Paradas: Utilizing the Organizational Structure of Spatial Agency in Migrant Labor Posts

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1. Abstract

Sustainability is a subject dominated by topics involving the environment and economy. An overlooked pillar is that of the socio-political sphere, as it is a subgenre of sustainability that involves a wide range of variables. Fortunately, there exists a multitude of ways one can relieve social tensions, but unfortunately, as socio-political issues are much more complex to measure.

Our current Latin/US-based issues are rooted in racism, colonialization, and imperialism. These past wrongs have affected Latin American countries' development in that corruption, economic instability, violence, lack of education and poverty are the outcomes that push people into migrating. Latin American migrants make up a little over 3/4 of the 90,000+ annual average of migrants that come to the US – in that percentage, family is a part of that. Coming from Ecuador in the mid-90s, work consisted of cleaning (commercial/residential) buildings for the women and construction (masonry, framing, roofing, etc.) for the men.

Unfortunately, those who could not rely on family to secure work for them on arrival utilized the Parada. The outcomes of unfamiliarity resulted in communal (internal/external) fears. This thesis focused on three locations throughout Westchester (Ossining, Mt. Kisco, & White Plains). They were then analyzed and surveyed to quantitatively support how people, internally and externally, felt about them to then produce a program for a modern System of Rotation. Illustrations influenced by the proposed program were then judged to cement whether the amenities within the program could positively impact a Paradas presence. Finally, the documented results conclude that the proposed program does in fact offer organizational, physical, and visual change to the existing Paradas within Westchester County, NY.
2. Introduction

What is a Parada? It is a word that is so important that it is the basis of this entire thesis. Although a known word throughout the Hispanic/Latino–American world, apart from that community - it is non-existent. A Parada may mean nothing to most, but it is something that people pass by daily without realizing.

The word Parada in its most direct translation means ‘the stand’, but in an adjusted translation of the word, a Parada equates to ‘labor post’ or ‘labor stand’. There are other forms in which this word is switched around such as ‘El Jale’ or ‘Al Cameyo’, but from a Westchester point of view, Parada is the one most recognized.

A Parada is a form of informal job hunting, typically found useful, and used almost exclusively, by undocumented migrants of the Hispanic/ Latino - American population seeking various types of jobs within a variety of disciplines such as, but not limited to, construction, carpentry, plumbing, landscaping, etc. Reasons for which most people do not know what a Parada is because a Parada is not a singular place, but rather its cohort of inconsistent nodes that come and grow spontaneously depending on the economic status and popularity of a certain city or town.

Although not an official location, there exist consistencies in how a Parada grows. Typically, they can be found used by mostly men, in the parking lot of a well-known store [Lowes, Home Depot, McDonald's, etc.], a light/electric post along a busy street, or even on a remote vacant plot of land.
These unofficial locations are as unknown as the information on them – which is non-existent. This topic’s information so far has been based minimally on literature on migrants in the US, but has been mainly powered by familial and communal influence. Most undocumented residents, fifty years of age, can be considered pioneers of Westchester County. Due to that, there was always an extra layer of understanding that the other half of the Westchester community could not grasp - creating a personal curiosity about such topics. That interest was in Socio-political topics that over time have translated to acquiring a text just on that – Spatial Agency and Other Ways of Doing Architecture.

What is Spatial Agency? Spatial Agency is a form of Urban Planning and Architecture in which the role of the architect does not work alone, rather, their services are used to empower, inspire, and reveal long-term results for the benefit of the community. It consists of five guidelines that have been interpreted as:

- **Politics**: Keeps the design intent of a project socially relevant for current & future use
- **Professionalism**: Keeps the designer knowledgeable of their abilities and provides an understanding of how to expand on them
- **Pedagogy**: Forces designers to not be exclusive or singular problem solvers. Rather looks to learn and teach in a network-like style.
- **Human Crises**: Advocates for designers to be socially conscious.
- **Ecology**: Demands for designers to stop looking at technology as a sole source to produce sustainable options – rather to look at the local surroundings of a given site.

Lastly, Spatial Agency looks to inclusively incorporate the existing conditions of a site, involve the opinions of the community affected, look to design for multi-purpose use, and allow for power to be dispersed as a network for social connectivity regardless of the issues and concerns at hand – defining the socially conscious architect.
3. Problem Statement

In recent times, the US has seen annual record-breaking spikes in immigration. As of now, the distribution of migrants is shared amongst states such as Texas, Florida, and New York. Migrants from all over the world, but mostly from Latin America, have been stuck on the streets of New York City. Although mostly in NYC, migrants have been seen to slowly move up to Westchester County.

This due to certain towns within Westchester being largely Hispanic/Latino as early migrants have either brought their families or made Westchester their permanent home. The modern settlement of Latinos in Westchester is typically met with general approval but is not a completely shared opinion. Some in the community have felt concerned with the influx of migrants and years’ worth of Westchester-based new outlets have illustrated how those fears have transcended into aggressive waves of division.

The problems are mainly visual, physical, and organizational issues as residents' concerns involve scamming, fearful images of men on the streets, loitering, indecent public displays, and the general process of informal job bidding. These, and many more, have been issues that have been boiling for the past couple of decades and if not resolved can result in a variety of negative outcomes.
4. Hypothesis

A Parada is an organic network that for years has been utilized as a self-governed system of rotation as its key component for acquiring and distributing work. Not until recently, did its modern users recognize how its existing issues have prevented consistent, long-term occupation as its lack of spatial integrity and communal collaboration has resulted in a weak organizational structure, visual appearance, and physical presence. This thesis will work within the confines of the schematic/conceptual process to propose a program for a modern System of Rotation as a solution for organizational change as well as an appropriate physical image to facilitate long-term work and visual acceptance using Westchester Paradas as test cases.
5. Literature Review

*History of Immigrants from Latin America to the United States*


In this book, the author dives deep into the history of a town in Massachusetts in which throughout the 1900’s she depicts the trials and tribulations that the Latino population in MA faced due to their foreign status and thus not fully accepted by the community. In what Barber explains, the city of Lawrence was a once thriving pre-World War II as there were large mills providing jobs to the masses. Although post World War II, the city saw a decline in population and economy as residents favored a well invested nearby suburb with malls and private spaces - leaving migrant Latinos to pick up the crumbs and revitalize the city. While most residents had left a torn down Lawrence for a more luxurious lifestyle, the escape goat for the city’s decline was put on the Latin immigrants – letting them take the blame as they ‘brought poverty’ or ‘other urban problems. Racializing the economic reconstruction of a city brought a split and eventually riots to the people of Lawrence. Although not as drastic, once immigrants arrived in Westchester there was a similar mindset in Ossining. People left further in-land allowing Ecuadorian migrants to rebuild the community from ground up.
Similarly, to Barber, the *History of Latin America* depicts anything and everything that has happened to most of the South American countries and how they got to their current states. Although to not get into full detail of the book, an important question was asked - that of why a foreigner is ‘here’ [the US]. Each person has their reasons, but while scrolling through the book you can see a trend in how each section of a South American country starts. They start by saying an individual took control of a poor country or corrupt country and how a timeline of tragedies has led to the perpetual inability to progress. Specifically, as we will come to find, is that a variety of Ecuadorians arrived in Westchester in the 1990s. This book explained that a border war was happening between Ecuador and Peru. In comparison to any country, in times of constant turbulence, the outcome is almost always an abrupt and prompt exodus from the affected country.

**Pike, Fredrick B., The United States & Latin America. Austin, University of Texas Press, 1992.**

Pike is another author whose book was strongly associated with a history book. The contents included a wide variety of perspectives and reasons as to why and how Latinos came to this country and although informative, what was paid attention to was the wave of migration in the US post World War(s). The book discusses a variety of topics, but mostly how American ideals got to where they are now. A heavy emphasis on capitalism and overconsumption being a common American trait allowed for the increase in the low-wage workforce. Post World War II, Pike states Americans were being ‘brainwashed’ to believe that consumerism is the solution to everlasting economic progress. This mindset would then enhance a pre-existing patriarchal ideal
in the US which would then translate to how white Americans view not only immigrants but also POC overall. This ‘superior’ thinking led to Americans having a god-like complex in that Pike states ‘we can control nature’ as a way in which Americans saw their surroundings - tainting present-day relationships between foreigners and Americans.


Migrants make up a sizable chunk of the US population - specifically Latin immigrants. Westchester is no exception, but the only difference is the large quantity of immigrants that derive from Ecuador. Needler explores all countries' political history in South America, highlighting their problems by chapter – for Ecuador, the title was *Political Instability*. The book was written in the 1960s but unfortunately, problems such as the ones that will be mentioned continue to reign. The chapter begins by describing the three main Ecuadorian conflicts, that being: *Classicism* (White, Brown/Black, Mestizo, Mulato etc.), *Regionalism* (Andean, Coastal & Orient) & *Lifestyle* (City v. Rural). This narrative persists throughout the chapter in which Needler illustrates Ecuador being in a constant state of political and social turmoil. It is almost as if Ecuador has always been riddled with national issues that seemingly can’t be resolved. Something to take into consideration is the displacement of power between people throughout Ecuadorian regions and cities.
This text is a page composed by a magazine produced by Westchester County and it highlights the trials and tribulations of the migrant communities that have come to know Westchester as their new home. Spanning back to the early 1900s, Westchester has been a haven for many people of the likes including early African Americans, Italians, Portuguese, Ecuadorians, and so on. These sets of memoirs were presented in a way that are not only simple stories of struggle but of how an outcome such as success can happen in the form of the so-called ‘American Dream’. All the mentioned stories touched on the topic of migrating from their countries to arriving in a place in which language, finances, work, and appearances were difficult to manage. This timeline of immigrants in Westchester can be used and interpreted as a means of introducing new ways of looking at how a community can aid and bring up newcomers to contribute to their new community.
Temporary Labor


The encyclopedia on race and racism was an extensive piece of literature then eventually went on to discuss other topics, but at the beginning would define what temporary labor is “impermanency of employment, hazards in or undesirability of the work, the absence of fringe and other typical workplace benefits and the daily search for employment”. As most would know, labor posts are typically groups of men (and some women) who meet on street corners, empty lots, or parking lots of home improvement stores, etc. Although women might not be on the corner, like the men, you will also see them do temp work but mostly on the domestic level while the men do construction work. If not that then, painting, roofing, carpentry, landscaping, or other. Although the text carries a ton of in-depth information it states that “little is known about this labor market because the workers move in and out freely”. This old form of self-marketing has become a common sight but one that is not yet fully understood but can be facilitated as there exists cultural and social rifts as services such as bathrooms and education centers were discussed as ways to maintain control.

From Services to Activism is a text that advocates for the rights of day laborers, and their experiences while working in comparison to the pay that is received. This text discusses the injustices of day laborers, but also further dives into potential solutions an organization by the name of CASA has figured out. The text begins with how migrants have become integral to the political and economic states of their respective communities. A discussion of their dwellings includes communities as undesirable, clusters of itinerant workers with attendant problems of trash, loitering, and even crime. Not only is it their living conditions, but also their work environment as legal protection is mostly non-existent due to their status as illegal immigrants. The text further states that “Hispanic immigrants are disproportionately exposed to these adverse employment conditions and register some of the lowest earnings and highest rates of working poverty in the country”. These types of recorded injustices are what facilitated the existence of CASA and the way they believe day labor work should be managed.

*Laboring Underground* is once again a text from an article that discusses the problems of the day-to-day undocumented worker. They argue how the existence of law wage work is ever growing, but also growing with the groups of Hispanic migrants that come to the country. Unfortunately, for this and many other found texts, underdeveloped studies have been performed that provide little information on the whereabouts and conditions of the migrant lives. As we will see soon enough in this thesis, the topic of wages and livelihood conditions falls upon the work and health of either the man or women. Without a doubt, in an immigrant’s case, the male is relied upon to hold up his family and provide. On the off chance that the man is unfortunately hurt, the collapse of a family is almost certain.


The book by Shaw discusses the early life of a young and charismatic - Cesar Chavez. Although he would eventually become a controversial political figure in American politics, Shaw discusses his efforts to unify and improve the lives of the farmer workforce in California that at the time, and still is, built by Hispanic/Latino migrants. His original political principles were fueled by struggle as before the start of his political career Chavez humbly worked and lived on a farm. Shaw describes Chavez seeing his people working and living in brutal conditions – people living under bridges, box cartons, bathing & drinking from irrigation ditches, etc. This and more, back in the ’60s & ’70s was a common lifestyle for Hispanic laborers. Shaw eventually goes on to describe Chavez as a hero of the people as he was able to bring together Latino, Mexican, and
Filipino workers to eventually win farmers of the 70’s and 80’s union-ship and a minimum pay raise from $3.50/hr. to $20.00/hr. Something to take from this text is how laborers have historically been exploited and if not for political movement and unification - progress wouldn’t be a thing.


In this book, Borjas writes about the immigrant experience from not just the Hispanic side, but of different communities that would eventually call the US their new home. A couple of the appraisals Borjas expresses throughout the text is how much raw labor the immigrant community delivers to the US and in turn how the sheer quantity of raw labor benefits the US economy. If anything were to happen to them, if they were to leave, the US economy would see a large dent. Although his appraisal is inspiring, he also goes on to explain that their work ethic is also an immigrant’s downfall. In two cases, Borjas explains how although Hispanic and Turkish immigrants were skilled workers, whether that be in farming or widget making, they were seen to be working low IQ jobs and since they worked there, they were seen as a group of low IQ people by Americans. Lastly, viewing immigrants as a collection of raw labor tends to have nasty outcomes - those being in the form of mass exploitation. Borjas would go on to say this view of work almost dehumanizes immigrants, we look at them more like robots, not like people, people with choices, ambitions, and lives.
**Solutions**

**Oh Boun, Sandra. “Deconstructing the Wall: A Prototype for Alternative Housing”.**

Graduate School of the University of Maryland, College Park, 2018.

Oh Boun’s thesis is similar to many other migrant-based projects – that of a haven project that is large in scale. Throughout her thesis, Oh Bourn provides evidence that supports her statements of migrant asylums lacking proper conditions and she also highlights how the travel of immigration affects migrants’ psyche. Lastly, the way Oh Boun goes about her project is to pick out an island that conveniently has existing boat lines that pass by. Her Ellis Island-esque project advocates for a dignified and respectful arrival for migrants that focuses on post-trauma travel and education. Her thesis did not consist of a set of keywords but did provide an abbreviations page for bills passed and organizations dealing with immigration control.

**Jin, Dara. “Woven Tensions: Chinatown Contestations”. Honors Program at Syracuse University, 2022.**

Un-similarly, Dara Jin is a recent post-B. Arch student from the University of Syracuse that also focused her attention on migrants, but in this case, it was more about Chinese migrants who have already cemented themselves in South Africa culture. Her analysis included looking at the perspectives of both communities, locals, and immigrants, had of each other and how she could find a common ground to lighten tensions between both groups. Her key words include Spatial agency, street stall, temporal, informal construction, collective design, and kit-of-parts. Lastly, although her thesis was a design, the way she analyzed her work could be utilized to produce data in a statistical format.

Pablo Garcia, the creator, and author, introduces the project by providing a dense and lengthy explanation of why he had chosen the topic. It begins with a history lesson on immigration and US borders, then why people immigrate, explaining detention centers and asylums, to then describing what they are like. Personally, as stated before, the text felt too dense and his reasoning was a little too preachy and the author kept repeating themselves. From what was read, the hypothesis was not too strong as Garcia would describe his proposed design to be based on providing immigrants with a better version of an asylum. As expected, Garcia did not provide keywords.


The Favela Painting by Dutch artists, Haas & Hahn, was a project that they took to use concrete favela walls of Rio de Janeiro as canvases, ready to become works of art. Through color and an array of patterns the previously grey and weathered, concrete facades were given a fresh face. According to the artist, this was thought of as a socio-political statement, as the favela stands as a remark to the Brazilian government’s failures to financially support all its citizens - giving these globally recognized slums bad press and negative stereotypes. Although there are no keywords, the section of the book consisted of various socio-political-based projects that in the end provided a variety of short-term work.
The Cottages at Hickory Crossing is another project that takes into consideration what they call - a design for stability. Based in Dallas, Texas, United States, this 25,000 sq. ft. project was completed back in 2016 and cost the Central Dallas Community Development Corp. $6.8 million. With the hope of bringing down overpopulation in homelessness and bringing a better image to Dallas, the program includes a village set behind a brand-new community center aimed at providing counseling and job opportunities. The key words of this project involved a dignified approach, social tension relief, and homelessness.

Eco-friendly architecture: The Importance of Sustainable Design. FibreGuard. (n.d.).

Although we live in an advanced society that has allowed us to design for maximum comfort in transportation, energy, food, including many other things, we have failed to effectively manage the excessive consumption and waste of our production. In response to our changing world, Barker Associates states, modern architects have been challenged to produce designs that solve for, “35% of global final energy use and for nearly 40% of energy-related CO2 emissions” (Barker, 23). Barker points out where we need to work on, as sustainable architecture can keep its aesthetic-oriented nature but must integrate the sustainability portion by achieving long-term energy and resource efficiency via alternative material use or building practices. This article was mostly about sustainable practices and although this did directly pertain to my projects it raises the question of the accessibility and quality of local materials.

To produce an eco-friendly project, Fibre Guard states that as builders and designers, it is not enough to think about the bare minimum, but rather make sustainability the forefront of the design process. Fibre Guard adds, “Bio-based building materials company, took inspiration from nature to create an incredible solution for the construction industry to combat construction waste” (Fibre Guard, 23). That solution was the use of fungi as they took notice of mushrooms being nature's natural decomposer. With this, they have produced insulating materials and fabrics via decomposed plastic from the mushrooms. As previously argued in past assignments, sustainability and architecture are separate entities that share similarities, but when put together they become a complex and innovative subgenre of the design and build industry.


The chosen article discussed the proposed project by Liz Ogbu back in 2005 but was eventually let go due to a collapse in the US economy in 2008. As stated, before the project was based in San Francisco and starts by describing the struggles of the Hispanic immigrant chasing the American Dream and the evidence of how these people are left on the sideline – leaving them exposed to health, safety, and potential community concerns. Lastly, Ogbu expresses how everything she saw allowed her to produce an idea that was innovative and
adaptable to any region in the US where the informal labor stations are located. The keywords involved were perspective and dignity, this project directly involves my views and what my project stands for.


Schroader is an author who visited Denmark as her location of interest and introduces her purpose by providing a brief background statement of the real-time issues of how the negative perception of asylum seekers has led to forced cultural assimilation, segregation, and undignified living standards. She goes on to reveal her purpose of wanting architecture to pick a political stance by “exposing the influence of architecture”. Lastly, she ties her intro back to her questions by introducing three questions on segregation, sense of belonging, and potential design challenges for future architects. Her process was similar to that of Liz Ogbu, but her end product was a utopian type of project.


https://scholarworks.rit.edu/theses/9649

The three pillars of sustainability are economic viability, environmental protection, and social equity. The project selected is more inclined to the socio-economic side of sustainability, rather than analyzing a material or form of building/design. Purnama discusses the impact of how simplicity in the design/concept phase can impact the revitalization of a given space, specifically in Banda Aceh. The thesis on the revitalization of Banda Aceh is one that, in my opinion, is well done in terms of how the introduction and research question blend and allow
for the reader to directly be informed about what Purnama cares about. Purnama gets straight to the point in her keywords as they are concept phase. This thesis strayed from an actual concrete design, rather she stuck to the planning and conceptual phase while still providing statistical evidence for her research.

**Awan, Nishat, Tatjana Schneider, and Jeremy Till. Spatial agency: Other ways of doing architecture. Abingdon, Oxon England: Routledge, 2011.**

The last and most important text of this thesis is the one that is in the title, the inspiration for this social base project. Spatial Agency is a form of Urban Planning and Architecture in which the role of the “elitist” architect does not work alone, rather, their services are used to empower, inspire, and yield long-term results for the benefit of the community. At the beginning of the book, the authors settle on five principles that one should look at when beginning to look at the social and spatial parameters of a site, they include Politics, Professionalism, Pedagogy, Human Crises, and Ecology. Finally, Spatial Agency looks to remove the designer, architect, planner, etc. as an exclusive head but looks to inclusively incorporate the existing conditions of a site, involve the opinions of the community affected, looks to design for multi-purpose use, and allow for power to be dispersed as a network for social connectivity.

As laid out above, the Literature Review is categorized into three separate, but similarly informative sections: History of Migrants from Latin America to the US, Temporary Labor, and Solutions. The texts within them Illustrate why migrants leave their homes to come to the US and if any topics correlate in terms of issues that can inform solutions to proposing a new system of rotation.
The history of migrants from Latin America is a dense topic of discussion, but for thesis purposes boils down to informing why migration is performed and the social status of the Parada. Texts from authors Llana, Clayton, or the Westchester magazine, state that people migrate for reasons including poverty, low job rates, war, etc. Furthermore, migration forces people of diverse backgrounds to acquire work with a variety of skill sets.

To add, the Temporary Labor and Solutions sections, are similar in that the texts expose day laborers' cultural and individualistic patterns as an adaption to the rules of a new country is what births modern-day issues in the Parada – such as improper public displays, loitering and so forth.

Lastly, although day laboring is the fast-food version of acquiring work and in its start produced satisfactory results – it does not mean it is or was sustainable. As seen, whether it is day laboring or waiting at the Parada, pre-existing issues have been boiling to produce inconsistent results for modern users, and as the texts suggest the combination of individual-cultural narratives clash with those of adapting to new American standards or laws in general.
6. Methods

The Paradas modern weaknesses are made apparent in its physical presence, visual presence, and organizational strength – this being part of the overall issues with the current system rotates its users. Staying within the confines of the conceptual/schematic process allows for the production of a proposed program to the current system of rotation, as well as visual images influenced by them. To get there, a series of interviews and surveys must be conducted to measure the function and approachability of a proposed Parada – specifically targeting the members of a Westchester community, internally and externally.

To continue, interpreting Spatial Agency guidelines became a challenge in how to properly simplify them in a way that would be relevant to the topic of undocumented migrants in the workforce. Eventually, the influenced guidelines have been interpreted into the following four categories:

- **Quantitative Data Collection**
- **Qualitative Data Collection**
- **Analysis**
- **Synthesis**

The Quantitative Data Collection section looks at the historical and present data of Hispanic migrants in New York as well as Westchester. Although to focus in on the specifics of the thesis, the research section narrows down where the most popular Paradas are located as well as the discovery of pre-existing circulation, signs of self-governance, or general benefits of each Parada per location.
Once locations are narrowed down, the **Qualitative Data Collection** portion of this thesis can start. Each Parada consists of its unique, day-to-day activities that must be collected and documented. This can be done in many ways and will be conducted via a variety of interviews between three separate groups (specified in the QDC section) to document how the internal communities not only feel about the current state of the Parada but propose solutions to its improvement – whether it be visually, physically, or organizational. Furthermore, these interviews will be referenced and made available in the appendix.

The **Analysis** is much more straightforward than the first two steps as it requires diligence in a variety of components that are going on within the site. Whether it's comparing greenspace v. hardscape, its documentation will be done via a set of schematic diagrams that will be made to illustrate the unique functions of each Parada selected.

Lastly is the **Synthesis** portion. Once the internal data is collected and documented, a program for the current **System of Rotation**, based on their opinions can be proposed. That proposition is a program based on three categories - Movement, Health, and Community. The proposed program will then be judged via a survey, distributed to people externally from the community, and will conclude by measuring how well the proposed program for an updated System of Rotation can visually, physically, and organizationally improve the Paradas’ pre-existing issues.
7. Presentation & Discussion of Data (continued)

Migration is an action that has been repeatedly done by numerous groups of people, even before the establishment of the civilized world. In turbulent times migration is an act of desperation that for better or worse humans have been doing for centuries, leaving behind their families, friends, culture, and dignity. This topic has been and still is a controversial topic of discussion in the US as the relationship between South/Central America and North America has been riddled with its socio-political complexities - with migration being a consistent issue.

Before the late nineties, migration into the United States was fairly easy and not as common as according to the data collected (Fig. 1) by, *Migration Policy Institute*, “Between 1860 and 1920, immigrants’ share of the population fluctuated between 13 percent and 15 percent, peaking at 14.8% in 1890 amid high levels of immigration from Europe” (Ward-Batalova, 23). These numbers, as we can see on the chart, would eventually see a decline due to restrictive laws and global events such as WWI or national events such as the Great Depression. However, the chart illustrates, post the 1970’s an increase in migrant flow spikes – potentially being from American associations within Latin American and Asian countries.

*Fig. 1 - Size and Share of the Foreign-Born Population in the United States, 1850-2019*
Although it is not seen on the MPI chart (Fig. 1), Latinos prior the 1960’s were a minority within the national population, but with the Economic rise and influence of the US post the 1970’s it allowed for a new ‘set’ of migrants to take over the unwanted jobs. According to Migration Policy Institute, “Immigrants and their U.S.-born children number approximately / 27 percent of the U.S./ 44 percent of U.S. immigrants (19.9 million people) reported having Hispanic or Latino ethnic origins.” (Ward-Batalova, 23). In terms of numbers, the Latino community has come a long way and settled in various states throughout the US with New York being a prime destination.

As most Americans know, New York has been a beacon of hope for migrants as the iconic Statue of Liberty and historic Ellis Island are representations of the times in which NY has welcomed newcomers. A destination not much discussed is Westchester County. This county sits directly above the break-line, which NYC residents would refer to as upstate. First started as a way for people of wealth to escape the city, it is now home to a particularly large Latino community. According to WestchesterGov.com, the Latino/Hispanic community makes up a massive 22% of the overall Westchester County population.

With Immigrants according to, Neighbors Link, “approximately 5% of the county’s total population of 1 million people” (Neighbors Link, 22). Furthermore, within that 5% of migrants, a little over half are of Latin/Hispanic origin. With a large percentage of American & foreign-born Latino/Hispanic residents, the question is “Why are they in Westchester?” or “What do they even do?”. The answer is that migration, for most Hispanics, is simply about escaping the instability of their countries' judicial and economic systems.
The answer to the second question would be whatever is available. Thankfully, Westchester County economy is in a well-positioned place that enough jobs in fields such as the trade jobs are consistently available.

If we look, according to the data collected (Fig. 2) by, Migration Policy Institute, we see a young, hardworking, loyal, and consistent community that has been thriving for Westchester since the early 90’s. To add, according to MPI, the origins of each migrant in Westchester range from Mexico: 23% (13,000); Guatemala: 17% (9,000); Ecuador: 15% (8,000); Dominican Republic: 5% (3,000).

To finish analyzing the MPI chart (Fig.2), there is a list of positives that can statistically be taken from the chart. That being that although 18% of the migrant population have been in Westchester for 20+ years, new immigrants make up an additional 18% (>5 years) – this means that the loyal and consistent workforce that flourished decades ago is still producing to this day. To add, the numbers show that the community is young as 26% of migrants are between the ages of 25-34. Even better, within the community we see that 71% are employed within the labor side and only 6% are unemployed – which compared to the US-born citizens is shocking. Lastly, 21% of migrants are working in construction, and with this comes a sub-culture of men on the street looking for work.
At this point, the general understanding of what a Parada and its functions are known in Westchester, but in the early 90’s and 2000’s the Westchester community was still adapting to a new relationship with the largely Latino/Hispanic migrant community.

Without a basic understanding of each other, it is well-documented how the relationship between Americans and migrants panned out – not particularly well. Online news resources such as Latina Lista, The New York Times, and various other Westchester-based news outlets described the ever-growing concerns and issues had with the migrants.

The issues the Westchester had varied from the fearful image of random men on the streets, loitering in parks, indecent public displays such as urinating in the streets, and the general process of job bidding at the Paradas. This fear of migrants would, in the 90’s, unfortunately translate into aggressive forms of discrimination, racism, and abuse.
As we will eventually find out, this abuse towards the Pioneer migrants would have negative repercussions in how the current day Parada and the people using it are viewed. Although as the years went on, the first wave of undocumented migrants would eventually settle throughout various parts of Westchester - thus cementing the sub-culture of the Parada’s in Westchester. To be more specific, *WestcherGov.com* has recorded where exactly the populations have spread out.

In the charts above the first one (*Fig. 3*) illustrates the population of Hispanics in Westchester. From here on, we will look at the most densely Latino/Hispanic populated areas - them being towns such as Peekskill, Mt. Kisco, Ossining, Tarrytown/Sleepy Hollow, Elmsford, Portchester, and Yonkers. According to the charts, these towns have a Latino/Hispanic population of <35 %.

To add on, *WestcherGov.com* also provides a chart (*Fig. 4*) in which towns in dark blue consist of >20% of their population is made up of migrants. Those towns are Mt. Kisco, Ossining, Tarrytown,
Elmsford, and Port Chester. Lastly, when looking closer at the charts, we can see where the Paradas are located. Lastly, the images to the right (Fig. 5-9), are pictures pulled from *Google Earth* of the most popular Paradas in each of the most densely populated towns with migrants.

To summarize, the collection of the data conveniently has led to where most of the Hispanic and migrant populations reside. From here we can pinpoint the location of interest – that being the chosen Paradas to study. To add, the charts previously spoke about, illustrate how regardless of age, skillset, or origins, groups of people will do anything and everything in search of opportunity. But even more interesting, the population charts indicate how migrants populated places that were familiar to them. To conclude, the data collected shows a common human trait – the search for comfortability and community.
7. Presentation & Discussion of Data (continued)

In this section, data will be collected and quantified based on the answers from the interviews conducted over the Summer of 2023. These answers will inform exactly what different groups of people find the Parada to be, whether as a form of work, a social position, etc. Answers, whether negative or positive, will be documented and formatted in graphs to make the quantitative data visually simple and applicable to inform the proposal of a program for a modern system of rotation.

According to the charts and images presented in the Qualitative Data Collection section, we can deduce what to take out of the information shown. Although there is insight presented on where we can find Parada’s, the information intends to facilitate locating a singular and popular location within each town. To comply with the guidelines of Spatial Agency, the integration of the community was not only a gesture to the text but necessary to how the thesis would unfold. The groups interviewed are as follows:

- Group 1 (First-Generation Hispanics or Organizations Aiding Laborers)
- Group 2 (First Wave of Immigrants/80’s-90’s & Settled/Stable job Immigrants)
- Group 3 (New Immigrants/Day Laborers)

A total of five interviews were conducted and consisted of a total of twelve people between all groups. Each interview was recorded, translated (refer to the Appendix), and converted to bar graphs. The questions on the next page were the ones asked.
**Interview Questions**

Question(s) asked (*questions subject to change/addition while in interview*)

- What is a Parada?
- How do people view you/the Parada?
- Views on new migrants?
- Occupation back home?
- Stereotypes of la Parada?
- Average Parada Salary?
- How did you find this Parada?
- Best time to seek work?
- What style of job are you seeking?
- How does the Parada affect the image of Latinos?
- Location of the best Parada?
- Preferred mode of transportation?
- Efficient changes to the Parada?

Lastly, the groups selected to be part of the interviews were chosen to compare varying perspectives. Although the Parada is known, what is not, is its modern symbolic representation for the Latino/Hispanic community. These thirteen questions were designed to inform this and amongst other questions for the proposed guidelines in the *Synthesis* section. By incorporating the community, a cohesive and worthwhile Parada can be proposed and measured.
**Group 1: Interviews – Mt. Kisco**

**Date Issued:** 07/17/2023  
**Interview length:** 30 mins.  
**Time:** 12:00 PM  
**Location:** Zoom, Neighbors Link, Mt. Kisco  
**Interviewees:** Luisa Granda-Rodriguez

**Description:**

This Interview was conducted via a zoom call link sent to Luisa Granda-Rodriguez. She is the Director of Operations and Community Engagement for *Neighbors Link*, an organization based in Mt. Kisco with multiple offices throughout Westchester committed to aiding, educating & providing work for day laborers via references.

In this interview, although it is placed as the first one, was an interview that was conducted last. To be provided with as much feedback from Ms. Luisa, It was important to acquire her perspective on the interview(s) conducted with group three. With much anticipation expectations were met, as her opinions [on the next page] on the world of aiding laborers was the fuel needed to inform solutions for the *Synthesis* section.

As we discussed the functions & fundamentals of an organization such as *Neighbors Link*, she added as to why someone gets into this topic – the belief that in the end everyone deserves a chance. The information on the next page is a summary of the outcome of this interview and for further reference please look at the Appendix for the entire script of the interview with Mrs. Luisa.
Summary:

The interview with Mrs. Luisa was one of the most informative interviews between all groups as she discussed the organization’s solutions and how they have kept up since opening back in 2001.

Neighbors Link’s commitment to aiding migrants can be shown in the opportunities created as Mrs. Luisa comments on an ECHO program for women in the cleaning industry, as well as having a Working Center in which she has stated, “We're not an employment agency, so we’re there just as a referral source, as a safe place where the workers go to negotiate their work” (Duque, 23). As she stated this, it became apparent how Neighbors Link is closely related to the functions of a Parada – allowing workers to govern themselves through marketing and personal scheduling.

Further into the discussion of self-marketing, a concern of some participants in group three was the chaos of job bidding. Seeing it firsthand, this process is truly messy, as when a truck approaches a Parada, the desperation to acquire a job for the day overtakes any form of civility between workers.

To combat this Mrs. Luisa and Neighbors Link have developed a clever format to distribute work in a fair manner – a lottery system. According to Mrs. Luisa, “So we have a big whiteboard up on the program room / the workers put their names down for the general lottery / the workers that speak English get double chances, so they get two ping pong balls to put in / water dispenser jugs” (Duque, 23). This bingo-esque form of job bidding was unique, but acquiring work on chance felt inconsistent. None the less a method that works for the Parada culture in Mt. Kisco.
Neighbors’ link’s ties within their community are apparent on multiple levels and made clear on their site with the mission being “healthy integration”. Mrs. Luisa stated integration as, “Bringing the whole community together and finding things that they have in common without changing where they come from” (Duque, 23). This message allows for Neighbors Link to not only cater to migrants but invites their services to be a trusted resource for the entire community of Mt. Kisco and Westchester.

Furthermore, Mrs. Luisa recognized the struggles of migrants in the 90s as she stated how Neighbors Link’s initial mission was to help with the pre-existing hostility between the Latino and American people - debunking any myths people had. Although she spoke on a variety of topics concerning migrants in the US, the one Mrs. Luisa had a simple answer for was her long-term goal – for “Neighbors Link services to not be needed anymore” (Duque, 23). Whether it be working with organizations such as NDLON for salary information, providing OSHA certifications, or working on real estate - the thought of this utopian answer provides hope to Neighbors Link’s services.

Lastly, at the end of the interview, she was asked what her version of a better Parada was? At first, it was similar to the other groups, but she then briefly dived into a portable solution. Mr. Luisa stated, “Using iPads /They could sign up for workshops/ and asserting, [Ossining's] Medical Center/parking lot and we can bring something like a shelter there” (Duque, 23). With the usage of technology and a van, Mrs. Luisa was describing a portable classroom to distribute Neighbors Link’s services to a much larger audience, thus creating an organized network of Parada’s in distinct parts of Westchester.
**Group 2: Interviews – Ossining**

**Date Issued:** 07/30/2023  
**Interview length:** 30 mins.  
**Time:** 1:00 PM  
**Location:** Belleview Ave, Ossining, NY 10562  
**Interviewees:** (4) subject(s) – Identity N/A

**Description:**

Group-2’s interview was conducted in person with two subjects being questioned via a phone call. Subject(s) chose to not disclose their identity to fully express their opinions. This interview was anticipated to have a unique perspective in the sense of how direct and conservative the answers were. At times, the interview began to feel hostile due to some questions making the subjects feel misrepresented or annoyed.

Once again, the interviewees were of Ecuadorian origins, but in this case, were former undocumented immigrants who are revered as the pioneers of migrants who would eventually call Westchester their home. As expected, there was a constant mood shift between pride and disappointment.

This was felt throughout the entire interview in which a rich dialogue full of conflicting emotions would fuel a genuine conversation that ended with hope, jealousy, and sorrow for the next generation. Subjects will be referred to as Mr. E, Mr. F, Mrs. G & Mrs. H.
Summary:

Something not mentioned in this recorded interview, but spoken about in past interviews, is the importance of pioneer migrants. Although not discussed during the recording, statements mentioned after were the blunt racism and at times physical abuse endured by the pioneers in the 80’s and 90’s. The ironically fortunate cause of struggle bred business owners, property owners, and life-long economic contributors to certain towns in Westchester County. In times of what felt like perpetual struggle has now flourished into what could be compared to a generational wealth of some sort – setting a literal and metaphorical foundation for the next generation.

Before commenting on the ‘guts’ of the interview it only felt appropriate to give the interviewees a quick background. As said before they would not give their identities but provided information on who and what they had done. Mr. F and Mrs. H are a new couple that has been stable and working in the US since the early 2000s in construction and maintenance – they are trusted members of their companies. Mr. E and Mrs. H are a couple that have been in the US since the late 80’s and work in Construction and Maintenance – with Mr. E owning his own/well-known company and Mrs. H being self-employed in her industry.

Although the age difference between these people is significant, they share similar perspectives on the Parada and its functions. When asked about the Parada the comments were relatively in good spirits for the existence of it, as Mr. E stated, “I think that if someone still does not know the system of work in this country (new to the country) and is having trouble finding a stable job then yeah, the Parada is pretty good” (Duque, 23). As expected though, where they begin disagreeing with this is how modern migrants are using it.
Their opinions began to show what the Parda symbolically means to Latino/Hispanic community. From an outside perspective most people see it as a form of acquiring jobs, but Group 2 allows for a narrative of seeing it as a social status. Mr. E states, “For me, the people that make the Parda their long-term occupation, are people with no vision and no dignity” (Duque, 23). Mr. E is the most outspoken on this topic and also the eldest member of this crew. His harsh words come from the perspective of a successful business owner, a proud Ecuadorian, and a general dismay at the lack of seriousness of Parada culture.

As the interview went on, the rest of the members would all agree to the notion that the Parada culture is mostly ‘lazy’, ‘no direction’, and full of ‘unskilled’ labor. Group 2 has mostly fed into the stereotypes of the Parada, but once again their opinions are towards the people and not the place. Mr. F would go on to add how for the most part when newcomers are brought to his group, 95% of them are through referrals. Mr. F would state, “It’s less of a headache” (Duque, 23). In a separate conversation, he stated how they still must train and get a newcomer up to speed – as you would a Parada worker.

Lastly, through all the collective negative comments, an addition to the Synthesis section is how a referral is looked at in comparison to acquiring someone at the Parada. A referral provides a sense of comfort as it can be compared to an interview while the Parada is random and raw marketing. Here we can see an example of how the smallest form of organization can lead to a full-time job.
Group 3: Interviews – Ossining

Date Issued: 05/19/23
Interview length: 37 mins.
Time: 9:00 am
Location: Broadway Street, Ossining, NY 10562
Interviewees: (2) subject(s) – Identity N/A

Description:

This Interview was conducted in Ossining, NY, and specifically in one of the three most popular/well-known Paradas of Westchester County. Calmly waiting for work, four gentlemen, all of Andean-Ecuadorean origins & with ages ranging from 35-45, two of them were fine with me discussing the translated questions.

A quick interview became an eye-opening back-and-forth conversation filled with the information that followed. To add, this was the first of the four interviews that were conducted regarding how these interviews are lined up. In comparison to the rest, this was one in which nervosity was heavily felt as being told off was expected. Unfortunately, two of the four men in the Ossining Parada were not adamant about the straightforward approach, but the two that stayed were nothing short of respectful and kind.

This respectful tone was kept throughout the entire interview and at points, it began to feel as if discussing with a set of distant uncles. Lastly, to not disclose their names the same system for all groups will be used and refer to the Ossining interviewees as Mr. A & Mr. B.
Summary:

As stated before, this interview was the first of four others that were conducted throughout Westchester County. On paper, this interview seems direct and confident, but it was the complete opposite – at the beginning at least. Although pride and allegiance have been expressed toward personal Hispanic/Ecuadorian roots, there was a hint of hesitation before conducting this interview as personal opinions were difficult to suppress.

To continue, the Group 3 interviews were all done on the same day and with only an hour apart between both sessions as the Appendix will show a similar tone in how lax the conversations flowed. Out of all the groups, the most surprising answers came from Group 3, as expressed before prior beliefs were challenged – that is the relationship between Americans and the Latino/Hispanic community. Mr. A would go on to state, “The drawback is that they [established Latino companies] want more from us to the point it becomes unfair. An American company is fairer as they take into consideration your skill level & even the pay is typically higher” (Duque, 23). This answer would come as a surprise as personal beliefs were the opposite. Although Mr. A commented on how far Latinos have come to own and excel in the construction scene – Mr. A ended in saying how exploitation has come from his own people.

With this tone at the start, the next answer would come to no surprise as Mr. B and Mr. A would briefly explain the terms they have heard being used, before going into further detail about the treatment they receive from their fellow compatriots. ‘Lazy’ and ‘Valueless’ are terms they have heard but they explained that the real issue they face is how casual exploitation has become between employees and employers. This act of scamming has been noticed by the entire Parada community and as a result workers now negotiate compensation beforehand.
None the less, this has not discouraged them from consistently utilizing the Parada as their main source of employment. As we further conversed on the topic of modern migrants, Mr. A and Mr. B were generally welcoming of them - in contrast to Group 2. Where they strayed from their initial sentiment was the culture of job bidding at the Parada. Mr. B states, “A lot of people come by and swarm any opportunity that presents itself / unfortunately this practice does not please the day-to-day American” (Duque, 23). This opinion would lead to the usage of the word ‘organization’ being thrown around as they noticed a spike in the number of people utilizing the Parada – this being an effect of migrants in NYC.

Toward the end, we spoke about their backgrounds and general goals for themselves. They had specified only one of them came from a construction background and preciously expressed how complex it was to adjust to a form of work never done before. To conclude, the complexity of acquiring a job seems to be how fast one can adapt to, for example, construction. Where Neighbor Link excels is the ability to provide a form of education in these fields to improve the probability of long-term work.
Description:

This Interview was conducted in Hartsdale, NY, and specifically in one of the three most popular/well-known Paradas of Westchester County. Calmly waiting for work, in what the two laborers would refer to as ‘La Oficina’ (the office), two gentlemen, both of Coastal-Ecuadorian origins & with ages ranging from 40 to 45 agreed to an interview.

Conducted the same day as the one in Ossining, both workers came out of the bushes, hiding the black plastic crates they used as chairs, and with much more confidence, this time, the conversation flowed smoother from the get-go. The interview in Ossining had a mature tone to it, but when talking to the Hartsdale workers, there was much more laughter and joke-making.

As later seen, the tone of this chat was much more comedic yet similar in conversation as described in the information that follows. To disclose names, references to the Hartsdale interviewees will be as Mr. C & Mr. D
Summary:

For cultural reasons, the people of the coast are much more open and expressive - a taste of coastal Ecuador is exactly what was documented. This interview quickly got much more personal than expected as life stories and pains were commented on. Although the form in which their lives were conducted was not personally agreed with - a similarity that was shared was how, once again, something had to be done about the Parada’s current state.

A trend of the relationship between Latinos and Americans became increasingly complex after every question. Mr. C would go on to say, “The American form of employment is that if they see you put in the effort /they will keep you on the team and pay you well! / A Latino will exploit another Latino, they do not pay you well” (Duque, 23). This was said and agreed upon by both parties during the interview, but this was much more aggressive as Mr. C and Mr. D would explain how they have faced being led on to work for free, abandoned at job sites, and of course exploited by their own ‘paisanos’.

To continue, not only did they have issues with Latino business owners, but they also specified the complex relationship they have in their personal lives with the older migrant generation. Mr. C states, “The older Latinos have said ‘Oh why did you come here, this place [NY] is bad, that this place [NY] ‘isn’t the American dream’ – you know all sorts of stuff to give this place [Parada] a bad rap” (Duque, 23). This notion of perseverance within the Latino/Hispanic community from a surface level appears honorable and noble, but as we can see each interview allows for this notion to appear much more toxic – creating a social divide.
The criticism of the Parada is one that can be studied on its own, but the function of it is the topic of interest. When discussing this, the topic of organization riled them up as they described an increase in population as driving away clients and most importantly - money.

Surprisingly, there was no sign of malice or jealousy towards the newcomers, just hopefulness for them and permanence of a job. However, they did notice that the uptick of immigrants has caused unsavory tendencies as Mr. C would go on to comment, “I have had times where the cops come by and they’d tell us how the Ecuadorians waiting here are some drunks, that pee everywhere” (Duque, 23).

Unfortunately, these types of happenings are incidents that prove the older generation right and further deepen the modern Parada to be seen as a symbol of social status rather than a work finder. Mr. C states, “After work, I like to work out a bit or play a couple of volleyball matches. Let’s say system where its pay to play and you get to gather amongst friends” (Duque, 23). Although we chuckled at the idea of a court to play, there was an element of urban planning in his idea.

Between the Group 3 interviews the issues surrounding the Parda consist of a lack of organization that intern are the root cause for the potential of public indecencies. By extending the greenscape and hardscape of the existing site, enough space can be accommodated for organizing elements as well as making the Parda multi-purpose as how workers already interact with it.
Post Interview Results

Once the interviews were complete and translated (script in Appendix), the answers were then evaluated to be part of a set of graphs that are meant to visually, and simply, show how either similar or contradictory the opinions of each group are. In the page that follows titled, Post Interview Results, all referenced images relating to the quantitative results can be found there as needed and then summarized individually as the conclusion to the Qualitative Data Collection section of the thesis.

Each graph consists of all groups that participated and show how their answers were compiled to accommodate the graph style. Since there was no form or survey to base the answers on, a point was given to a certain opinion and was added based on how the individual felt on a certain topic or whether they had said yes or no to a question. To continue, the following page consists of graphs with various sets of colors.

Per graph, the colors will have a different meaning applied to it, while the only similarity is how they are organized and will appear depending on how many opinions were mentioned throughout the interview per question asked. To conclude, any specific information regarding the answers from the graphs can be found as follows.
Post-Interview Results
Paradas: Utilizing the Organizational Structure of Spatial Agency in Migrant Labor Posts
Produced By: Erik Duque

Legend: Group(s)

Group - 1: First-Generation Hispanics or Organizations Aiding Laborers

Group - 2: First Wave of Immigrants/80’s-90’s & Settled/Stable job Immigrants

Group - 3: New Immigrants/Day Laborers
What is a Parada:

Asking for the definition of a Parada was a question that personally harbored a great deal of interest as the potential for it being polyfunctional or symbolic could add to the notion of the Parada acting as a greater communal asset – rather than an eye sore. As seen in fig. 10, 67% of the interviewees associated the site as a place of acquiring employment with the other 33% referring to it as a place in which they can return to and perform leisure-like activities. With 0% of all groups not knowing the Parada’s function, it concludes the fact that not only is the Parda a place to acquire work but for new migrants, it is a space that provides a sense of familiarity and comfortability – allowing it to be categorized as a multi-use entity.

How do people view you/the Parada:

This question allowed everyone to have an opinion as each generation has a traumatic perspective that can be muddled with misinformation. Q2 consisted of mixed results between groups one and two, but in group three the interviewees felt that the Hispanic community was the most disapproving of the Parada. 58% of all groups would have the same opinion and it begs to question whether the Parada is part of a social hierarchy in which users are viewed as ‘lazy and ‘uneducated’.
Views on new migrants?

To further discuss on the topic of social status within the Latino/Hispanic community, Q3 was an assumption based on whether there were more layers of social hierarchy but was proved wrong as 50% of the interviewees were perfectly fine with new migrants even adding future generations of new migrants were always welcome. The predictive option came from Group 2, although a view not widely shared, 25% of them expressed resentment towards new migrants that they quote “have it easy compared to us”. This concludes that with an aging demographic comes resentment as they will not be able to reap the benefits of modern migration.

Occupation back home?

Some of the largest complaints about the Parada come from business owners who are unimpressed by the skill level of Parada users. Q4 asks whether there is a correlation between prior work experience back home or whether skill is an asset to be acquired through experience or better yet through accessible education. Usurpingly the occupation of work back home was categorized other as 25% of people were in a variety of industries such as farming, jewelry, etc. Group three, the Parada group, was equally qualified and unqualified to work in construction as 50% of them came from construction backgrounds.
Stereotypes of la Parada?

The stereotypes of them men at Parda are widely shared and are known within the Latino/Hispanic community. The interviews show that collectively, a staggering 67% voted on knowing or hearing that the Parda users are bad at their work and are lazy. With only 25% of people hearing good things about the Parda, Q5 exposes yet another pre-existing issue that coincides with the inability of Parada users to keep a system of rotation moving if there is a cemented idea of perception of their person and skill.

Average Parada Salary?

One of the most prominent pre-existing issues previously known was the topic of scamming and exploiting the Parda workers. With the added misfortune of stereotypes, the expectation was for poor compensation but as the chart shows 57% of interviewees have paid or been paid a minimum of $20.00+. This came as a surprise as before the interviews, personal expectations were made to believe compensation was below $15.00. This above minimum wage has come about due to Parada workers spreading a custom law in which workers won’t leave unless compression is paid upfront with other amenities included. This would also go on to strain the relationship between worker and employer.
How did you find this Parada?

Accessibility to the Parada is one of the most crucial ways in which a Parada is formed. Whether it is walking or carpooling to a Parada the importance of how close or far it is determines its potential for success in popularity and job opportunities. As seen in fig. 16, 92% of people have been told about the Parada while 8% have somehow stumbled upon it. This question allows for the assumption that similarly to Neighbors Link, a Parada can also be seen as an informal referral agency.

Best time to seek work?

Being strategic of the high and low tides for work can be challenging as acquiring long-term occupation during high job times would secure a safety blanket once work becomes slow. The high tide for work is during the summer and spring as 75% of people expressed work hours are from 6 am to 12 pm. To further add to the pressures of finding long-term work, is the criteria of a worker being skilled. This seemingly was a big factor between the workers that would stop using the Parada and those that consistently used it as jobs such as plumbing required workers to catch on quickly or be talented.
What style of job are you seeking?

The style of jobs Parada users are seeking were not opinions that would affect the end goal of the thesis, rather it would decide whether a change to the Parada was desired or necessary. As seen in fig. 18, 62% of people either were looking at or have heard of workers wanting long-term work. What did come as a surprise was the mix of opinions from Group 3 as they were even split between wanting long-term work and short-term work. This further pushes the assumption of the weak state of the current system of rotations.

How does the Parada affect the image of Latinos?

Without much surprise, this question informs whether there is genuinely an actual division between all groups. As seen in fig. 19, groups one and two leaned on more liberal opinions by Mr. C saying, “We always hear good things about how our people are hard workers and produce good work” (Duque, 23). Group two coincided with the fact that the Parada provided a bad image for the Latino/Hispanic community with 82% overall commenting that issues such as indecent public displays such as intoxication, loitering, and even extreme mental health issues have become an unfortunate staple of the Parada’s culture.
Location of the best Parada?

Narrowing down the best Parada(s) was essential to this thesis as there exists a multitude of Paradas throughout Westchester. As seen in fig. 20, there seems to be a variety of opinions on the best ones, but thankfully could be narrowed down to Ossining, Mt. Kisco, and White Plains. The largest approval rating for the Mt. Kisco Parada is 36%, as in the appendix, groups one and two discuss the various amenities that make it so famous.

Preferred mode of transportation?

Before getting to the big question to summarize the interviews, asking for the preferred mode of transportation was a question that felt best to ask as it would inform whether a Paradas formation was solely based on pedestrian or vehicular circulation. Based on the answers in fig. 21 the results leaned towards the idea that either or works but that if another Parada offered better job opportunities, then carpooling (44%) was a viable option. Going back to the interviews group three, fig. 21, shows 100% for ‘I don’t care’ (meaning they can get by either way), but despite the results, the interviews would say they had more local modes of transportation.
Efficient changes to the Parada?

Lastly was the question to conclude the interviews, which would go on to inform a variety of elements, but most importantly the *Synthesis* section. The interaction allowed for the interviewees to become part of the project as the guidelines of spatial agency advocated for the empowerment of communities by incorporating them in the design. To reiterate, this question was not a survey, rather through conversation the interviewee's answers were collected to be represented as options to better the Parda. As seen in *fig. 22*, there were a variety of topics including Organization, Traffic Safety, Bathroom(s), Swarm Prevention, Enclosed Space, and Leisure. The most popular responses were Organization (29%), Swarm Prevention (20%), and Bathroom (29%). Although all topics in *fig. 22* are important, it is critical to analyze the top three opinions as they could truly make or break what and how a Modern Parda can truly be updated physically and organizationally for workers and people of the community.

*Fig. 22*
After collecting all the information gathered in this section a couple of facts can be concluded and considered to inform the last section. One of the first is that the interviews and graphs tell how although First-Generation/American population has concerns about improper hygiene, the visual presence of men on the streets, and so forth. They understand there are ways to be tolerant of the new change and are generally liberal enough to hop on board with new ideas to make a Parada run efficiently and organized. Where opinions begin to differ are the perspectives between group two and group three - the settled/older migrants v. the new/day laborers

Although there exists a shared perspective of informal job hunting being a negative for the Parada, passed that there is not much that unites both groups. What can be pulled is that the Parada is much more than simply a light post with men waiting, it is a form of social status. This look can be described as an informal node that carries a burden for the society the older migrants felt have built since their arrival to Westchester County. Lastly, although there are divisions on the Parada, both believe it should exist and both were open to the idea of new forms of organization with an added note that advocates for the Paradas self-governance - which is exactly what the proposed program for system of rotation hopes to achieve.
7. Presentation & Discussion of Data (continued)

After summarizing and evaluating the information from the *Qualitative Data Collection* section we can move on to the *Analysis* section as in this part, the focus is more towards the patterns and urban planning of the existing conditions of each site. Whereas the *Qualitative Data Collection* section was much more involved with the opinions of the people, an analysis can be made to see whether there is any correlation between how they voice their issues and the conditions of the site.

In the following page titled, *Existing Site Conditions of Westchester Towns*, a detailed compilation of the diagrams of each town is shown to facilitate how and where the images are being referenced from in the following pages, a detailed description of each finding will be provided. To reiterate, these locations were picked via the *Qualitative* and *Quantitative* sections as the evaluated information showed how the most popular destinations for Paradas were in Ossining, Mt. Kisco, and White Plains.

The following page also illustrates what was important to show per diagram. Although there are many ways to get a hold of information graphically, it was felt that concentrating on specific diagram types would further narrow down information. Paying attention to pedestrian/vehicular circulation, zoning, and existing greenscape was important due to interviews and news articles pinpointing to these being major urban planning and social issues. To conclude, the summarized information for this section will lock in specific issues and then inform the desired program for the *Synthesis* section.
# Existing Site Conditions of Westchester Towns

*Paradas: Utilizing the Organizational Structure of Spatial Agency in Migrant Labor Posts*

**Produced By:** Erik Duque

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<th>Mt. Kisco</th>
<th>Ossining</th>
<th>White Plains</th>
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<td><strong>Pedestrian Circulation</strong></td>
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**Legend: Colors**
- Vehicle Path
- Pedestrian Path
- Residence
- Restaurant
- Varied Business
- Vegetation

**Legend: Symbols**
- Tree
- Node
- Mix-Use Building
Mt. Kisco:

Mt Kisco is a town that during the interviews thoroughly discussed due to the amenities and services provided by the organization that runs it - Neighbors Link. This Parada was placed in high regard by the migrant worker community and was voted the most popular in fig. 20. According to the interviews conducted, its approval rating was based on the fact that this Parada is a proper building that is welcoming through its highly organized staff prepared to conduct consistent results for their clients.

To continue, for the analysis of the towns it was important to discover any anomalies, correlations, or issues that could inform not only the proposed system of rotations but also the implementation of a design. In fig. 23.a & 23.b, the circulation in general is pretty lax, but a spike in density (red circles) and travel path (red lines) can be seen piling near an intersection.

Looking at fig. 23.c & 23.d, a potential correlation of densities can be made as on the corner of the intersection a vast amount of shade can be seen. More interestingly though is the density near build with no shade but a big lot - If we look at fig. 23.c, we see that building (purple square) is a deli. Although there exists dispersed density within a small distance, the issues within this area are minimal due to this Paradas handle on organization and general approach to healthy inclusion within the community – Making Mt. Kisco a perfect baseline.
Ossining

In contrast to the Mt. Kisco Parada, the Ossining Parada is not fully enclosed it is semi-enclosed. The reference to semi-enclosed being a twenty by eight foot shed with glass front panels. Furthermore, not only is there a “casita” (referred to by Mr. B), but the village of Ossining has a form of communication with certain services as well as the nearby community center to allow for bathroom use.

To push the Paradas support there is also signage to directly locate to the loading zone. For these semi-organized criteria, Ossining is the second most voted Parada amongst interviewees. Similarly to the Mt. Kisco Parada, the dense nodes are not within heavy traffic. It could be argued that the Ossining Parada is nestled in a unique space in which a vehicle could calmly separate from traffic (fig. 24.a) to the loading site where it sits in a fairly large parking lot.

Furthermore, its location is situated within a five to 15-minute walk of most Ossining homes and the shade provided by the dense vegetation added to the already semi-enclosed shed shows why the Ossining Parada is just as recognized as Mt. Kisco. However, what makes this Parada is also its visual downfall. From personal experience, this site can catch someone off guard due to its secluded positioning.
White Plains

Lastly, the White Plains Parada. Although it was the least voted in comparison to Ossining and Mt. Kisco, it still consists of notable attributes as to why it is third in comparison to the multitude of Paradas throughout Westchester. Due to its location, it is decently far from the major city-like parts of White Plains but its proximity to urban-suburban homes of the area. This makes it a mostly commuter destination but from the interviews will get people from NYC as its centralized location provides a large quantity of job opportunities.

As seen in fig. 25-a and 25-b, the pedestrian and vehicular circulation is noticeably chaotic. Despite this Pardas dense traffic, the triangular shape allows for the site to consist of a busy side and a calm side. The calm side is where in fig.25-b the denser nodes can be seen and to further support this, fig. 25-d illustrates one of the few forms of vegetation in the area. Lastly, although the White Plains comes with quite a bit more issues than the first two Paradas it balances itself out through job opportunities created and its distance to local cuisine.
Although each site has its unique properties, the similarities and issues shared during the interview are illustrated in the diagrams. With that said, it can be deduced as to why the Mt. Kisco Parada is, per the diagrams, the superior Parada. As stated, it will come as no surprise in the next section as due to the qualities, the Mt. Kisco Parada will be treated as a standard to compare between a set of existing and proposed Paradas.

To add, the diagrams tell a variety of site-specific issues. In the Ossining Parada, we can tell how its location of the Parada makes it popular due to the ample space of providing a sense of security to its users. Furthermore, its proximity to the local services such as food and bathrooms are widely available. Nestled in the crevice of a shaded parking lot its amenities provide ample services, but from an outside perspective adds to the visual disturbance of men on the street.

The White Plains, as stated before, masses a significant amount of traffic vehicular and pedestrian alike. As mentioned, this contributes to its job rate success, but where the Ossining Parada is better equipped to ‘house’ its users - White Plains is out in the open, furthering it as a visual disadvantage.

Lastly, each site comes with its advantages and disadvantages, as the White Plains Parada is busy but suffers in its spatial capabilities. Ossining is abundant in resources but suffers due to its general location in the eye of the public. Mt. Kisco is in a nestled, shaded area but appeases the public eye for its physical presence and respected form of work. The stated weaknesses, although unique to each site, fall under similarities that can be tackled and planned for in the proposed system of rotation.
7. Presentation & Discussion of Data (continued)

The way in which we look at space varies depending on the objective of a project’s goal. In this case, the goal is to provide a sense of organization to a marginalized community, but rather than subscribing to the notion of charity or victimization - the outcome is about providing organizational structure, an approachable physical presence, and an update to a weak system of rotation.

Based on the summarized data collection so far, the production of the *Synthesis* section comes in the form of a survey that graphically showcases the proposed solutions of each Parada based on the program of an updated system of rotation. This survey allows for the opinion of the ‘outsider’ to judge what they deem as approachable and organized. In this case, an outsider is any one person passing by a Parada that is not particularly involved or even part of the Latino/Hispanic community. To reiterate, what is to be judged is a proposed program to the current system of rotation and a set of visual representations influenced by said guidelines.

Lastly, the initial idea for this thesis was to centralize and prevent the expansion of the Parada but the influence of the first three sections has changed it to what will be discussed in this section. The information and feedback of said sections is what allows for this thesis to become heavily influenced by Spatial Agency as a variety of criteria was implied, but to narrow down and directly tackle the specified pre-existing issues a system of rotation must be based on - Movement, Health & Community
To explain, a system of rotations is the existing process in which migrants go from newcomer workers to eventual senior workers. They will then go on to acquire a long-term occupation and in turn, do not need to require the use of the Parada as a main source of work, simply put - rotating the new and old migrants based on job longevity.

The Parada is a network of organic locations in which migrants of the '80s/90s have been able to flourish by acquiring quick part-time work, developing their skills and latching on to a company for the long term. In current times this process efficiency has weakened via an influx of migrants.

With that in mind and the added collection of Westchester-specific information, the table below (fig. 26) is a Program for the Proposed System of Rotation influenced by the issues and needs of the community members in the selected towns. As stated previously, its categories have been broken down to accommodate the specific criteria to be looked at when working on updating a Parada. Lastly, not all parts of the guidelines need to be included as each site comes with unique advantages and disadvantages.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Movement</th>
<th>Health</th>
<th>Community</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Traffic Safety</td>
<td>Sanitation</td>
<td>Multi-Use</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>▪ Swarm Prevention</td>
<td>▪ Restroom(s)</td>
<td>▪ Park</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>▪ Scheduling (tech)</td>
<td>▪ Portable Toilet(s)</td>
<td>▪ Market</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>▪ Registration</td>
<td>▪ Communication w/ Local Services</td>
<td>▪ Games/Courts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>▪ Catégorization</td>
<td>▪</td>
<td>▪ Leisure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>▪ Designated Loading</td>
<td>▪</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traffic Control</td>
<td>Protection of Elements</td>
<td>Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>▪ Street Calming</td>
<td>▪ Portable Kit-of-Parts</td>
<td>▪ Message Board</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>▪ Lane Modification</td>
<td>▪ Vacant Space</td>
<td>▪ Public Classes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>▪ Greenscape +</td>
<td>▪ Temporary Reunion Space</td>
<td>▪ Mobile Classroom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>▪ Hardscape +</td>
<td>▪</td>
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<tr>
<td>▪ Signage</td>
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<td>▪ Color/Paint</td>
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<tr>
<td>▪ Material</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig. 26
*Movement* is a category that is potentially the most important to how a Parada appears to the public eye. Informed by the interviews and slightly by the site analysis, it was noted that one of the biggest issues is the ‘bidding’ process. This bidding process is essentially an army of workers swarming a potential employer’s vehicle and is an act, depending on the site, which poses visual unease, but more importantly, is hazardous to the surrounding traffic. Advocating for control and safety in the Paradas can come in many forms such as having colored pavers, making a two-lane into one-lane, making a side curb bigger, or simply adding more vegetation.

*Health* is another Category that is just as important. Especially highlighted in the research phase, various Westchester-based articles since the early 2000s have highlighted the general public’s dissatisfaction with men on the street loitering or doing certain activities – public urination. Sanitation and element protection advocate for the Parda to include some sort of portable object to designate a space to prevent indecent public displays but also to create a sense of familiarity for both outsiders and users of the Parada.

*Community* is the category that has more to do with improving the physical presence of the Parada as the Movement and Health have more to do with tackling the organizational and rotational weakness of a Parada. The criteria associated with the *Community* include the addition of multi-use spaces such as a sports court or a market space. This would raise the probability of a Parda being seen as much more approachable but even more so the inclusion of education. This maintains the concept of a Parada as an organic network in which services can be distributed from Parada to Parada if sufficient space is dedicated to a portable classroom on wheels.
Existing Paradas of Westchester Towns

Paradas: Utilizing the Organizational Structure of Spatial Agency in Migrant Labor Posts
Produced By: Erik Duque

27 Columbus Ave, Mt. Kisco, NY

Fig. 27

Broadway St, Ossining, NY

Fig. 28

26 State Hwy 124, White Plains, NY

Fig. 29
Proposed Paradigms of Westchester Towns

Paradigms: Utilizing the Organizational Structure of Spatial Agency in Migrant Labor Posts

Produced By: Erik Duque

Fig. 30

Broadway St, Ossining, NY

Fig. 31

26 State Hwy 124, White Plains, NY
Touched upon in the *Analyze* section, the images of the existing Paradas (*fig. 27-29*) of Mt. Kisco, Ossining, and White Plains are similar, but harbor unique advantages and disadvantages in terms of the site’s patterns. To start, the site in Mt. Kisco, despite its amenities via the organization Neighbors Link – is considered a Parada. From an analytical point of view, the Mt. Kisco Parada is its own space that puts a façade of professionalism that allows for it to be approachable yet still allows for their clients to work within the confines of self-governance. Something also to consider is its proximity to food and calm traffic, making Mt. Kisco the baseline to either surpass or meet as a standard.

Ossining, similarly to Mt. Kisco, is regarded as one of the top Paradas to acquire for a variety of reasons already mentioned in the previous section. Although this site does not consist of a building nor an array of amenities, it makes up for being near the heart of Ossining. The distance of the Ossining Parada makes commuting easy and even more so the proximity to local cuisine. To continue, the Ossining Parda is semi-enclosed, which means it might not be able to be heated or cooled throughout the year but it sure beats being out in the open as a shed structure covers workers. Just as important is the traffic, the Ossining Parad (*fig. 28*), I nestled in a corner of a parking lot allowing for it to get lost in the shade but mostly protected from any heavy traffic.

White plains, as stated, the least voted Parada does not harbor any type of shade nor external amenities but does, in its way, provide a sense of traffic tranquility as *fig. 25a-b* shows a low level of traffic density on the western side of the site. For the most part, there is not much going for the White Plains Parada other than its centralized location and proximity to local cuisine.
Although not the premise of this thesis, it felt appropriate and visually helpful to incorporate examples of projects influenced or inspired by using the proposed system of rotations. Previously discussed were the site conditions of the existing Paradas, but as seen in fig. 30-31, a completely different atmosphere is proposed to help with the issues of the Parada. Furthermore, the Parada that does not have an update is the Mt. Kisco Parada, as mentioned before it will be treated as a baseline.

The proposed Ossining Parada (fig. 30) consists of significant community and health updates as the original (fig. 28) already consists of an existing and properly functioning form of movement within the location of the site. The illustration on fig. 30 depicts decently sized changes, the most significant being the introduction of the multi-use court and the garden being a permanent replacement for the existing fourteen parking spots. Although a volleyball court is a visually approachable addition, the reasoning behind relates to the Spring/Summer farmers market that is five minutes away and could act as an extension to the small lot of land used for it – also allowing for the volleyball court to add to the rich Ecuadorian cultural identity of Ossining.

A majority of people in Ossining live in apartment buildings with no space to the outside. A good portion of the population has typically asked for gardening space for fruits and vegetables. An eighteen-foot-wide space felt appropriate for the community as a way to serve the Parada’s issues and bridge the existing social gap. Lastly, although not touched as much, is the movement of the proposed Ossining Parada. In general, the location of the Parada remains, but the changes seen are mostly the introduction of seats, space for a mobile classroom, and an area to congregate for business purposes.
To continue, the proposed White Plains Parada (fig. 31) sees a significant change as compared to the existing Parada – a bold physical presence is noticeable in this case. To be consistent with the criteria of the proposed system of rotations, the look of the proposed Paradas includes similar criteria but are placed uniquely based on the needs of the site and to show how the guidelines can influence any Parada for organizational betterment.

Unlike the proposed Ossining Parada, the Proposed White Plains Parada focuses on the Movement of the Site. The Original Parda (fig. 29) highlights a centralized triangular plot of land within intersecting, double-laned streets that were analyzed to have been dense in traffic. The Proposal illustrates the elimination of a lane to convert the western side of the Triangular site into a one-way street with the second lane serving as a loading dock as well as space for an enclosed shelter. Furthermore, the one-way also sees a switch of the existing asphalt material to painted pavers.

To summarize, the illustrations on the proposed sites are not proper designs. They simply display influenced solutions for the Paradas. They should be viewed as potential ways in how well the proposed program can influence the visual, physical, and organizational presence, of a Parada or community. For example, the switch of materials and additions of colors allow members of a community to distinguish where they are. This ability to recognize a location provides a sense of familiarity and in the eye of an outsider, it could solve a Paradas weakness in approachability.
Once the guidelines and images were made, the survey for this section was made to document whether an updated system of rotation could resolve the issues stated in the hypothesis. To continue, this collection of the data intends to involve the community and once again take advice from the Spatial Agency text.

Originally, this was meant to be another set of in-person interviews with the groups from the Collaboration section but instead opted for the perspective of another group. Whereas in the Collaboration section people linked to the Parada were asked for advice and solutions and asking them again for the Organization section felt unnecessary and repetitive. To avoid this, a group referred to previously as the ‘outsiders’ was mostly made up of people with no ties to the Latino/Hispanic and Parada community.

Voices of the community were being heard, but a neglected voice was one of the people driving in their car or jogging by a Parada. This approach felt much more successful data-wise as it provided the program with a sense of proof that if the common person can feel comfortable in the presence of a Parada so can the rest of Westchester.

This is prevalent in fig. 32 as the illustration suggests that out of twenty-three responders, 71% felt that the proposed program (fig. 26) was good. Even better, 24% of respondents felt it was perfect as it was with 5% of them deciding that the program criteria were just ok. In the survey, responders were asked whether the proposed topics allowed for the making of a completely organized Parada. As seen in the data collected, it can be concluded that the criteria within the proposed program are more than acceptable.
To continue, fig. 33 illustrates the collective answers of all three existing Paradas. To reiterate, the green column is the Mt. Kisco Parada and is used as a baseline to how a Parada should be looked at as a standard. In fig. 33 Mt. Kisco excels in all categories and even more importantly the approachability section. Scoring 12/23 potential responses, Neighbors Link has truly created a space that is collectively approachable, organized, and has a great reputation for its performance. Surprisingly, where it falls short is traffic safety, as personally the building had its own private lot but responders felt otherwise – regardless making the Mt. Kisco Parada an exceptional space for Westchester.
Where it gets less clear are the results between Ossining and Mt. Kisco. According to Fig. 33, Ossining performs decently in Multi-use, Traffic Safety, and Enclosed, but falls short in Traffic control, Hygiene, and most importantly – approachability. Although improving a person’s safety and hygiene is important, the approachable score of Ossining was 4 out of 23 – making Ossining the least approachable Parada in terms of physical presence.

In contrast, Fig. 33 illustrates White Plains having opposite problems as traffic control and hygiene are approved more by one point, but in terms of approachability is ranked 9 out of 23 by responders – a significant difference from answers of the collaboration section and personal expectations. Where it lacks is completely overshadowed by the Ossining Parada, as its ability to present safety from the elements and transit is non-existent and according to the chart is noticed by the responders.
Eventually, responders were asked to evaluate how the proposed Paradas (fig. 30-31) worked in comparison to the original. In Fig. 33, three Paradas are shown as in all categories existing v. proposed are compared while the Mt. Kisco Parada is shown as something to meet or surpass.

To put it simply responders felt that in all categories of the system of rotations, the proposed Ossining Parada (fig. 34) was superior in all accounts – even when compared to the existing Mt. Kisco Parada. Out of twenty-three responses, the proposed received 20 out of 23 - while the existing Parada received 4 out of 23. According to the collected data, it concludes in the people’s eyes, the proposed is so far superior in terms of organized methods and physical presence.
To add, the White Plains Parada also saw a similar conclusion as the results in fig. 35 illustrate a significant increase in approval ratings compared to the existing Parda. In all accounts, statistically, the Proposed Parada is superior within the given criteria of the guidelines for the proposed System of Rotations.

The chart (fig. 35) indicates a ten-plus responder voting average in the traffic and hygiene sections. The enclosed and approachability sections average the same as the chart illustrates a clear improvement in physical presence for the Proposed Parada. Once again, the charts illustrate how the amenities influenced by the Program for the Proposed System of Rotation improve the general issues of even the most popular Paradas of Westchester.
**Summary & Conclusions**

A Paradas unique qualities reside in its ability to be a place without a sense of formal setting. It has survived based on its ability to pop up organically and grow through a network of references via its users for the sole purpose of job searching – long-term occupation that is. As stated before, predominantly used by migrants of Latino/Hispanic origins, a Parada's unorthodox form of job bidding has allowed for its original users to flourish away from it but has kept its modern users static. A worker’s inability to confidently find long-term work involves a variety of internal and external topics, but can be narrowed down to a lack of organizational structure, a weak process of rotation for modern users, and an unapproachable physical presence.

Through a set of methods based on Spatial Agency, a proposal for an updated System of Rotation can pose as a solution to provide organizational change and advocate for an approachable physical presence. This can only be facilitated if a series of people, internally and externally, involved within a given community are provided with roles to solve their needs and issues – that being the careful consideration of basing a proposed program for a system of rotation on movement, health, and community.

With an influx of modern-day American migration to many states throughout the US, specifically New York, these issues have once again become a topic of debate and unfortunately cause of division between Westchester communities – especially Latino/Hispanic communities. With the information collected throughout the **Qualitative, Quantitative, Analysis, and Synthesis** sections - a series of opinions were able to conclude this thesis graphically and numerically.
Internally people of the community voted on how to meticulously organize a Parada (fig. 22) while external responders voted (fig. 34-35) in high regard for the proposed Paradas as an approachable and organized physical presence. With the use of communal collaboration, the proposal of a new system of rotation can solve the hypothesized issues.

Furthermore, a couple of limitations specific to the thesis are the number of people surveyed/interviewed and the decision not to ask groups one through three how they felt about the proposed solutions. As mentioned before, the reason for surveying the outsiders instead of the internal groups again is related to the potential of expected approval results. However, with more time, an extra set of surveys could be conducted focusing on the original three groups to further analyze the proposed guidelines.

To add, although this thesis focused on the most popular sites in Wester County, with an extended period an analysis of more Paradas throughout the Northeast or even the rest of the US could be conducted to further test out the validity of the proposed System of Rotation (fig. 26). With that, further investigation of the temporal dynamics of the after-hours Parada experience could also be an addition to further research.
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9. Appendix
Group 3: Ossining Parada

Dialogue *(recorded info has been translated from ESP-to-ENG)*:

**What is a Parada *(labor post)*?**

- Mr. A: The Paradas are normally places in which we come out to look for work & for people that are looking for workers to perform labor.
- Mr. B: As the young man here has described, we come here for the specific motive of looking for work.

**What are ways Americans & Latinos *(1st Gen./Older Undocumented/Young Undocumented)* view you & this form of employment opportunity and what they think?**

- Mr. A: Oh wow, ok yeah big difference. As you may know, there are a variety of industries Latinos are working in & well as a community striving for more, we evidently want more - whether that be more money, more hours, we always want more. The drawback is that they [established Latino companies] want more from us to the point it becomes unfair. Now in contrast, the average American company is a bit more fair as they take into consideration your skill level & even the pay is typically higher.
- Erik: So would you say Latino’s take advantage of their own in comparison to Americans?
- Mr. B & A: Yes, definitely
- Mr. B: Yes, as my friend as stated, it seems that we as a community exploit each other while the American company is seemingly fair as they notice how hard you work & pay you for the hard work – but the Latino no, we know it’s wrong but I have no idea why we do this to each other.

**Part 2 of Q2: Old immigrants v New?**

- Mr. A: For unfortunate reasons, the first wave of immigrants from the 70’, 80’s and early 90’s faced many barriers such as racism & discrimination from all groups people – whether that be the Italians, the Americans, etc., it was horrible. But now its much better, those same immigrants that survived are the ones that now employ us, their offspring are well prepared [referring to academia] & at times it seems that our people [Ecuadorians] are superior in all types of industries. I was on the train the other day I was listening to how these people were praising us [Ecuadorians] for our craftsmanship & general character – its great to see how far we have come [chuckles].
- Erik: Now, you guys aren’t part of the new age of immigrants but are more closely related to older wave. Now we see new age immigrants coming w/ phones, accessibility to cars, just generally having it more lax than previous groups – how does that make you feel?
- Mr. B: For me I have no form of animosity towards the new groups that have it easier than we did. In fact, I would go on to say I am appreciative of how far our people have come to build a softer pad for these new guys to land on.
- Mr. A: I think any advantage you can take or have; are tools one should use because it’s a tough world out here.
- Erik: What types of jobs did you guys have before coming to the states?
• Mr. A: Oh same as here, I was in construction.
• Mr. B: Unfortunately, when you leave the country [Ecuador] any job you had before its valid up here [US] as you need a SSN, legal documentation, & they just one genuinely trust you. Back home I was jeweler.

What are the stereotypes you hear of people of the Parada, what’s the treatment, & How does this affect the community externally/internally?

• Mr. A: The thing is the type of people that they pick up, the ones that give us a bad rap, & moments I’ve heard those stereotypes first hand as well – you have to really dissect. You might know too, think about it, lets say someone picks you up and gives you a deadline of 3 days to finish some masonry wall & you do it but you don’t get paid the same as someone who works in a stable manner in that same company. Im only required to work 3-days and for the extra amount of effort I am putting to speed up this masonry wall I believe I should get paid for it as I made the wall go up quicker. Now their may be people that might not be that great of workers and are as the stereotype says ‘lazy’ but here, the people I’ve seen - are pretty good.
• Mr. B: Well, I can’t stay I have heard too much stereotyping but the times I have worked with my paisanos (countrymen), they would say “alright everyone lets work hard and get to work!” and yeah of course lets do that but what they want is for a weeks’ worth of work to be completed in two days. For that reason is that they come to the conclusion we don’t want this, we don’t want to work, we’re lazy, and so on and so forth. But I cant speak for everyone, there definitely are truly nice people out there but I can only say the couple bad experiences I have had.

How much is the pay?

• Mr. A: Well that depends, it depends on what you can do & your skillset. There are a range of jobs that require less thought and there are others that require you to be skilled and pretty smart. But there’s a base, placed by NY state, that I think $15.00 or so.
• Erik: And companies here follow that pay base?
• Mr. B: Yes they follow that, but just as much as some follow it there are others that take advantage of the fact that we don’t know certain well known laws & further abuse the unfortunate fact that we are desperate for work. So, for the most part we at least try to ask for $150.00 a day as with here you can still survive off that. We still must pay for rent, bills, food so $150.00 really should be the bare minimum.
• Erik: Now I have heard companies pay between 18-21 the hour, is that pay range you find better or not?
• Mr. A: Yes, I mean anything above $15 an hour would be great but the thing about lets say working for a gov. run company, which is one I’ve done before, is the taxes when you get paid via check – in cash I would get paid $900 but with check it would come down to $620. This unfortunately is not ideal if you have to take care of family, but since I don’t have one I am fine with it.
• Mr. B: I have never been able to work for a Gov. run company and mostly with smaller companies. I am pretty sure the longest boss I have held was a summer and that’s about it. My pay range hasn’t been anything crazy either just maybe $15, $18, $20 an hour.
How did they hear about la Parada?

- Mr. A: This form of work has existed for quite some time now, most likely from the original wave of immigrants that came here out of necessity back in the 70’s & 80’s. I assume this was made also to create community for our people – primarily for work but also to generally feel safe/at home. Lastly, I knew that places like this existed even when I was back home [referring to Ecuador] but when I arrived here, I was not directed by a family member, at that time there were 200 of us looking for work and we were placed in some other part of town [away from the public eye].

What are the low and high times for employment?

- Mr. A: Well regular seasons to work are during summer as its not cold but if you are referring to time, there is no time – there is no limit. A typical work seeking time can be from 6am to 12 pm but if you really want to you can just stay out here until whatever time. No one really bothers us anyways. In those cases, when it gets too late & you haven’t found work you might see us just chilling here and having a laugh with pals.

Is the goal for long term employment or is the goal to day labor?

- Mr. A: You see now, this type of job is temporary & it depends on the preferences of the individual to decide how they want to work. There exists opportunities with companies that work year round but I have noticed that the pay is low. Although, It would be nice to work at a stable job & in a big company, but unfortunately for the most part its not like that – once they find out you are undocumented they will typically fire you.
- Mr. B: Yes [I agree], thankfully I have been lucky to acquire certain jobs in different fields such as Plumbing or Carpentry but unfortunately there’s not much longevity unless you become some type of expert quickly. Now jobs such as landscape work is more physically demanding, which means less knowledge of the field is required, but also has its drawbacks as once winter comes around we are once again left jobless & struggling to survive.

How do Pardas affect the image of the Latin community in a given town or village in general? And if it is, is this a negative or positive view?

- Mr. A: Well, these things will always exist [referring to the Paradas], regardless of if they want to see us or not, Latin & immigrant alike, but because of necessity they [referring to Americans or Independent Companies] always come looking for us.
- Mr. B: As my friend here has specified, we for the most part have a lot of people come by and swarm any opportunity that presents itself and to honestly just survive off something – unfortunately this practice does not please the day to day American [& furthers pre- conceived notions of present day immigrants & Hispanics/Latinos]

How do you get to this Parada & what is the best one?

- Mr. B: Sometimes, someone comes and picks up here for the day but if they want a worker for more than one day they’ll ask you to find your own form of transportation or if you have a friend with a car you can always car pool which for me is the most efficient way of doing it.
Mr. B: Well the best Pardas are as you have said, the one here in Ossining as we have a shed there to protect us from snow/rain, a bench to sit on & there’s also the one in Mt. Kisco, that one is fully enclosed [referring to the Neighbors Link office], has a bathroom, a place to get coffee & food – its personally the best.

Mr. A: The one in Mt. Kisco is perfect, as for one they are organized: they have an office, a space to feel comfortable [referring to the shaded Neighbors Link parking lot], & honestly just well organized. I cant say I have been to it too many times but yeah I would say it’s the organization that makes it the best – a version of that here would be nice but what can you do.

How can these temporary form of employment centers be viewed as something dignified and respectful?

Mr. A: Hey, I’m sorry, I’m sorry to interrupt but where are you from?
Erik: Oh, I’m from here [Ossining]
Mr. A: Oh wow yeah ok that’s good, so everything you’ve referred [a new Prada] to are things involving Ossining?
Erik: Yes
Mr. A: Oh how good, perfect!
Erik: Yeah, my family are the Duque’s we live up the street.
Mr. A: Oh ok yeah I have heard of you guys, Yeah you seemed familiar for some reason [chuckles] but yes how good – I think I worked for one of your uncles.
Erik: Oh good [chuckles], but this topic has always interested me, my dad being also at one point an immigrant (he’s documented know) and also working in construction, so these stories of hardships & perseverance are ones I have always been surrounded by.
Mr. A: Well back to your question, yes what you were saying [referring to organization in the Parada] is a perfect solution towards your analysis of the existing Parada’s. Now see what you’re doing being in architecture and all that’s great and love to see it, people in that world have a different mind set in how things should be placed. I also know speaking amongst ourselves and cops, that Ossining is growing exponentially – a more organized and centralized space to me seems like a great solution. More space will be needed for homes and keeping us in one place for expansion seems to be good – perfect I would add.
Erik: Awesome! What are things that would make a Parada more efficient though?
Mr. B: Oh yes well probably somewhere to go to the bathroom!
Mr. A: I agree, thankfully people here [Ossining] have been nice about letting us use the bathroom but in other places you must walk a ton of blocks just to hit a public restroom. Imagine if you can’t hold it and you have to go, maybe in a city like Yonkers where you have more options that’s fine but in a small town like here [Ossining] it doesn’t look good and disrespectful – more so you get dirty looks and mess up the image of our community.
Mr. B: Other than a bathroom probably a better built ‘casita’ [the shed] so that the capacity of people that come here can be controlled and look good. Honestly any upgrade would be great – by the time something like that happens we’ll be long gone but as long
as our descendants have a better chance than us, that’s perfect. If a place like Mt. Kisco were here, we’d be able to sit down, have a coffee, converse, study etc.

Would these upgrades motivate you to find a long-term job or promote more Parada like activity?

- Mr. B: Well a Parada is mainly for temporary work, if we were to find stable jobs we wouldn’t come back here but yeah that idea is 100% solely for people that are new here and looking for work.
- Erik: What type of organized system would work though? Because lets say a fresh new batch of 20 year olds come here looking for work I would expect that the group prior, who would have hopefully found work and has no necessity to come back here leave – keeping a Parada like a rotating system.
- Mr. A: Yes, I definitely think that system would work. Companies would have a more organized approach to looking at us more of potential employees rather than just one day workers.
Group 3: Hartsdale

Dialogue (recorded info has been translated from ESP-to-ENG):

What is a Parada (labor post)?

- Mr. C: What is it? Well it’s just a spot people come to find work for just about any & every industry.
- Mr. D: Yep, people trying to look for some type of future & provide for their families.

What are ways Americans & Latinos (1st Gen./Older Undocumented/Young Undocumented) view you & this form of employment opportunity and what they think?

- Mr. C: Oooo Welp, there’s a big difference.
- Mr. D: The American form of employment is that if they see you put in the effort and like you, they will keep you on the team and pay you well! But the Latino will try to exploit you. A Latino will exploit another Latino, they don’t pay you well – sometimes they don’t even pay you. That’s the experience we have had, the American company will give you some water, juice, make sure you’re good.
- Mr. C: In my experience, I have had bad times with Ecuadorians – I don’t know why that is. Maybe it’s because back in the day they were treated terribly and now they feel the need to treat us bad? – its our own ‘paisanos’ that treat us bad.

What are the stereotypes you hear of people of the Parada, what’s the treatment, & How does this affect the community externally/internally?

- Mr. C: Um well, a good quantity of things I’ve heard are positive things rather than negative. But mainly the older Latino’s has said ‘oh why did you come here this place [NY] is bad’ that this place [NY] isn’t the American dream – you know all sorts of stuff to give this place [Parada] a bad rap.
- Mr. D: Yeah, thankfully this place gives us a lot to eat you know? We call this place ‘La Oficina’ [the office] as this is a place we come to work but to also chill. There are people from Peru, Mexico, Ecuador & we generally all have a good relationship despite also having negative experiences.
- Mr. C: This is a place, despite the stereotypes, we come to converse about food, work, life, our girlfriends [chuckles] & mentoring the young guys about charging for work & how not to get scammed.
- Mr. D: I remember when I was only 3 months in the country, some Colombian guy took me on a job in Mamaroneck for a cleaning service. I got picked up, was told some instructions, & I got to work. By the time I was finished I was expected to be picked up and no one came. I started to wander around the town and thankfully I found this guy just waiting by a park and he taught me how to use the bus routes & got back home. Two weeks then passed by, I saw the Colombian once again and I asked what happened and if I would get paid. Angrily he gave me $100.00 & yeah those are the type of bad experiences that are unfortunately pretty common.
Mr. C: I hate the stereotype that we have to work to live and not enjoy ourselves earlier in life – we are not slaves. A lot of the Ecuadorians, not just us, they have so much money & property but only choose to enjoy it when they’re old and can barely move. Once they go back to Ecuador, yes they have a lot, but can’t even stay awake to go on a trip. This type of mentality takes a toll on relationships as well such as infidelity – which is something we have seen a lot. As for me, I don’t partake in that mentality and my family persecutes me for it.

Erik: Why do you get criticized?

Mr. C: Well, it’s because they think I am not working as hard as them and that I should be making more money – they’re also in a stable job. Regardless, we have a good relationship but over time I feel that the money/lifestyle changed them. I stay true to myself & roots. I still use the same lingo like when ordering a soda I say ‘colita’ or use terms such as ‘guambra’, ‘Challli’, ‘Curci’ & etc.

Mr. D: I agree, although I have definitely lost of my coastal customs I still use the lingo like ‘pelada’, ‘hembra’, ‘ese man o la man’. It’s not correct Spanish but I do it to remember my roots - to keep my culture [chuckles].

How much is the pay?

Mr. C: There’s people that come to exploit us!

Mr. D: Ughh oh my God so much of that.

Mr. C: They exploit the new guys, the basic here for let say an apprentice is $20.00. I have come to the point [to avoid exploitation] that I have to say ‘pay me first before you take me on’ and they don’t like that – but what can I do that’s the only way I can combat this malpractice of some companies. Unfortunately, there’s a lot of young’s guys here that don’t really have a choice as they must work for whatever means possible to aid their families. Thankfully I have passed that part of my life, rather I am looking into retirement - I have already provided for my family well enough. I know this one guy he owes $8,000.00 right now and still must provide for his family but I just tell to keep pushing and to accept anything because they’re fresh & need the money.

How did they hear about la Parada?

Mr. C: Someone just dropped me off when I got here [NY], like around 20 years ago and I was scared, freshly arrived with nothing more than a dirty set of clothes, some beat up shoes & a bag – that’s how I learned to live out here. It was rough because I didn’t know anything, back home [Ecuador] I was a driver. I was younger, better looking, wore cooler clothes, had many girlfriends – I went from that to hauling a wheel barrel & a shovel.

Mr. D: Yeah, this is place is rough, but with hard work you make your money, buy your things here and there – you can make it work, rough, but you can make it work.

What are the low and high times for employment?

Mr. D: Right now, Summer & Spring are the best times. March is about where it starts, we notice companies begin to pick up work and all the way until the heat ends – but as we said before its gotten a whole lot more complex with the more immigrants coming to work. At this time [11 am] we should be working right now.
Is the goal for long term employment or is the goal to day labor?

- Mr. C: Well at this point I’m 57 years old and I don’t want to work anymore. There comes a point where if you keep on working, yes you keep making money but when you go back [Ecuador] you’re too old to enjoy it.
- Mr C: We actually just left a company that we had long term and the work load was very intense, high pressure work all the time and at some point we just couldn’t take this heavy load and we left angry & stressed.

How do Pardas affect the image of the Latin community in a given town or village in general? And if it is, is this a negative or positive view?

- Mr. D: A con about this place, recently, is that a ton of ‘paisanos’ [countrymen] have immigrated here making job hunting even more competitive. Although its good they’ve come to work its bad that the work is harder to fight for.
- Mr. C: That’s also something I don’t agree with, people come here [Parada] and swarm the place- gives a bad look. But what can you do, unfortunately these people have families to take care of. It’s common to immigrate over the border with kids. I don’t agree with that also those kids suffer, are traumatized - in many cases they die. I know a kid, about your age, he owes $9,000.00 for coming here. Back home [Ecuador] they threatened his life, stole his truck and now he’s stuck here working rather than being home.
- Mr. D: Oh yeah and the drunks, yes they give not only a terrible image of us here [in the Parada] but also for us Ecuadorians. I have had times where the cops come by and they’d tell us how the Ecuadorians waiting here are some drunks, that pee everywhere & that gives a precedent of the people we are – the Ecuadorian is a hard worker.
- Mr. C: The Italian would tell me ‘The Ecuadorian is a great worker, but also a great drinker’ [chuckles] and unfortunately, it’s a thing that affects us all. Obviously yes, in a time I am not working and watching a good game of volleyball at the pitch, I’ll drink a couple beers but who doesn’t it’s a universal thing. But yes, this drinking thing is a real problem amongst some of us here to the point where we’ve seen many die and super young. I had a friend, Mr. D do you remember Miguel? Well him, he was out drunk and I’m assuming couldn’t take this life style anymore, found a knife on the ground and actually committed suicide right there on corner around 5 years ago – weird part is that he wasn’t even an alcoholic or a frequent drinker.

How do you get to this Parada & what is the best one?

- Mr. D: The Parada we are in now is one of the best out here in Westchester, even people from Queens come here for work.
- Mr. C: But yeah, there’s a lot, Spring valley, Brewster, Portchester, just a lot. I have always come here though, except in my earlier years back then I used to be in Ossining & Tarrytown.
- Mr. D: The one in Mt. Kisco used to be very low-key and that meant the demand was higher equaling high wages – the one at Stamford is also good due to wages v. demand. I
would go there but I just don’t have the type of transportation that could allow it. Lastly, I have people that consistently pick me up here for temp. labor & I have friends in this Parada. But yes, this Parada is very well-known people from the Bronx, queens, and other parts of the city.

How can these temporary form of employment centers be viewed as something dignified and respectful?

- Mr. C: The one in Ossining is way more organized, this one here is fine but too many of us just swarm a car and we end up scaring off a potential client and the people around us – they think we’re going to mug them or something. Now that couldn’t be me, I am more reserved and just chill by the tree. I am always like ‘no guys relax let’s stay back here and listen’, but no they just swarm and fight amongst each other even as going far to take each other’s job or even just trying to straight up get in the truck – of course they’re going to be scared, who wants that.

- Mr. D: Now in Ossining there’s a least little ‘local’ [referring to shed (but word can be translated to a small structure or venue)] but everywhere else has nothing. Mt. Kisco has a little office where you come in, give your contact & leave a description of your skillset – that’s it, its all about organization.

- Mr. C: Not only is it about keeping us in check but its also about our general safety. Once a truck comes for work, people freak out and run on the street. With that type of constant reaction, you can get yourself run over or cause an accident.

- Mr. D: If we were to have a ‘local’ it could be much more efficient and quicker. Let’s say you want a guy(s) who knows how to do landscaping or sheetrock or walls, boom just like that in couple minutes you have a guy – from there is the birth of stable employment, none of this swarming & fighting. That’s truly what we need, honestly it doesn’t need to be fancy or new. Look behind you, that [1 story office] building has been abandoned for 12 years and it could literally just be that and sign-up sheet.

- Mr. C: very true, so many buildings here that are just left to rot will do. Look even people like me, after work I like to work out a bit or play a couple volleyball matches. Let’s say system where its pay to play and you get to gather amongst friends. Look if you were to look at the other groups of past immigrants, they have their own clubs around here.

- Mr. D: Even a place where the cuisine can be better positioned to be accessible and be well done. There are so many places to eat around here but they are not very good or too far as the better places to eat are in Ossining or Tarrytown if you want good Ecuadorian food.

Would these upgrades motivate you to find a long-term job or promote more Parada like activity?

- Mr. C: Now see, I enjoy that my life is not in the control of someone else [a company]. I pay for everything I own; I live alone & I like the type of liberty I have created for myself via this Parada work style. Although I am a temp worker, I am not out there begging for money or wasting it – I keep it, save it, and when I see someone less then me [homeless] I give them some money too.

- Mr. D: Yeah same here
• Mr. C: But the goal is to go back, I should’ve gone back this year already but a niece of mine is getting married sometime in 2024. So yeah once I go back I can relax in the house I have built over there [in Ecuador] – enjoy the little life I have left.

• Mr. C: My main goal is complete and set, I have thankfully been able to finance all of my children’s education and they are all professionals back home [Ecuador]. One of them is an engineer, another is a psychologist & the last one recently finished her degree. That is the best investment I could’ve made for myself and them no better feeling to have worked hard for them. My second goal is almost complete as well, I have been financing the construction of a house for me and if God allows it – can go back next year.

• Mr. D: I can’t even imagine what my country looks like now. Last time we left it so many people had left for work it was probably a ghost town for a while – but when I go back, I’ll buy a car and travel what little time I’ll have left in my country. Also, thankfully my kids are very open minded in that they know that I didn’t come only to work for them, as I have already set their careers up through education. The rest is for me and my retirement.

• Erik: Do you know that on the internet there are temp. jobs that you can find like in Indeed?

• Mr. C: I don’t know much about those sites but on Facebook when I am chatting w/ friends or family I see there are jobs sometimes posted.

• Mr. D: Yeah, I had no idea temp jobs were posted online at all.

Group 1: Neighbors Link

Dialogue (recorded info has been scripted from ZOOM):
Can you give a description of your position and what neighbors link is?

- LG: So my name's Luisa Granda Rodriguez and I'm the director of operations and community engagement for neighbors link and I've been with the organization for about 17 years. I started as a volunteer and have had many positions throughout as the organization has grown. It's been really a great situation because I've been able to really, I guess, assess the needs of the clients and develop programming around that. So initially I began working in the worker center, which is a hiring site for the town of Mount Kisco. So we worked with many of the day workers, mostly men, in the beginning, and then realized that we have to get the women involved as well because so many of them weren't in person, but they were housekeepers. And so then we were able to develop programming around the housekeepers as well. So we created an ECHO cleaning program. Through the Worker Center we have a hiring site which is open daily seven days a week from 7 in the morning till about noon where homeowners typically will come in and hire workers for outdoor landscaping. Just bring in fall cleanup type of help, but many of the workers that we do have at the center are able to work in a variety of different settings. So some of them are Carpenter, some of them are Masons, painters, more skilled labor. So from the worker center we created a job bank and so employers again, mostly homeowners will give us a call and say that they need an estimate on a job that they want done in their homes and we connect the workers. But we're not an employment agency, so where they're just as a referral source as a safe place with the workers to negotiate their work.

Erik: So what does that application process look like?

- LG: So when employers walk into the center, they're greeted by one of our managers on duty, and the homeowner will tell the manager what they're looking for, right? So for example, if someone needs landscaping, they'll say I need someone that speaks English, will wants to, that has experience in landscaping, wants to work about 8 hours a day, and they're willing to pay X. So employers typically pay between $20 and $25.00 an hour for this type of work. What on the worker side, the way the jobs are chosen is when the workers arrive in the morning. There's a lottery system, so we have a big whiteboard up on the, you know, in the front of the program room, and the workers put their names down for the general lottery. And the workers that speak English get double chances, so they get two ping pong balls put in the tambo [translated to jar/jug] or water dispenser jugs, right. So they put ping pong balls with numbers in there and they created a little, you know, lottery system. So when the player comes in, explains the work that they need and all they use a lottery system to pick out the workers So that's how we make it sort of Fair and equitable.

In your Mission statement it states, “The Neighbors Link mission is to strengthen the whole community through the healthy integration of immigrants “. What does healthy integration look like?

- LG: So healthy integration is not assimilation, so it's not, you know, for immigrants to come to, you know, our community and, you know, assimilate into the ways we do thing
It's more of what they bring to the table as long as what longer term residents bring to the table and how they can work together. So integration is really bringing the whole community together and finding things that they have in common without changing sort of where they come from.

**What does a perfectly executed long term goal look like for you & neighbors link?**

- **LG:** That our services aren't needed anymore. That would be sort of the long term, right? So it would be great if we could get put out of business, but unfortunately in the world that we're living, our services are desperately needed. So I was mentioning before that, you know, we work with the immigrants and their families in a variety of ways. So we teach English as a second language. We have a family center that does programming for parents and children under the age of five to prepare kids for school and prepare parents for school. So really, we believe that a parent is a child's first teacher, UM. And so if the parents are given the tools, then their children will succeed. Everyone needs a chance and additionally on the immigration side, we have an immigration legal practice and we have, I think, 6 immigration lawyers right now and that just isn't enough to really deal with the influx of services that are needed for the immigrant community. So most recently, we're working with new asylum seekers that are being sent up from New York City and they present has been asked by the state to provide housing and wrap around supports for them for up to a year to really help people sort of get settled.

- **Erik:** What does Housing look like for asylum seekers?
- **LG:** It's terrible, you know, before the asylum seekers were coming up, we were already having a problem seeking housing for families. The stock there just isn't there. There just aren't enough. Openings. You know there's wait lists everywhere. We worry a lot about informal housing. So you know, people housed in basements or unsafe conditions, you know, like many too many people in one place. We've been reaching out to various landlords and developers to see how we can work together and try to come up with some solutions.

**What is a Parada (labor post)?**

- **LG:** So La Parada, or as some of our workers call it, ‘El Jale’ is at neighbors link, so the workers know that they can come secure work at neighbors link and safe setting

**What is the differences Americans & Latinos (1st Gen/Older Undocumented/Young Undocumented) view laborers & their form employment?**

- **LG:** So luckily in the communities that we work with, they're welcoming communities. So neighbors link is the trusted source not just for immigrants that are coming to our community, but also with all the partners. So we're able to leverage all the partnerships that we have to bring the Community together. So working with the school districts,
working with the Police Department, elected officials having and, you know, different partner agencies such as like the Food Pantry or the Medical Center opens or Medical Center come into the center to sort of talk about the resources and how the Community works. So we actually have kind of like a newcomers guide to make people feel welcome.

**How much do you think Pay should be and how much is pay from what you hear?**

- LG: So we work with the National Day Laborer Organizing network. They're called NDLON, and we're members of that organization and many of the member organizations do very similar work that neighbors linked as across the country. And so we were able to sort of, you know, we meet with the we have a couple of different conferences throughout the year where this topic comes up and for each state has like different sort of umm ranges. However, in Mount Kisco, for example, the reason that it's so high is because there's so many people in the neighborhood also that have more money and also the rent is more expensive and the people that come to us to hire know that they're doing a service to these families. So they're willing to pay much more. Additionally, you know, we kind of follow a popular education model, which means, you know, we talked to the workers regularly and ask them what they want. So you know, it used to be years ago. It was 11.50 then it was 12 to 15, Then it was 15-18 because the work that they do, the labor that they do is very, very challenging and hard. And it takes a toll on their bodies. And so we've kind of moved on with the times and so that's why we're in that bracket right now. Umm, obviously there are some people that are like oh, well, we're only going to pay $12.00 an hour and the workers will stay. Noted that because they feel strongly that their work is worth much more. Mm-hmm.

**How did they hear about neighbors link & do you know of its popularity/good reviews?**

- LG: So definitely word of mouth, right? So because neighbors link provides, you know English classes and we provide classes for families and they're pretty tight knit communities, the word spreads fast. So that's how people get referred to us – it’s a hub.

**When do you get the most amount of people looking for employment?**

- LG: Ohh, it's year round. Yes, it's year round that people are looking for work, but unfortunately our work is seasonal. So you have fall clean up and have spring cleanup. We have some maintenance throughout the summer, but then the winter month, there's nothing and we use that opportunity to bring in our partners and do a lot of training and a lot of workshops.
- Erik: *What's the most popular?*
- LG: I would say is definitely landscaping and housekeeping. You know the houses up here are pretty fast and large, and they need a lot of maintenance on their gardens and things like that.
  And I mean, yes, there are some construction projects, however, because the workers aren't licensed, they wouldn't be able to do it on their own or we wouldn't recommend that. So because I've been at neighbors like for so long, many of the workers that started with me years ago now own their own construction businesses.
- Erik: *What's the highest paid?*
• LG: Definitely the masonry jobs and the construction jobs. So we do a lot of OSHA training, so the worker safety trainings. So this way if workers do have that and they're on, you know, on the path to get status, then they're able to get into a construction company and make more

Do you guys primarily look for people to work long term or does it not matter as long as they are employed?

• LG: I mean, honestly, if we can get people steady jobs, right, that means steady income for their families. But the reality is, it's a lot of them are like one time gigs, right? So the landscaping they'll get picked up, they'll do their work. Maybe they'll do a little maintenance here and there. Through referrals they will get hired more consistently And some actually that get hired by companies, stay on with them, you know, for the long term.

How do Pardas affect the image of the Latin community in a given town or village in general? And if it is, is this a negative or positive view?

• LG: So when neighbors Link opened about 22 years ago, that was one of the reasons we did open because there was a lot of hostility between the longer term residents and the immigrant community. Umm, you know, we were able to sort of work through that. Umm, so that everyone sort of got to understand why some of the immigrant workers came and why they were here and why they were here to work and that really helped debunk a lot of the myths and stereotypes around that.

How can these temporary form of employment centers be more efficient & how could something like this exist?

• LG: My guess is you know what, ideally what we would want is more of like using iPads so that people can put their information, everything like everything electronically versus on paper based so they could sign in on that sheet. They could sign up for workshops, things like that. And yes, it would have a driver and a staff person or two people. So I'm thinking about asserting for example, Ossining’s Buddha is behind the open door family Medical Center and it's a cough of like a. It's October. Yeah, parking lot. You know, so that like, if we can, if we can bring something like a shelter there, it would be really cool. assuming they don't have that, and I think it's really trying to work with the government there to see if they could put, you know, those trailer bathrooms or something so that the workers have access to that. Umm but that that one definitely a challenge because you know the community's not gonna just want bathrooms sitting there year-round. then additionally like a van or somewhere else, but you know, developing somewhere where workers can go and have somewhere to congregate, you know, shelter. It would be terrific.

What motivates you to keep working w/ laborers?

• LG: Everyone deserves a chance, you know? You hear stories when workers come in looking for work. The reasons why they've left their countries and the reasons that it didn't work over there and why they're here and how they just have that. Tenacity to just keep going. You know, it's like they will. You can have a Mason or a Carpenter, you
know, skilled, like very skilled and can make beautiful items and beautiful stone walls. But they will go out and do just about anything to make sure that their families are stable.

Group 2: Ossining

Dialogue (recorded info has been translated from ESP-to-ENG):

What’s a Parada?
Mr. E: It’s a place, well it could be literally anything, but in the context of work it’s a location in which a person can offer their services to potential clients.

Mr. F: A place where people who need work gather, get picked up and work.

How do you view this form of work?

Mr. E: I think that if someone still doesn’t not know the system of work in this country [new to the country] and is having trouble finding a stable job then yeah, the Parada is pretty good.

Mr. F: Yes, I agree with that. But there are people who treat it as a form of ‘lazy work’ you know they just choose to work 2-3 days out of the week.

What are the stereotypes of the Parada and what are your general thoughts on the people there?

Mr. E: That they’re, for me, the people that make the Parada their long-term occupation, are people with no vision and no dignity. I say this because the Parada is a start, its base to look for opportunities and once you’ve achieved in finding a job you can finally start the process of progressing. But them? No. They simply want to get paid a lot and provide little work overall. If it were up to them they wouldn’t work at all and for me they’re not great a people.

Mr. F: Yeah, as was said before. The Parada is to be used to stabilize yourself in this country, but once you get used to bad habits such as simply conforming to working only 2-3 days w/ basic pay for me its pretty bad. The people there have gotten accustomed to simply chilling there, as if they lived there.

What the type of pay there?

Mr. F: Well it depends, maybe for one day of work you might pay them $200.00 and once they work 2-3 days they just stop, they are fine with just that.

Mr. E: I don’t know, I am pretty sure it is more. The people that pick these men up are typically in need of serious workers who come basically out of dire necessity. They get paid well there, as a matter of fact they get paid very well. They don’t know anything and get paid well.

ED: Paid hourly or by the job/day?

Mr. E: They have their own laws [verbal ones], one of them being they only work until three in the afternoon. They have laws THEIR own laws [laughs in disapproval].

Mr. F: Yeah, they work until four p.m. max and you have to drop them off where you found them – you work with their conditions. Oh and you have to give them breakfast and lunch or else they don’t work – a little bit longer in the day and you almost have to give them dinner too [jokes & laughs]

Why do you still seek services from the Parada?

Mr. E: Because there is a lot of work. Construction is an industry that is ambiguous and when you have an overload of work especially in times like now – you come up short in people and out of desperation/necessity you go to the Parada. In the past five years there
has been a huge spike in work, like an insane amount. The ratio of work to workers was too much but now that more people have immigrated there’s a better balance of work to workers but in those times of high work you had/have no choice but to accept and take in the Parada workers.

Have you ever acquired a Parada worker’s services?

- Mr. E: No, never. Wait no, let’s say twice (it is important to note that one of these times a Parada worker became a full time employee for Mr. E). I don’t really like working with them. For the most part my workers are sent to me via referrals – it’s a system in which I am more comfortable with [as a business owner].
- Mr. F: Yes, it’s less of a headache.

Difference between a boss that uses or doesn’t use Parada workers?

- Mr. E: Well, to maintain a stable work environment for your workers you’re unfortunately not always going to have a constant flow of work – thus you have to find ways in which you can keep your workers occupied but also paid. In the case of a boss who can’t provide those amenities, they are the ones who, in my POV is very wrong, typically use these workers temporarily and then fire them once work is slow.

How does the Parada make the Hispanic/Latino/Ecuadorian community appear?

- Mr. E: Personally, the people there are people with not much dignity or values, because when you come to this country as an immigrant, your priority is to find a stable job. If it’s cleaning then you must figure out a way to do it and do it well – it’s what people should do, it’s what I’ve done. But them, they don’t care. They don’t want to work much, they don’t want to learn, they don’t want to learn the language and much less progress so back to your question, how does it make us look? Bad, just bad.
- Mr. F: Yeah, definitely bad. You know there are people that have stable jobs and work from Monday-Saturday, but on a Sunday will STILL use the Parda to work MORE. What necessity do you have to be there, go rest, go spend time with family. Maybe for newcomers it’s fine, but not for someone who’s been here 5-10+ years – it’s like you’re begging or being too greedy.

What are the differences between the new v. old immigrant experience?

- Mr. E: Totally different. Now a days there are so many opportunities to help immigrants in contrast to 20-30 years ago we had absolutely nothing. No phones, no technology, no communication just maybe via letters (communication took roughly 1 month), now a days with this new age technology you can even see your relatives face. Before, we didn’t have any of that, we didn’t have any type of help and even if it existed there was no one to tell us about it. Now there’s an abundance of help and it’s super easy to immigrate.

Mr. F: Now a person who immigrated yesterday has a whole phone the next day.
• Mr. E: If you walk on the street, you’ll bump into someone who speaks Spanish, a store that Latino run. In our times the business owners were the Irish, Italian and Portuguese. There were no Latino run businesses much less and Ecuadorian one. We were employees of theirs and they truly set some rules for us. We didn’t speak the language or understood it, so we had to endure whatever they told us – especially if they cursed us out. But now, you can’t even raise your voice because of the organizations that teach them – it’s much easier now.
• Mr. F: Like he said, its really easy now.

Do these facilities bother you?
• Mr. E: Like does it make me jealous? Yes, it does – mostly because I think it’s unjust. How is it possible that people who came here 30-40 years ago, who literally broke their backs working, who are homeowners, landowners, business owners, and this country can’t offer them a workers permit or some type of help. One because it didn’t exist and neither did those organizations back then. Now, the newcomers have everything [phones, GOV aid, access to permits, etc.]. That is what bothers me.
• Mr F: There are people who have been here 20-30 years, paying taxes, being actual contributors to their communities and yet they have gotten nothing -while these new guys already have their papers as soon as they get here (subject did not mean this literally)
• Mr. E: Look for example of immigrant children, they have lived basically their whole lives here studying and going to college with the uncertainty of whether they can work or not – these are actual contributors.
• Mrs. G: I mean yeah, same goes for a family member of ours that pays taxes, has a home but still no help from the government to get his papers fixed.
• Mr. E: We built this town, us, the first wave of immigrants for Ossining, Sleepy hollow, & Peekskill. When these towns were riddled in poverty, no one wanted anything to do with them. The housing market was cheap, so a lot of us saved, bought them, renovated them, paid a hell of a lot of taxes and basically re-built the towns you know now. I estimate a good 50% of those pioneers are still undocumented – its unjust.

What are the outcomes of the decrease of struggle?
• Mrs. G: the less amount of struggle creates a low amount of effort. A lot of them now I feel are more prone to becoming drunks or drugs.
• Mr. E: At the end of the day I believe that all this help is bad for the community. Struggle breeds, it forces excellence of whatever form.
• Mr. F: Yeah I agree, when things come harder, you learn to work around it.
• Mr. E: You wouldn’t think about drinking a beer when someone offer it, because it free right? But you would think twice about paying $5 for each time you do. If things come easy to you, you think life is like that, but if you have to make sacrifices you appreciate the things that you have.

In a perfect world what does the Parada look like?
• Mr. E: The Parada itself should exist, it’s a great concept but what ruins it is the people using it. If I, let’s say a newcomer, with no family or ties in the US arrive for work, how
would I do that? The Parada is there. But if I come and use the Parada as a permanent form of temp-work because I don’t want to be under the rules and leadership of anyone then I think that is an improper and just lazy way of using the Parada. It should be used for seeking permanent work.

- Mr. F: I feel like sometimes they genuinely live there, like why?
- Mr. E: People think “oh they need help, look how helpless they are”, no, no they’re not. They want to be there because they’re lazy and I have no sympathy for them – people like you don’t know the realities of the situation.
- Mrs. G: They don’t like it because a boss will give them rules to follow, a schedule, etc. In other words, they are/want to be their own bosses.
- Mr. E: none the less, the parada should be used for people that need it – newcomers. Just like how laws here allow for certain people to live off welfare or section 8. But if they start abusing it its wrong, right? Same with the Parada, it’s like a market, I’m there to display who I am and market my abilities. If a new immigrant comes along, you say “sir if you’re new go to that place you can find employment”. What they’re doing is also taking jobs from the new guys away.

The topic of exploitation?

- Mr. F: I have a friend that just got here and told me that he worked for this one guy and once it was time to get paid he was nowhere to be found. He didn’t even have enough to eat food.
- Mr. E: Yeah, you’re right, there definitely are a lot of scammers out there now a days. I’m pretty sure the [white] Americans will most likely scam you though.
- Mr. F: For me I heard the Ecuadorians are the scammers, the guys at the Parada know well who does and who doesn’t pay.
- Mr. E: I think those Hispanic bosses that scam have do those things because they are just terrible business owners. They’re the type to spend their earnings on themselves rather than reinvest in their companies or pay their workers. When you have that type of mentality of course you end up scamming people, they can’t even consistently run their own lives much less a business.