategies for being resourceful (creative), where they began to, for instance, rely on friends and families versus institutions to resolve their issues.

But just as these strategies relieve them of those practical limitations fears continue to linger in the lives of undocumented immigrants, and that requires also psychological strategies. They also learn to cope psychologically with these issues, by doing things like: downplaying; reframing their concerns; staying hopeful; focusing on the now; not, in their words, "dreaming too big." There are these kind of self-disciplinary tactics, as it were, that that also developed over time in response to these regular and yet always unpredictable status related situations.

So, because these kinds of cycles of the threats, the fear, and the learning experience as a result of it occurred again and again, I refer to these as "cycles of deportability." And what this means, then, is that deportability is not a single kind of experience, but a psycho-social and developmental process, one that involves both these continued stressors and limitations, but also the development of new modes of agency.

Monicka: Weow, Basia, I mean, I'm hearing and listening to what you're saying, and I just feel so much concern for undocumented migrants and also experience a kind of, sense of awe of how resourceful undocumented migrants are, and how resilient they are. But what I heard you say is: when you're talking about these "cycles of deportability": somebody who's undocumented is going about their day and suddenly they're thrust into the awareness of their deportability, and that happens as an iterative process. They go about their day the next week, and all of a sudden they're thrust back into awareness of their deportability. And those repeated moments where they're thrust into that awareness, they're conscious of their deportability. You talked about a feeling of alarm and fear and stress, and then a kind of scrambling. And, the first time you have this experience of your awareness of being deportable and vulnerable, and perhaps deportable to a place that you don't want to go, ummm, you scramble a bit. You don't have the tools to cope immediately when you're born. Rather, you learn how to respond. You learn strategies. You develop new ways of being and responding as you engage and reexperience these moments of deportability. And, I hear you saying that some of the--, sometimes the responses are extremely creative. They're very pragmatic; they're purpose driven; they show the ingenuity of an undocumented person to escape deportation and to realize goals. And so that's very empowering and a deep expression of their agency.

But I'm hearing you also say that these repeated cycles cause chronic anxiety, chronic stress, a lingering doubt whether the next time you'll be resourceful enough. And those kinds of chronic fears (or maybe, you know, fears that you want to repress) one, one comes up with narratives, one comes up with strategies like: stay hopeful; stay positive; you can do it; or don't

hope too much; trim your sails, to kind of, cope with that other part of your psyche that is raising doubts, even though there's this other part of you that is expressing competence and agency. Am I getting it right or have I missed some really important detail that you want to clarify for our listeners?

Basia: I think you're definitely getting it right, Monicka. I really love the way you highlighted this role of agency because, you know, when I first started my work in Toronto, it was the first thing that I noticed in my participants. You know, I had read all this literature about deportability at this point and the fear that characterizes the undocumented experience. And yet, when I was observing my respondents, I was seeing how they were relatively successful, very pragmatic, often also seemingly unconcerned about status-related issues. Sure, they have limitations to work and therefore [limited] upward mobility, but they didn't seem fearful in their daily lives. This was really shocking to me. And, you know, especially given the literature really focused on fear and not agency in the lives of undocumented immigrants.

And that really propelled me to dig deeper into their reflective experiences. And so, I ended up interviewing a number of persons sort of midway through my ethnography to get more reflective knowledge about how fear came up in their lives. And what I found from those interviews was that it came up in at least two ways, which was, on the one hand, intermittently in these heightened, fearful moments related to status- related events. And then there was also, at a more fundamental psychological level, an ever-present lingering fear. One participant once described it as "a lingering chill of uncertainty" that characterized what it means to be undocumented, and that fear was something that needed to be regularly dealt with through this kind of downplaying through reframing in a way to, sort of, "not let it get to you." Those are also [the] words that my participants would use. So, these reflections were so crucial: as they helped me then explore those processes back in the ethnographic setting, back in the field, where I was looking at the daily lives of my respondents. And, that really helped me see a more complex, developmental and agentic account of what was happening for persons in deportable conditions.

Monicka: Yeah, I mean, what you're talking about when you when you discuss your ethnographic research is really a discovery in-and-of itself. So many people these days think one survey question, one preference poll is enough to really understand what people care about and what matters. And, in your very preliminary preference poll, I mean, I know you did interviews, but people are like, "It's all good, it's all fine. I'm surviving, I'm making my way." And it's through the kind of deeper, descriptive ethnographic study that you got to a more rich understanding that not everything is "okay."

Let me shift a little bit and. ask you a question about the differences you saw between the population you studied in Toronto and the population you studied in Chicago. Because we're talking as if there's sort of one process, one cycle of deportability and one experience. Your paper really highlights some key differences that we need to keep at the forefront so we don't make overly generalized statements, and so that we really show what you care about: the diversity of human experience, and the diversity of undocumented experiences. So, could you talk a little bit about some of the distinctions you made in your research in Chicago versus your research in Toronto so the audience gets a kind of sense of that richness.

Basia: Certainly. Toronto and Chicago, the United States and Canada are very different contexts for migrant illegalization. You know, on several levels, certainly the politicization of migrant illegality looks different in the United States and Canada. In the United States, it's a major political issue. In Canada, it really is not; it hasn't been made so. There's also no particular ethnic or racial group that is illegalized in Canada in the way that Latinx immigrants are illegalized in the United States and have been so historically, especially Mexican immigrants. So, the context of migrant illegality is different, which then certainly makes for different possibilities for migrant experiences.

I also saw cultural differences. I didn't mention this earlier, but you know, this agency in the lives of Polish immigrants was often conceptualized as "kombinowanie," which is this Polish term that refers to this active, resourceful, "looking for a loophole" type of mentality that my undocumented youth in the U.S. would discuss as "hustling." So it's a very similar term to "hustling," but nevertheless has its own historical-cultural understanding that differs between the two groups. So, you know, you have to "kombinować" in Polish, whereas you have to "hustle," if you're an undocumented youth in the U.S.

You know, I also saw distinct differences between differently racialized groups. And this was both between the U.S. and Canada and within the U.S. between Latinx and non-Latinx respondents. So again, because there is no racialized group that's considered to be undocumented in Canada, my white Polish immigrants weren't considered to be undocumented, it wasn't an immediate suspicion from others. They could blend in with this Polish community without much questioning in the way that other groups that I worked with in Chicago couldn't and particularly Latinx youth. the Latinx youth experienced more frequent racialized status-related stressors, where people from very young ages [when] talking about childhood years would say things like, "Oh, you're illegal" or threatened them: "I'm going to take you to the border." You know, these are situations that Latinx youth experienced (even Latinx youth who were citizen children), and that differed from white and Asian youth in our work, in that white and Asian youth didn't experience these racialized situations. They could pass as documented.

At the same time, there's also different levels of support for undocumented immigrants, and this too is racialized in the United States. First of all, in Canada, there really is a lack of support because there's a lack of discussion around the issue of undocumented immigrants. But in the U.S. there is a longstanding history of support, but largely for Latinx and Spanish speaking immigrants. So, what we've also found was that Asian and White youth lacked opportunities to talk about these issues, lacked access to services; and felt, you know, often like outsiders to these discussions.

But what cycles of deportability helps do, really, in this context, is consolidate and conceptualize these differences, so we can say something like: the frequency of status-related stressors is higher among Latinx youth; occurs earlier for undocumented young people who arrive as children; Latinx youth arguably have more support structures to deal with heightened fears of deportability in a way that other youth will not. The theory helps order and organize, in many respects, the kinds of experiences that undocumented immigrants face in different places and different ages, and so forth.

Monicka: So great to hear you talk about how a general theory doesn't then necessarily have to be stamped on to every particular case, but it, kind of, becomes a point through which you can compare these cases. Like you said: that the youth are not quite conscious of these cycles, whereas adults are. Because you have these "cycles," and you've understood them in a general

way, you can draw comparisons and contrasts between these groups in a clear way. So, it's not simply, "Think about the particulars!" or simply, "Think about general theory!" but how do we place those into dynamic interaction(s) to have a richer understanding and deeper knowledge of the phenomena that we're studying. And, I really learned a lot through those sections of your paper, and I really appreciate them.

Let me turn to one more question. You know, knowledge or the pursuit of knowledge has inherent value. It's an end in itself. We learn because we want to know. But sometimes we are also thinking about what sort of impact our knowledge might have in our society. And, after I read this paper, I'm wondering, I was wondering, you know: What sort of impact does Basia want to make? Who is the audience that she's trying to reach? How might this help practitioners who are psychologists, policymakers who are thinking about the consequences of being undocumented, and fellow researchers here in the U.S. or abroad, or allies of undocumented people?

Basia: Yeah. I appreciate that question. And, I think, what comes to mind usually is that, I think, that the driver of my work is to give voice to the experiences of this group. That said, and in that spirit, I am interested in sharing this work with various kinds of audiences so that it can be helpful for them, in order to support undocumented immigrants more broadly. So that includes researchers, that includes practitioners, and that includes undocumented immigrants themselves.

And I've done this in various ways. So on the one hand, yes, this this has been work that has helped me conceptualize what is at stake. And that I've done that in arguably sophisticated ways for the literature and researchers to push research forward--to not think of deportability exclusively, for instance, as a social political condition, but rather as a developmental process with psychological implications. So that has been the purpose in the research literature.

I'm also a community engaged scholar, so I have made efforts to translate this work to speak to various audiences, including educators and undocumented students, via webinars and various trainings, and also by developing a website: **undocuwisdom.com**

So just about the webinars: I have talked about this [the cycles of deportability] in terms of an "undocumented stressed cycle" with educators, where I have tried to unpack what it is that young people go through using narratives from my participants' lives in order to showcase what it means when a student is told they cannot get, for instance, access to federal financial aid for college. Or, what it means when you ask a student, "Where are you from? What's your background?" What does that "do" for undocumented young people. Or, what kind of state of mind are undocumented students in when they seek out help. What must be happening for them. I've been supported by the Dreamer Research Center on campus for these various projects, which has really helped me consolidate and translate this work.

Most recently, we developed K-12 ally trainings for educators at the K-12 level to think through these implicit cycles, and what this means for our children who are coming of age and having to make sense of their status. How can we be supportive as educators?

And then lastly, I am interested in working with undocumented students and impacting undocumented young people generally, as my research has turned to young people. I developed this site [undocuwisdom.com] with the support of the College at Sac State and students who have worked on the site with me, undoocuwisdom.com, where you can find narratives from young people from Chicago, and wisdom that they shared on how best to deal with, you know, the challenges at school, with fears.

So those are important dimensions of my work. I don't see my work exclusively for scholarly circles, but have this community-engaged dimension that is very important to me, and I'm very grateful for having the opportunity at Sacramento State in particular to do this kind of work in collaboration with the Dreamer Resource Center.

Monicka: Yeah, Basia, when I hear you speak, I think: doing research is such a gift that you give to yourself in this pursuit of knowledge, but it's also a gift that you can share with others. And, to be able to write and to study and to share information about undocumented migrants in a way to empower them, and to empower allies, and to empower researchers to take that lived experience seriously and [to] make the structure of our society one where there is more expansive, meaningful choice for undocumented people; greater freedom; greater equality; greater dignity; greater understanding. All of these things seem to be flowing from your research, and I find that research a real kind of blessing for the world.

Before I make the formal close of the podcast, I will share what my mother used to say to me every once in a while in Polish. She would say to me, "trzymaj sie" which I guess means: hold together, or hold yourself up, or stay strong, but it's kind of a squeeze. And so I will say, "Trzymaj sie" to you, Basia, in your research projects and in your moves forward. And, if there's something you want to share with the audience, go ahead and then we'll formally close.

Basia:

Thank you so much, "Dziękuje bardzo, Monicka, za to." Such a beautiful, beautiful phrase for your mum to use, and kind of way of also saying "Take care," right? I love it, I love it. I am so pleased to have had this opportunity and I'm so grateful to our listeners for taking interest in this work. I encourage everyone listening to support and be welcoming to immigrants and undocumented immigrants, and I appreciate your interest and compassion for this issue. So thank you.

Monicka: Thanks, Basia. With that, everyone, I want to thank you for listening to the "Building Justice" podcast. We hope our ongoing conversations spark understandings, empathy and motivation to join the struggle for a better future for all. Take care, folks.

MUSIC OUTRO

No more penalties and no more wars. Based on the actions. Now, time for "Building Justice," "Building Justice." Time for building justice, justice.