Finding positive health in “fortalezas” and “comunidad”: A case study of Latinos/X in Sonoma Valley

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FINDING POSITIVE HEALTH IN "FORTALEZAS"
AND "COMUNIDAD": A Case Study of Latinos/X
in Sonoma Valley

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“Together, we can build capacity for a healthier Sonoma Valley community.”

The Reyes family celebrates Cinco de Mayo at the historic Sonoma Plaza. (Community-Engaged Research Team, May 5, 2019)
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Find this report online at https://www.hannainstitute.org/research/.

For a web-based and interactive version of the asset maps in this report, please visit: https://www.hannainstitute.org/research/maps.

Recommended citation:


Comments and requests:

Comments or requests for a copy of the report should be sent to Dr. Daniela Domínguez at ddominguez@usc.edu.

Funding:

Funding for Finding Positive Health in “Fortalezas” and “Comunidades”: A Case Study of Latinos/X in Sonoma Valley (2020) was provided by the Tipping Point Emergency Relief Fund.

Publications:

Entire sections of this report may have been used in scientific manuscripts and journals.
Acknowledgments

Carried out by the Hanna Institute’s Community-Engaged Research Team (CERT), this 15-month study was supported with funds from the Tipping Point Emergency Relief Fund and the Hanna Institute (HI). Our CERT owes much gratitude to our coalition partners, including the University of San Francisco (USF), the Center for Well-Being, La Luz Center, Nuestra Voz, the Boys and Girls Clubs of Sonoma Valley, the Sonoma Valley Community Health Center (SVCHC), the Latino Advisory Committee, the Sonoma County Community Development Commission, Raizes Collective, LGBTQ Connection, Latino Service Providers, and the Sonoma Valley Unified School District (SVUSD). The effective communication, information sharing, and joint decision-making that our partners offered made this report possible.

We gratefully acknowledge the five researchers of our CERT: Noemi Degante-Blancas, Richard De León, Steve Juárez, Eloisa Ruano González, and Madeline Chadwick. Special thanks to the Hanna Institute Co-Directors Erin Hawkins and Nick Dalton for providing oversight for our case study. We would like to thank the University of San Francisco for providing institutional review board approval (IRB); Dr. Robert Macy from the International Trauma Center (ITC) for his continuous supervision of our work; Dr. Joop de Jong from Netherlands’ Erasmus University Rotterdam for offering an external evaluation of our community-based participatory research (CBPR) design; Ana Lugo from Equity First Consulting for acting as our equity, diversity, and inclusion consultant; Alison DeGraff Ollivierre from Tombolo Maps and Design for her cartographic and geographic information systems (GIS) expertise and support; and Sarah Hamilton from the University of San Francisco’s Graphics Center for designing this report’s cover page.

We dedicate this report to the Sonoma Valley residents who shared their gifts, talents, and wealth of diverse experiences with our research team. We hope that through the use of the asset maps on this report, Sonoma Valley residents will bear witness to the significance of Latino/X “fortalezas” [strengths] and communal spaces. We also hope that the recommendations provided in this report will help improve Latino/X access to services and the creation of initiatives that lead to the well-being of Sonoma Valley communities. By developing interpersonal trust, community engagement, and reciprocal partnerships, our case study was possible.

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Community-Based Partnerships

The future of Sonoma Valley depends on the contributions of its local community-based organizations and the region’s residents. Therefore, the Hanna Institute, the University of San Francisco (USF), the Center for Well-Being, La Luz Center, Nuestra Voz, the Boys and Girls Clubs of Sonoma Valley, the Sonoma Valley Community Health Center (SVCHC), the Latino Advisory Committee, the Sonoma County Community Development Commission, Raíces Collective, LGBTQ Connection, Latino Service Providers, and the Sonoma Valley Unified School District (SVUSD) have partnered to bring visibility to the unfair conditions and unequal access to resources that have impacted the lives of Sonoma Valley Latinos/X.

As a coalition of community partners, these organizations are invested in developing and promoting culturally relevant initiatives and services that enhance wellness and positive health among underserved communities. Members of these organizations recognize the importance of addressing barriers to care and focusing attention on maximizing the assets and “fortalezas” [strengths] that are prevalent among Sonoma Valley Latinos/X.

Members of these organizations may have participated in focus groups and in-depth interviews; supported our recruitment efforts and participatory mapping process; and/or facilitated the distribution and dissemination of this report, which we titled Finding Positive Health in “Fortalezas” and “Comunidad”: A Case Study of Latinos/X in Sonoma Valley (2020). Prior to publication, this report was reviewed and approved by our community partners.
List of Community Partners

La Luz Center

Nuestra Voz

Raíces Collective

Sonoma County Community Development Commission

University of San Francisco

LGBTQ Connection

Sonoma Valley Community Health Center

Center for Well-Being

Hanna Boys Center

Boys and Girls Clubs of Sonoma Valley

Sonoma Valley Unified School District

Latino Service Providers
Notes on Contributors

The Primary Investigator and Editor

Dr. Daniela Domínguez is the research director at the Hanna Institute and an assistant professor in the Counseling Psychology Department at the University of San Francisco, where she coordinates the Marriage and Family Therapy program at the Santa Rosa Campus. As a licensed psychologist, Dr. Domínguez works in the area of Latino/X mental health, immigration concerns, and LGBTQIA+ matters. Previously, her program of research has focused on understanding how Latinos/X and immigrants cope with risks, threats, demands, and stress and use specific strategies to draw upon resiliencies to achieve positive health.

The Cartographer and Certified GIS Professional

Alison DeGraff Ollivierre is a cartographer and certified GIS Professional (GISP) with a strong focus on participatory mapping. She has received cartography awards from the Cartography and Geographic Information Society (CaGIS), the American Association for Geographers (AAG), and the National Geographic Society. Alison currently works as a cartographer at National Geographic Maps and conducts freelance work at Tombolo Maps and Design.

The Research Team

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Madeline Chadwick, References Reviewer, University of San Francisco

The Hanna Institute

The Hanna Institute envisions a world where every child grows up resilient and healthy, regardless of personal circumstances. It seeks to raise awareness about child trauma and early adversity while promoting the resilience and recovery of children and adults. As a leading provider of trauma-informed care training in Sonoma County and Northern California, Hanna Institute’s mission is to support parents and child-serving systems with resources that build resilience and hope.
Foreword

Our community-engaged research team celebrates the beauty of Latino/X cultural health, wealth, and wisdom.

A critical need exists for health researchers, social scientists, policymakers, and community members and practitioners to further advance the scholarly exploration of Latino/X health and well-being in the region. To advance Latino/X scholarship, our community-engaged research team (CERT) seeks to facilitate a deeper understanding of the multiple assets and resources that Latinos/X in Sonoma Valley employ to promote their well-being, which may contribute to findings from previous research studies and literature (Sonoma County Summary Measures of Health 2015-2017, 2019; A Portrait of Sonoma County, 2014; Sonoma County Community Health Needs Assessment, 2016; The Sonoma County Remaining Uninsured Study, 2017; Sonoma County Economic Development Board, 2017).

Presently, Latinos/X rank lowest in welfare, education, and income levels compared to other ethnic and racial groups in Sonoma County (A Portrait of Sonoma County, 2014). Our CERT proposes that these rankings are due, in part, to existing structural inequities and disparities that hinder the political, educational, and financial power of Latinos/X in the region. While these disparities create an unfavorable social stratification in Sonoma Valley, Latinos/X often harness their “fortalezas” [strengths], assets, power, and resilience to cope with and overcome stress. They employ these “fortalezas” with integrity, courage, strength, and creativity.

This report, which includes findings from our case study titled Finding Positive Health in “Fortalezas” and “Comunidad”: A Case Study of Latinos/X in Sonoma Valley (2020), describes these assets and “fortalezas” in detail while highlighting the disparities in income, housing opportunities, health care access, educational attainment, and the obstacles to proportionate leadership representation that impact their quality of life. The assets described in this study include community, political, spiritual, cultural, and physical resources that Latinos/X perceive to be important contributors to their health and well-being.

Using geospatial information, this report also includes two asset maps that offer a clear representation of the physical and communal assets that emerged during the participatory mapping process of our research. “Assets” in this report are defined as resources, tangible or intangible, individual or collective, that can be leveraged to produce possible solutions, value, positive health, and well-being. We end this report with data-supported recommendations to help elicit and amplify the “fortalezas” [strengths] and spirit of “comunidad” [community] that exist in Sonoma Valley today.

Note: Although the CERT prefers to use the gender-neutral term “LatinX,” Sonoma Valley community members and leaders expressed concern that this term may be unfamiliar to some Latinos/X and “offensive” to those interested in “preserving the essence of the Spanish language.” Thus, rather than replacing Latino with LatinX, community practitioners and residents proposed placing the “X” next to the word Latino. Mindful of the core principles of community-based participatory research (CBPR), our CERT adopted the term proposed by the community — Latino/X.
Executive Summary

Contributions:

- In this report, our community-engaged research team (CERT) proposes that current Latino/X quality of life (QOL) rankings are due, in part, to existing structural inequities and disparities that hinder the political, educational, and financial power of Latinos/X in Sonoma Valley. We bring visibility to the inequitable conditions and unequal access to resources that have impacted their lives.
- This case study advances existing scholarship on Latino/X health and well-being in the region. To our knowledge, this is the first report to include information on the age, gender, heritage, language spoken at home, citizenship status, household income, education, and health of Latinos/X in Sonoma Valley.
- Using asset-based community development (ABCD) and community-based participatory research (CBPR), our CERT identified and explored the “assets” that Sonoma Valley Latinos/X rely on to overcome stress and adversity (based on a sample of 54 participants). Our case study focused on understanding participants’ resilience, strength, and creativity rather than a sole focus on the challenges and adversities impacting them. This is the first report in Sonoma Valley to study Latino/X “fortalezas” [strengths], assets, support systems, and coping strategies.
- Using participatory mapping, Sonoma Valley’s community-based organizations, Latino/X residents, and members of our CERT collaborated in the development of two asset maps that offer a representation of the physical and communal assets that Latinos/X access for formal and informal support. These maps were created to document the gathering spaces where Latinos/X feel safe, comfortable, and welcomed.
- Rather than rely on “expert-based” recommendations for supporting Sonoma Valley Latinos/X, we included participant-endorsed recommendations that seek to build capacity for existing Latino/X “fortalezas” [strengths] and assets.

Background: Psychological literature and needs-assessment reports emphasize that Latinos/X in Sonoma Valley continue to be impacted by the detrimental effects of the 2017 Northern California wildfires (Dominguez & Yeh, 2018), current immigration enforcement practices, higher rates of poverty, lower educational attainment, persistent barriers to health care access, and obstacles to proportionate leadership representation compared to White American families. To cope with these disparities and navigate life adversities, Sonoma Valley Latinos/X often rely on “fortalezas” [strengths] and community, political, spiritual, cultural, and physical assets. These assets, which often include meaningful interactions with family, friends, neighbors, folk healers, faith-based organizations, and community members, must be incorporated when health care, community, and social service initiatives are designed and implemented.

Method: Our community-engaged research team (CERT) used asset-based community development (ABCD) as a conceptual framework (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993) and community-based participatory research (CBPR) (Wallerstein & Duran, 2003) as a methodological approach to explore the assets and “fortalezas” [strengths] that have enabled Latinos/X to overcome adverse experiences in Sonoma Valley. Five focus groups and 29 in-depth interviews were conducted because these methods are well-suited for Latino/X relational styles of “platicando” [small talk] (Delgado-Romero, Singh, & De Los Santos, 2018). Participants were 18 years or older, lived or worked in Sonoma Valley, and self-identified as Latino/X. Our sample included Latino/X parents, grandparents, artists, folk healers, health and social service providers, community leaders, students, and school personnel. Specific locations where interviews took place include the Hanna Institute, Nuestra Voz, La Luz Center, Center for Well-Being, Boys and Girls Clubs of Sonoma Valley, the Family Resource Center in El Verano, the Sonoma Valley Community Health Center, participants’ houses, and the broader Sonoma Valley community. Our research prioritized depth of relational engagement rather than sample size (Bowden, Caine, Yohani, 2017). We discontinued data collection once our research objectives were achieved and data saturation was accomplished. For data analysis, we used quasi-statistics to quantify the frequency of asset endorsement; open, axial, and selective coding to identify and categorize the assets; and GIS software for the creation of our two asset maps.

Findings: Findings indicate that Latinos/X are marginally positioned within Sonoma Valley society. Latinos/X have coped with and adapted to adverse conditions and disparities using and relying on a variety of informal networks and formal sources of support. Their decision to rely on one source of support over another is often based on (a) the extent to which they can afford the services or support required; (b) their particular needs, goals, or objectives at the time the help is needed; (c) their preference for support resources that honor “respeto” [respect], “personalismo” [a preference for close personal attention in relationships], and stable and welcoming intimate relationships with others; (d) the accessibility associated with pursuing these support services (e.g., geographic and transportation limitations); and (e) the extent to which culturally relevant and Spanish-speaking support can be found.

Dissemination: All data in this study is co-owned with the Sonoma Valley community. With the help of our community partners, this report was disseminated in Sonoma Valley during community meetings and forums, offering residents the opportunity to provide feedback, debate preliminary results, and assess whether their voices were captured accurately. Once the community expressed that the findings were representative of the Latino/X experience in Sonoma Valley, we finalized recommendations to assist community members, government officials, and health care and social service providers in designing culturally informed social, health, and/or community programs.
Latinos/X in Sonoma Valley

The second largest racial and ethnic group in Sonoma Valley

Sonoma Valley has 40,553 residents

- 26% are Latino/X
- 37% are Non-Citizens
- 81% Speak Spanish at Home
- 4.5% are 65 and Over
- 33% are 19 Years Old or Younger
- 54% are Men
- 46% are Women

Heritage

- 86% are Mexican
- 4.1% are South American
- 2.8% are Central American
- 1.6% are Puerto Rican

47% were born outside of the US

Latino/X families are younger and have more children than White families.
Adversities & Challenges Impacting Participants

**Housing Concerns & Socioeconomic Challenges.** Across all age groups, participants reported stress and diminished quality of life due to housing concerns, socioeconomic challenges, and difficult employment conditions. Housing concerns (the most frequently endorsed concern or challenge) included elevated housing costs, substandard living conditions, fear of residential displacement, and the impact of gentrification. In addition to unaffordable housing, participants perceived economic hardship to be associated with low wages and high out-of-pocket fees due to limited or lack of health insurance coverage. Those who identified as “parents” in our study expressed feeling concerned about the frequent and prolonged absence from their children as a result of their significant employment demands and long work shifts. For elders, concerns around their limited or lack of retirement plans emerged.

**Barriers to Health Care Access.** Participants said they underutilized health care services given their limited or lack of health insurance coverage; the limited supply of Spanish-speaking providers and specialists (e.g., culturally informed pediatricians) in Sonoma Valley; concerns around not understanding “confusing” health care eligibility requirements and applications; high out-of-pocket fees for medical care; and transportation difficulties for health care visits.

**Living Unincorporated.** Participants living in unincorporated areas reported feeling neglected, overlooked, left out of local decision-making, and with limited access to public transportation and other public services. They expressed feeling more segregated, disadvantaged, and with “less say and power per voter” than residents in incorporated areas, which they believe results in unequal and unfair political representation.

**Impacted by Wildfires.** Participants reported stress responses in the aftermath of the 2017 Northern California wildfires, including anxiety, hypervigilance, vivid memories of the fires, and sleep disruptions. Previous literature suggests that undocumented Latinos/X perceived limited access to support and resources, in part, because some undocumented adults were unable to take advantage of Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) cash assistance programs due to FEMA’s citizenship and immigration requirements. Participants endorsed feeling hypervigilant and anxious about future wildfires in Sonoma County and their potential impact on their health.

**Immigration Enforcement Practices & Anti-Immigrant Sentiments.** Participants reported “miedo” [fear] given the intensified anti-immigrant sentiments and current immigration enforcement practices across the U.S., which sometimes resulted in perceived psychological distress and diminished quality of life. Concerns related to anti-immigrant sentiments included fear of White supremacy groups, racism, and violence against Latino/X communities. They reported “ansiedad” [anxiety] because of previous use of immigration enforcement practices, including raids, expedited deportation proceedings, and arbitrary removals in Sonoma Valley. For Latino/X parents, the fear of being separated from their children due to deportation generated concern for their family’s well-being.

**Undocumented & Uninsured.** Undocumented adult participants expressed concerns about their inability to enroll in tax credits, federal subsidies (e.g., Medicaid), and FEMA cash assistance programs given their immigration status. Uninsured and underinsured undocumented participants described their experiences in health care agencies as frequently uncomfortable and anxiety-provoking, especially when asked about their payment for health services.

**Lower Educational Attainment.** Participants attributed the lower educational attainment of Latinos/X (compared to White residents) to the high cost of higher education; language barriers; literacy concerns; difficulties managing employment and educational demands; and limited opportunities for mentorship and vocational guidance from parents, individuals in higher education or professional roles, and Latino/X leaders in positions of power.

**Lack of Proportionate Representation in Leadership Roles.** Participants reported disproportionate representation in leadership roles across a variety of sectors throughout Sonoma Valley, including government offices and top leadership positions. They believed this disproportionate representation impacted their visibility, the power of their voice, and investment in the issues and matters that Latinos/X often care about (e.g., immigration reform, housing concerns, job security).
Support Systems & Coping Strategies Benefiting Participants

Formal Support

Participants reported benefiting from formal sources of support. Formal services were pursued when critical elements of participants’ personal networks were insufficient, unsupportive, or when their needs, given their complexity or severity, could not be addressed by friends, “comadres,” family members, or neighbors because of their lack of specialized skills or health care training. Their use of formal services often depended on whether the agency or organization was perceived to be inclusive and “supportive” to the Latino/X community and whether Latino/X or Spanish-speaking professionals were available to provide services.

Participants reported that learning about formal services from their personal networks increased their readiness and confidence in pursuing health care and social services. Participants were more likely to seek help from organized care settings if they had previously experienced positive and validating interactions with culturally informed and/or Spanish-speaking practitioners.

Most Frequently Used Formal Sources of Support

Social and Community Services
- La Luz Center
- Nuestra Voz
- St. Leo’s Catholic Church
- Friends in Sonoma Helping (FISH)
- Boys and Girls Clubs of Sonoma Valley

Health Services
- Sonoma Valley Hospital
- Sonoma Valley Community Health Center

Informal Support

“La familia” [family] was the most frequently endorsed asset in this case study. Participants perceived adversities as collaborative challenges that needed to be dealt with by the family system. For those who were uninsured, underinsured, undocumented, or unable to receive immediate services (e.g., those waitlisted by social service agencies), family support between relatives was essential given their accessibility and affordability concerns and the existing limitations with formal care. For undocumented participants, including those granted relief through the DACA program, they endorsed finding protection, consolation, and support in family, friends, allies, and other undocumented Latinos/X.

Coping Strategies

Participants reported using several strategies to deal with stress, including:

(a) spending time with family, neighbors, friends, and the local community to enjoy safety, care, and nurture;
(b) participating in cultural traditions and rituals in “comunidad” [community], such as attending Cinco de Mayo and Día de los Muertos events;
(c) being engaged in faith-based services and indigenous healing practices to experience feelings of hope and inspiration;
(d) and working diligently in their occupation to ensure their family’s economic “sobrevivencia” [survival] which, in turn, lowers their stress levels.
## Latino/X Assets in Sonoma Valley Community

### Community Assets

A community asset is defined as a resource or collective experience that can be leveraged to enhance people’s well-being and quality of life and that can be used to promote effective solutions.

- La Familia [Family]
- Los Compadres [Intimate Friends]
- Los Amigos [Friends]
- Los Voluntarios & Las Promotoras [Volunteers & Community Health Workers]
- Los Vecinos [Neighbors]
- The Caretakers
- Los Mentores & Maestros [Mentors & Teachers]
- Los Trabajadores [The Workers]

### Political & Legal Assets

A political asset is defined as a resource that generates the power or influence needed to mobilize community members/voters, achieve policy reforms, or accomplish political goals.

- La Residencia Permanente & Ciudadanía [Permanent Residence & Citizenship]
- Líderes Latinos/X en la Comunidad [Community Leaders] and Grassroots Organizing
- Allies

### Cultural Assets

A cultural asset is defined as a resource that has value because of its contribution to a culture’s heritage, creativity, knowledge, traditions, meaning, and vitality.

- Las Raíces [Roots]
- La Celebración [Celebration]
- La Danza y La Música [Dance & Music]
- La Comida [Food]

### Spiritual Assets

A spiritual asset is defined as a resource that enables the Latino/X community to engage, receive, and benefit from acts of compassion, mercy, justice, and indigenous healing.

- La Iglesia [Church]
- Folk Healers
- Alternative Treatments
- Spiritual Practices

### Physical Assets

A physical asset is defined as land, buildings, and spaces where Sonoma Valley Latinos/X congregate and enjoy “comunidad” [community].

Participants identified local businesses, restaurants, bakeries, coffee shops, markets, shopping centers, parks, community centers, school facilities, and public libraries as valuable assets where they engage in “convivencia” [engaging in community] and share sociocultural histories. The process of transforming these physical spaces into community resources reveals residents’ resilience. In these physical spaces, participants share support, debate local politics, discuss goals and plans for achieving them, and dream for a better tomorrow. Next, we include two maps locating these assets.
The “Springs” asset map locates the resources and gathering spaces where Latinos/X provide or receive support and congregate in “comunidad” [community]. In the physical assets section of the full report, we provide contact information and a brief description of the specific services provided at each location.

Note: The font size of each identified asset represents the frequency of self-reported participant utilization, with larger font sizes suggesting higher frequency of use.

Data collection: Data was collected through surveys, in-depth interviews, and focus groups. We used participatory mapping during focus groups to identify these sites geographically. Surveys were used with all participants to measure frequency of asset use. Participants were asked:

(a) Please identify the resources you use when needing support or facing adversity. Please indicate how often you seek support there. (1-5 scale)

(b) Please list the community spaces or events where you spend time with friends, loved ones, and Sonoma Valley community residents.

Data analysis: To learn more about the methods used to analyze the data collected, please read the methodology section of our full report.
This asset map locates the resources and gathering spaces in the city of Sonoma where Latinos/X provide or receive support and congregate in “comunidad” (community). In the physical assets section of the full report, we provide contact information and a brief description of the specific services provided at each location.

Note: The font size of each identified asset represents the frequency of self-reported participant utilization, with larger font sizes suggesting higher frequency of use.

Data collection: Data was collected through surveys, in-depth interviews, and focus groups. We used participatory mapping during focus groups to identify these sites geographically. Surveys were used with all participants to measure frequency of asset use. Participants were asked:

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(b) Please list the community spaces or events where you spend time with friends, loved ones, and Sonoma Valley community residents.

Data analysis: To learn more about the methods used to analyze the data collected, please read the methodology section of our full report.
Introduction
Latinos/X are an important part of the fabric of Sonoma Valley society. They exist in the inner weaving of “comunidad” and on the margins of society.

A number of previous studies have provided valuable information on the challenges of livability experienced by Latinos/X in Sonoma Valley (A Portrait of Sonoma County, 2014; Sonoma County Community Health Needs Assessment, 2016; Domínguez & Yeh, 2018; Sonoma County Economic Development Board, 2017b; The Sonoma County Remaining Uninsured Study, 2017). These challenges include an interplay of structural, socioeconomic, legal, psychological, and wildfire and disaster-related adversities that impact the general well-being of Latinos/X. While these studies have contributed to our understanding of the inequities, disparities, and adversities that Latinos/X experience, they provide limited information on the “assets” and “fortalezas” [strengths] that Latinos/X employ when confronted with challenges. Having a better understanding of Latinos/X beyond the disparities and adversities impacting them is critical.

This report presents a more complete portrait of Latinos/X in Sonoma Valley and includes: (a) demographic information on the population of Latinos/X in the region; (b) a description of the “adversities” that Latinos/X consider to impact their quality of life; (c) a description of the “assets” that Latinos/X rely on during times of stress and adversity, and (d) two asset maps of the social service agencies, health centers, community-based programs, and gathering and “convivencia” [communal] spaces that Latino/X participants identified as maintaining and promoting their well-being (see executive summary section). We define informal support as resources that are part of the participants’ personal social networks, which may include family, friends, “comadres,” neighbors, folk healers, members of faith-based communities, work colleagues, and other supportive relationships. In contrast, formal support is defined as individuals from local organizations or agencies that provide help or support services to the Latino/X community, including but not limited to case managers from La Luz Center, volunteers from Nuestra Voz, mentors from the Boys and Girls Clubs of Sonoma Valley, and health providers from the Sonoma Valley Community Health Center and Sonoma Valley Hospital.

Latinos/X face various challenges in accessing U.S. health care systems and social service programs. We propose that creating participant-endorsed “asset maps” could help improve the access of Latino/X community members to formal and informal support systems. Disseminating asset maps that are developed and endorsed by Sonoma Valley Latinos/X for Latinos/X is important given the “cultural preference for looking to family, friends, and community rather than to outsiders for support and assistance” (Falicov, 2013, p. 107). Involving community members in participatory mapping is itself a community-organizing tool that can help mobilize residents to use, build on, or advocate for the resources that already help the community (UCLA Center for Health Policy and Research, 2019).

Our research team used asset-based community development (ABCD) to identify and map these assets. To do this effectively, we visited key Latino/X community leaders; Latino/X social service and health providers; and Latino/X community residents in Sonoma Valley. Interviews took place at the Sonoma Valley
Community Health Center, Nuestra Voz, La Luz Center, the Hanna Institute, the Boys and Girls Clubs of Sonoma Valley, the Family Resource Center in El Verano, coffee shops, and residents’ homes.

ABCD is considered “an important innovation in tackling health inequalities during a time of austerity and the changing landscape of localized health care” (Harrison, Blickem, Lamb, Kirk, & Vassilev, 2019, p. 2). This research approach is particularly needed in Sonoma Valley, where social and health care services remain insufficient to meet the needs of an underserved Latino/X population (i.e., Sonoma Valley is designated as a Health Provider Shortage Area). As with our methodological conceptual framework, our research team used community-based participatory research (CBPR) (Wallerstein & Duran, 2003; 2006), employing a “boots-on-the-ground” strategy known to be culturally compatible with the Latino/X cultural value of “personalismo” [a preference for close personal attention in relationships] (Delgado-Romero, Singh, De Los Santos, 2018).

Using ABCD and CBPR, the two research questions explored in our case study were:

Table 1. Our Research Questions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Research Questions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Which systems of support are Latinos/X turning to in times of stress, adversity, and health challenges?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. What would service delivery look like in Sonoma Valley if Latinos/X had the power to control how they received community, health, or social services?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This report presents qualitative data based on these two research questions. Section 1 explains how CBPR is a suitable methodological approach that considers important Latino/X cultural values such as “personalismo,” “familismo,” and “comunidad.” Section 2 contextualizes the physical and geographic region of Sonoma Valley that our participants identified as places where Latinos/X live, work, and play. In addition, this section describes the history of the Latino/X population in Sonoma Valley and today’s Latino/X demography in the region. To our knowledge, this is the first report in Sonoma County to describe the population distribution of Latinos/X in Sonoma Valley in detail.

We explain the adversities experienced by Sonoma Valley Latinos/X in Section 3, including the structural inequities that participants perceive to generate stress and limit their opportunities. Section 4 reports on the community, political, spiritual, cultural, and physical assets that participants identified as contributing to their well-being. We show that community-based organizations and communal spaces play a key role in the perceived socioemotional strength and well-being of Latinos/X.

Section 5 includes recommendations for assisting community leaders, government officials, and social service and health care agencies to build capacity for the resources and support systems that already promote wellness in the Latino/X community. The appendix section provides a step-by-step review of the research strategies used by our research team. Here, we explain our participant sample in more detail and
describe how we integrated ABCD and CBPR when interacting with Sonoma Valley community members. By providing a detailed description of our research methods, we show how our research team worked to satisfy the demands of scientific rigor with Latino/X communities.

**Figure 1. A More Complete Portrait of Latinos/X**

![Diagram showing adversities and challenges]

*Figure 1 shows that Latino/X communities survive and adapt to environmental adversities through their use of individual and collective assets and “fortalezas” (strengths).*

**Table 2. Research Contributions**

**Why is this report important?**

1. This case study advances the scholarship on Latino/X health and well-being in Sonoma Valley. To our knowledge, this is the first report to include age, gender, heritage, language spoken at home, citizenship status, household income, education, and health information on the Latino/X population in Sonoma Valley.
2. Using ABCD and CBPR, we report on the “assets” and support systems that Latinos/X rely on to overcome stress and adversity. We focus on their resilience, strength, creativity, and coping strategies instead of their challenges. We emphasize community strengths rather than deficits.
3. Prioritizing interpersonal trust, community engagement, and reciprocal partnerships, we used participatory mapping\(^1\) to design two asset maps that locate the health, social, and community resources most frequently accessed by our Latino/X participants. A benefit to developing an asset map is that it incorporates participants’ contributions to a body of research and initiatives aimed at helping community-engaged practitioners understand how to create “self-healing communities.”

4. We propose that current Latino/X quality-of-life rankings are due, in part, to existing structural inequities and disparities that hinder the political, educational, and financial power of Latinos/X in the region. We bring visibility to the inequitable conditions and unequal access to resources that have impacted their lives.

5. Rather than rely on “expert-based” recommendations for supporting Latinos/X in Sonoma Valley, we include participant-endorsed recommendations. We recommend building capacity for what is already working in the Latino/X community.

*Members of Sonoma Valley’s Latino Advisory Community discuss participatory mapping. (Community-Engaged Research Team, February 19, 2020)*

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\(^1\) “Through participatory mapping, indigenous, Afro-descendant and other marginalized people harness the power of cartography to better represent their material cultures and conceptions of space and place. Participatory mapping usually involves community-based workshops where indigenous and community representatives work with cartographers and GIS specialists to describe, document, and represent community histories, resource uses, territorial boundaries, and other important socio-spatial features” (UT Austin, 2020, paragraph 1).
The Rationale for Community-Based & Asset-Focused Research

Using a boots-on-the-ground method, we learned about “la comunidad Latina/X” through immersion, engagement, and plática.

Initiatives aimed to reduce the social and health problems of Latinos/X need to actively involve community members “in the definition of problems, decision-making, and in actions to change and improve the determinants of health” (Aguirre-Molina & Parra, 1995, p. 131). We therefore selected a community-based participatory research approach because it involves the community in every phase of our case study.

Community-Based Participatory Research

We selected community-based participatory research (CBPR) as our methodological approach because it employs a “boots-on-the-ground” strategy with theoretical sophistication and encourages ongoing collaboration by doing research “with” people and “not over” people (Wallerstein & Duran, 2003). Due to its primary focus on community development, CBPR is culturally compatible with the Latino/X cultural value of “personalismo,” a preference for close personal attention in relationships. Relationships are at the core of “traditional LatinX oral traditions like testimonios [testimonies], dichos [folk sayings], refranes [proverbs/sayings], and cuentos [stories]” (Delgado-Romero, Singh, De Los Santos, 2018, p. 320). Studies propose that community linkages, collectivism, and “respeto” [respect] within Latino/X communities provide a new way of understanding how families survive and adapt to environmental stressors (Aguirre-Molina & Parra, 1995; Stacciarini et al., 2011).

Community-based research can be implemented from two different paradigms (Pretorius & Nel, 2012). A “needs-driven model” works to identify problems and needs within the community, while an “asset based-model” focuses on the strengths, resources, and support systems that exist within a community. Community-based research projects are often implemented based on “needs-driven models.” While these approaches can be helpful in understanding community deficits, they may provide an incomplete portrait of the communities’ “fortalezas” (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993, p. 19). In this report, we highlight the “fortalezas” of Latinos/X in Sonoma Valley.

With knowledge of the challenges and adversities experienced by Latinos/X in Sonoma Valley, the CERT adopted an asset-based model to explore the “fortalezas” that inspire well-being among them. To do so, we used asset-based community development (ABCD) as a conceptual framework (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993).

Asset-Based Community Development

ABCD was developed at Northwestern University by John Kretzmann and John McKnight (1993), and studies have provided positive results on its application with marginalized communities of color (Garoute &
McCarthy-Gilmore, 2014; Ssewamala, Sperber, Zimmerman, & Karimli, 2010; Yeneabat & Butterfield, 2012). We selected ABCD as our conceptual framework because it moves away from a “needs-based model” and seeks to amplify community wealth and wisdom through the exploration and elicitation of untapped talents and resources. In other words, this approach values the “capacity, skills, knowledge, connections, and supportive potential” of the community being studied (Harrison et al., 2019, p. 2).

Throughout our study, we considered ABCD’s key criteria, including the framework’s assumptions, methods, mechanisms, and intended outcomes (Table 3; Blickem et al., 2018; Harrison et al., 2019).

Table 3. Key Criteria of ABCD

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ABCD</th>
<th>Foundations and Building Blocks</th>
<th>Method</th>
<th>Purpose</th>
<th>Outcomes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Key Criteria of ABCD</td>
<td>Individual assets; physical assets of the environment; and collective assets, such as communal support systems.</td>
<td>Asset mapping; inventory of personal, physical, and collective assets; and investment from the community.</td>
<td>Engagement with the target population; engagement with political powers; and identifying collective goals.</td>
<td>Improve use of resources; strengthen community relationships; achieve collectively defined goals; and improve positive health.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 3 was adapted from Harrison et al. (2019), cited Blickem et al. (2018)*

Our team used the following three research strategies to explore our research questions (see Table 4). These strategies were adapted from Barbara Israel et al. (1998); Nance Wilson et al. (2008), and the 2012 Policy Link Community-Based Participatory Research report.

Table 4. Research Strategies

**Research Strategies**

**Engage**

1. Follow cultural protocols when engaging with community partners in Sonoma Valley;
2. Develop new and improved partnerships between academic institutions and the Sonoma Valley community in which power is equitably and genuinely shared (e.g., partnership between the University of San Francisco and local community-based organizations [CBOs]);
3. Use rigor, validity, reliability, trust, and inclusion during the research process;

**Understand**

4. Understand the multiple barriers and power imbalances impacting Latinos/X in Sonoma Valley;
5. Focus on local health concerns and ecological perspectives to understand the multiple determinants of health in Sonoma Valley (Policy Link, 2012);
6. Understand issues of social oppression, marginalization, power, and privilege in Sonoma Valley (Policy Link, 2012);
7. Understand how Latino/X attributes of social life, such as social networks, citizen participation, environmental assets, and civic power, can be mobilized for individual and collective wellness in Sonoma Valley;
Take Action

8. Work to build capacity for the assets and systems of support that promote wellness among Latinos/X in Sonoma Valley;
9. Disseminate findings widely to all partners and stakeholders;
10. Aim to increase the control and decision-making power that Latinos/X have over the ways in which services are offered and received; and
11. Work to facilitate culturally informed and sustainable opportunities or programs for Latinos/X to be more engaged, empowered, and socially connected to Sonoma Valley.

Figure 2. Steps to Research Strategies

![STEPS Diagram]

Engage, Understand, Take Action

*Figure 2 shows the research strategies used by the CERT, engage, understand, and take action.*

Pictures Demonstrating Taking Action

*The CERT shares preliminary findings at the 2020 Hanna Institute Summit. (Community-Engaged Research Team, 2020)*

*Dr. Daniela Domínguez discusses the methodology used in this case study at the 2019 Latino Health Forum. (Pocho Sanchez, 2019)*
Section 2
Overview of Sonoma Valley

Known as the birthplace of California’s wine industry, Sonoma Valley makes up the largest portion of the first district in Sonoma County. It is located in the southeastern end of the county and includes the city of Sonoma, Kenwood, Glen Ellen, El Verano, Boyes Hot Springs, Fetters Hot Springs, Agua Caliente, Eldridge, and Temelec. An estimated 40,553 residents live in Sonoma Valley, accounting for 8.1% of the total county population (U.S. Census Bureau, ACS, 5-Year Estimates, 2017) [see Table 5 for population distribution in Sonoma County]. Sonoma Valley’s population is expected to grow to 44,463 by the year 2021 (Sonoma County Economic Development Board, 2017b).

More than 11,000 of those residents live in the city of Sonoma, Sonoma Valley’s only incorporated area (U.S. Census Bureau, ACS, 5-Year Estimates, 2017). Given its incorporated status, Sonoma has a municipal government and “stands as an island of disproportionate benefit” (Allebach, 2019) compared to the unincorporated areas surrounding it. Residents in Sonoma Valley’s unincorporated areas argue that they are more segregated and disadvantaged because they have “less say and power” per voter, as they are governed by Sonoma County (Allebach, 2019). Under county jurisdiction, residents in Sonoma Valley’s unincorporated areas are unable to vote in Sonoma’s city elections or run for its city council, which they believe results in improper and unequal representation in the region.

Figure 3. Maps of Sonoma County and Sonoma Valley

The map to the left shows Sonoma County, which includes Sonoma Valley. The map to the right shows the city of Sonoma, Sonoma Valley’s only incorporated area.
Table 5. Population Distribution in Sonoma County

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Geographic Area</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Percent of Total Sonoma County Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Santa Rosa</td>
<td>217,474</td>
<td>43.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petaluma</td>
<td>73,739</td>
<td>14.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rohnert Park</td>
<td>43,663</td>
<td>8.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sonoma Valley</td>
<td>40,553</td>
<td>8.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sebastopol</td>
<td>34,839</td>
<td>6.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Windsor</td>
<td>29,590</td>
<td>5.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Healdsburg</td>
<td>17,666</td>
<td>3.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russian River Area</td>
<td>13,950</td>
<td>2.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cloverdale and Geyserville</td>
<td>12,460</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5 was adapted from the 2015-2017 Sonoma County Summary Measures of Health Report. To analyze the data, the researchers divided Sonoma County into nine major areas by aggregating zip codes. Sonoma Valley includes the zip codes 95442 and 95476.

Sonoma Valley by Racial & Ethnic Group

Although non-Hispanic White residents remain the largest group in Sonoma Valley, the second largest ethnic and racial group is Latino/X. Currently, 68% of residents in Sonoma Valley are White, 26% are Hispanic or Latino/X, and 2% are Asian (U.S. Census Bureau, ACS, 5-Year Estimates, 2017). Table 6 below identifies the population distribution in Sonoma Valley by racial and ethnic group. Figure 4 shows a slight decline in Sonoma Valley’s population since 2014. The Latino/X population in 2015 was 28%, in 2016 27%, in 2017 26%, and in 2018 26%. Despite the decline, Latinos/X remain the fastest-growing racial and ethnic group in Sonoma Valley.

Table 6. Population Distribution in Sonoma Valley by Race & Ethnicity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Racial &amp; Ethnic Group</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Percent of Total Sonoma Valley Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Non-Hispanic White</td>
<td>27,646</td>
<td>68%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic or Latinos/X</td>
<td>10,448</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian Alone</td>
<td>822</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black or African American Alone</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>&lt;1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Indian and Alaska Native Alone</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>&lt;1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander Alone</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>&lt;1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some Other Race Alone</td>
<td>794</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two or More Races</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Sonoma Valley Population</strong></td>
<td><strong>40,553</strong></td>
<td><strong>40,553</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6 was adapted from the U.S. Census Bureau, 2017 American Community Survey 5-year estimates. For analysis purposes, Sonoma Valley includes the zip codes 95442 and 95476.
Sonoma Valley’s Aging Population

Approximately one in four residents in Sonoma Valley is 65 years or older (Hidden in Plain Sight, 2017), which indicates that the population in Sonoma Valley is “aging” (Sonoma County Economic Development Board, 2017b). Between 2010 and 2016, the population 65 years and older grew from 19.4% to 23.2% (Sonoma County Economic Development Board, 2017b). According to data from the 2017 American Community Survey, of the existing 16,766 households in Sonoma Valley, 54% of them (N = 9026) are households with one or more people 60 years and older. These numbers point to the significant presence of elders in Sonoma Valley households. In Sonoma Valley, Fetters Hot Springs-Agua Caliente has the lowest percentage of those who are 65 years and older. In contrast, Temelec has the largest population percentage 65 years and older. Table 7 below identifies the population 65 years and older by geographic area of Sonoma Valley.

Table 7. Percentage of Population 65+ by Area of Sonoma Valley

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Groups</th>
<th>El Verano</th>
<th>Fetters Hot Springs-Agua Caliente</th>
<th>Boyes Hot Springs</th>
<th>Sonoma City</th>
<th>Kenwood</th>
<th>Glen Ellen</th>
<th>Temelec</th>
<th>Eldridge</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>THE SPRINGS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65-74</td>
<td>6.8%</td>
<td>5.7%</td>
<td>9.7%</td>
<td>16.5%</td>
<td>7.8%</td>
<td>30.2%</td>
<td>30.2%</td>
<td>5.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75-84</td>
<td>5.5%</td>
<td>4.2%</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
<td>7.2%</td>
<td>12.0%</td>
<td>7.8%</td>
<td>25.9%</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85 and over</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
<td>4.9%</td>
<td>4.2%</td>
<td>4.0%</td>
<td>14.1%</td>
<td>3.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Population 65+</td>
<td>13.4%</td>
<td>10.7%</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
<td>28.6%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>70.2%</td>
<td>11.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 7 was adapted from the U.S. Census Bureau, 2017 American Community Survey 5-year estimates.*
Next, we briefly discuss “The Springs,” a geographic region within Sonoma Valley where the majority of Latinos/X live.

“The Springs”

The geographic region of “The Springs” is located north of the city of Sonoma. “The Springs” consists of El Verano, Fetters Hot Springs-Agua Caliente, and Boyes Hot Springs (Sonoma County Economic Development Board, 2017b). This area has the highest concentration of poverty for families with children in the entire Sonoma Valley (Sonoma County Economic Development Board, 2017b). Within this geographic region, Fetters Hot Springs-Agua Caliente is particularly disadvantaged with a median household income of $55,250, a poverty rate of 20.2%, and an unemployment rate of 35.6%. In contrast, El Verano has the highest median household income ($88,304) and the lowest poverty rate within the area (1.1%). Compared to White residents in the same geographic area, Latinos/X living in “The Springs” fall behind in education, earned income, and access to health care (A Portrait of Sonoma County, 2014). Table 8 outlines the educational attainment, median household income, poverty rate, and employment rate of residents in “The Springs.”

![Map of Sonoma Valley’s Geographic Regions](image)

*Figure 5. Map of Sonoma Valley’s Geographic Regions*

“The Springs” consists of El Verano, Fetters Hot Springs-Agua Caliente, and Boyes Hot Springs (pink areas).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Springs Area (Unincorporated)</th>
<th>Educational Attainment (High School +)</th>
<th>Median Household Income</th>
<th>Poverty Rate</th>
<th>Employment Rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>El Verano</td>
<td>88.7%</td>
<td>$88,304</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
<td>63.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fetters Hot Springs-Agua Caliente</td>
<td>67.8%</td>
<td>$55,250</td>
<td>20.2%</td>
<td>64.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boyes Hot Springs</td>
<td>75.8%</td>
<td>$63,698</td>
<td>8.6%</td>
<td>68.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Springs Average</strong></td>
<td>77.4%</td>
<td><strong>$69,084</strong></td>
<td><strong>9.97%</strong></td>
<td><strong>65.43%</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Versus Incorporated</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City of Sonoma</td>
<td>91.4%</td>
<td>$76,964</td>
<td>10.4%</td>
<td>56.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8 was adapted from the U.S. Census Bureau, 2017 American Community Survey 5-year estimates.
Next, we address the history of Latinos/X in the region. We do this to show both how Sonoma Valley’s history and today’s Latino/X population have been shaped by each other over time.

**Mexican History in Sonoma Valley**

On July 4, 1823, 25 years before Sonoma Valley and the rest of California became part of the United States as a result of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, soldiers and missionaries established Mission San Francisco de Solano in Sonoma Valley, the last Spanish mission built in California by Franciscan padres (Demler, 2017). Under an independent Mexican government, Father José Altimira founded Sonoma’s mission, which later was secularized and transformed into a parish in 1834. Following the orders of Gov. José Figueroa, Lt. Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo turned the mission into a Mexican pueblo with active trade and commerce and an eight-acre plaza (The Mexican Mission, 2019). When the Mexican-American War ended in 1848, California was transferred formally to the United States. A large Mexican population remained, keeping its culture, talent, and creativity.

The early and mid-1900s witnessed a relatively open flow of migration from Mexico to the United States (Palmer, 2019). Mexicans fleeing the 1910 Mexican Civil War and families pursuing better wages and economic opportunities migrated to the U.S. which increased the Mexican population across the country, including Sonoma Valley. After the mass expatriation of an estimated 2 million Mexicans during the 1930s, the U.S. government in 1942 implemented the Bracero program, allowing Mexican migrants to fill temporary jobs in growing agricultural industries. The demand for Mexican labor was exacerbated by the U.S. involvement in World War II from 1939 to 1945. In addition, Mexican migrants helped with the rapid expansion of vineyard acreage and the viticulture industry in Sonoma Valley (Palmer, 2019; Lawrence, 2005).

The area’s growing Mexican population has played an important role in Sonoma Valley’s culture and its reputation as a premier wine-growing region (Lawrence, 2005). Rigoberto, one of Sonoma Valley’s vineyard owners, explained:

> Many people do not know what the Braceros were ... In 1940, with World War II, the United States ran out of manpower because they all went to defend the homeland. We were invited by the authorities of the United States to come and rescue agriculture, and they gave us the name of “Braceros.” Braceros means strong arms that came to work hard, to rescue agriculture and help the economy ... The economy got better because of the Mexican workforce.
> -Rigoberto, Sonoma Valley resident (Male), 67 years old
Generations of Latino/X families have lived in Sonoma Valley since the establishment of Mission San Francisco de Solano, resulting in the growth of an active, dynamic, and large Latino/X community in the region. Today, Sonoma Valley Latino/X residents consist of U.S. citizens, legal permanent residents, undocumented individuals, temporary migrants, asylum-seekers, mixed-immigration status families, and LGBTQIA+ families.

**Sonoma Valley’s Latino/X Population**

Latinos/X move fluidly, in and out of the borderlands — from Spanish to English, from English to Spanglish, from la casa [home] to los viñedos [vineyards], from mother to babysitter, from student to professional, from the margins of society to comunidad [community].

The significant presence of Latinos/X has changed Sonoma Valley’s society and workforce. Employment in farming, service work, construction, and sales is filled mostly by Latinos/X (Sonoma County Economic Development Board, 2017a). Organizations and businesses targeting the Latino/X community are shaping the culture and livelihood of Sonoma Valley. Local businesses include Mexican restaurants (e.g., Mi Ranchito, Picazo) and bakeries (e.g., Little Maya Bakery), as well as Spanish-language news and advertising organizations (e.g., La Prensa Sonoma) and Latino/X-owned businesses (e.g., Robledo Family Winery). Numerous cultural groups are invested in the creation of Latino/X art, music (e.g., banda, mariachi, boleros, cumbias), and dance (e.g., Quetzalén and Grupo Folklórico El Verano).

**Latinos/X by Gender, Citizenship Status, & Heritage**

Approximately a quarter of Sonoma Valley residents are Latino/X (26%); 54% of them identify as male \((N = 5,637)\) and 46% identify as female \((N = 4,811)\). Just under half of Latinos/X in Sonoma Valley were born outside of the U.S. \((47%; N = 4,946)\) and 37% of the total Latino/X population are non-citizens \((N = 3,891)\) [U.S. Census Bureau, ACS, 5-Year Estimates, 2017]. Table 9 identifies the Latino/X non-citizen population by age group and gender.

**Table 9. Citizenship Status by Age and Gender in Latino/X Population**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Total Population of Latino/X Non-Citizens</th>
<th>Percent of Total Latino/X Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under 18 (Male)</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>1.44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 Years and Over (Male)</td>
<td>1,983</td>
<td>18.98%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 18 (Female)</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>1.41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 Years and Over (Female)</td>
<td>1,611</td>
<td>15.41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Non-Citizen Population</strong></td>
<td><strong>3,891</strong></td>
<td><strong>37.24%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 9 was adapted from the U.S. Census Bureau, 2017 American Community Survey 5-year estimates. For analysis purposes, Sonoma Valley includes the zip codes 95442 and 95476.*
Although approximately 86% of the total Sonoma Valley Latino/X population is of Mexican descent (N = 8,982), there is also an important representation from Central America (2.8%; N = 292), South America (4.1%; N = 427) Puerto Rico (1.6%; N = 170), and other Hispanic or Latino/X heritages (5.5%; N = 574) (U.S. Census Bureau, ACS, 5-Year Estimates, 2017). Figure 5 identifies heritage across Sonoma Valley and Table 10 identifies heritage by geographic area of Sonoma Valley. Latino/X representation appears to be most significant in Fetters Hot Springs-Agua Caliente, where 56.5% of the population identifies as Latino/X. 54.3% of Latinos/X in Fetters Hot-Springs-Agua Caliente identify as Mexican.

### Table 10. Latino/X Heritage by Geographic Region

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Latino/X Heritage by Geographic Area</th>
<th>El Verano</th>
<th>Fetters Hot Springs-Agua Caliente</th>
<th>Boyes Hot Springs</th>
<th>Sonoma City</th>
<th>Kenwood</th>
<th>Glen Ellen</th>
<th>Temecula</th>
<th>Eldridge</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>THE SPRINGS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexican</td>
<td>20.6%</td>
<td>54.3%</td>
<td>43.1%</td>
<td>9.3%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>4.7%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puerto Rican</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0.9%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cuban</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Hispanic or Latino</td>
<td>4.1%</td>
<td>2.2%</td>
<td>3.2%</td>
<td>4.2%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>4.4%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Latino Population by Area</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>56.5%</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>14.40%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>4.7%</td>
<td>4.4%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10 was adapted from the U.S. Census Bureau, 2017 American Community Survey 5-year estimates. To analyze the data, we used data from zip codes 95442 and 95476.
Latino/X Families

Sonoma Valley Latino/X families are younger and have more children compared to White families (Sonoma County Economic Development Board, 2017b). Household compositions among Latinos/X in the region are diverse, and they include single-headed households with children; unmarried couples; two-parent homes; multiple families living together; children raised by grandparents, siblings, aunts, and uncles; LGBTQIA+ families; and extended nuclear families. In Sonoma Valley, 81% of Latinos/X speak Spanish at home (N = 8,447) and 41% of the total Latino/X population endorsed speaking English less than “very well” (N = 4,318) [U.S. Census Bureau, ACS, 5-Year Estimates, 2017].

Participants in our case study reported that the 2017 wildfires, coupled with depressing wages, have caused an increase in shared households among Latino/X families. In addition, they indicated that economic hardship and women’s workforce employment has contributed to flexible family and gender roles.
**Latino/X Youth & Students: The Fastest Growing Population**

In Sonoma Valley, 33% (N = 3,431) of Latinos/X are 19 years old or younger; 52.95% of them identify as male (N = 1,817) and 47% as female (N = 1,614). They represent the fastest-growing segment of Sonoma Valley’s population (see Table 11 for age population distribution) [U.S. Census Bureau, ACS, 5-Year Estimates, 2017]. In the Sonoma Valley Unified School District, nearly 60% of the 3,873 students identify as Latino/X and just over 29% are English learners (California Department of Education, 2019-20). The district’s El Verano Elementary School enrolls 372 children in kindergarten through fifth grade; more than 79% are Latino/X and 63% are English learners (California Department of Education, 2019-20). It is important for teachers to understand Latino/X students’ challenges, along with the assets that they draw on to overcome them.

![Image: Graduating seniors from the Hanna Boys Center. (Hanna Boys Center, 2019)](image)

**Table 11. Age Population Distribution Among Latino/X Children and Youth in Sonoma Valley**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Groups</th>
<th>Total Latino/X Population</th>
<th>Percent of Total Latino/X Population in SV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under 5 years</td>
<td>897</td>
<td>8.58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 to 9 years</td>
<td>824</td>
<td>7.88%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 to 14 years</td>
<td>1,006</td>
<td>9.62%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 to 17 years</td>
<td>359</td>
<td>3.43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 and 19 years</td>
<td>345</td>
<td>3.30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Latino/X Youth 19 and Under</td>
<td>3,431</td>
<td>32.83%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 11 was adapted from the U.S. Census Bureau, 2017 American Community Survey 5-year estimates. To analyze the data, we used data from zip codes 95442 and 95476.*

**An Aging Population**

In Sonoma Valley, 4.47% of Latinos/X are 65 and older (N = 467); 54.18% of them identify as male (N = 253) and 45.82% (N = 214) as female [U.S. Census Bureau, ACS, 5-Year Estimates, 2017]. Figure 8 shows the 65+ population by age and gender with blue colors representing males and orange colors representing females (U.S. Census Bureau, ACS, 5-Year Estimates, 2017).
The average life expectancy of Latinos/X in Sonoma County exceeds that of all other ethnic and racial groups (County of Sonoma, 2019). In Sonoma County, Latinos/X live six to seven years longer than American Indian/Alaska Native, African American, and non-Hispanic White residents (County of Sonoma, 2019).

Previous research suggests that Latino/X older adults “are more likely to live with and be financially dependent on their adult children, and less likely to rely on hospices and nursing homes in comparison with non-Latino White older adults” (Chavez-Korell et al., p. 259). With this in mind, facilitating additional support for families supporting their elderly family members and strengthening special care facilities with bilingual and bicultural services will be critically necessary to adequately treat a growing elderly population (A Portrait of Sonoma County, 2014).

Candido, a Sonoma Valley resident, expressed a desire to see a facility where Latino/X elders can learn, play, and relax.

*For me, I would love to see a club for seniors in Sonoma Valley, a place where we [Latino/X seniors] could forget about our financial or health concerns. I would like that personally ... I would love a place where I could walk with others, do yoga, play domino — a place where I could keep stress away.*

*Candido, Sonoma Valley resident (Male), 66 years old*

**Figure 8. Latino/X Population in Sonoma Valley by Age & Gender**

65+ population by age and gender. Blue colors representing males and orange colors representing females U.S. Census Bureau, 2017 American Community Survey 5-year estimates.
LGBTQIA+ Latinos/X

An estimated 52,000 LGBTQ (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer) residents live in Sonoma and Napa counties (Latino Service Providers, 2019). Despite the progress made by Sonoma Valley community members in recognizing LGBTQIA+ (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer, Intersex, Asexual, and more) identities and relationships, addressing the intersection of Latino/X cultural values and LGBTQIA+ identity remains an important area of growth. Sonoma Valley risks perpetuating the invisibility of LGBTQIA+ Latinos/X if the intersectionality of queer identities continues to be unaddressed. LGBTQIA+ Latino/X individuals are a vulnerable population because their ethnic, racial, sexual/gender identities are marginalized. In the case of undocumented LGBTQIA+ Latinos, their immigration status places them in a state of “triple jeopardy” (Duarte, 2016). Language barriers and racism inside LGBTQIA+ groups may deter a sense of belonging for Latinos/X in the LGBTQIA+ Sonoma Valley community. Adding to this stress, Latinos/X often experience a loss of support from family, church, and friends because of their sexual and gender identities (Domínguez, 2015).

JC, a self-identified trans-participant, appeared cautious and concerned while responding to our questions on identity. Her reaction may be the result of the gender discrimination and transphobia she has encountered. She asked:

*I'm curious about why you are asking about sexual orientation and gender identity. Can I ask why that's part of this research?*

-JC, Sonoma Valley resident (Trans Woman), 18 years old

During the data collection phase of our study, the CERT witnessed a variety of reactions from non-LGBTQIA+ Latino/X participants to our questions on sexual and gender identities. Some participants expressed support for the use of more inclusive and affirming gender and sexual identity terminology, while others expressed unfamiliarity or discomfort with our questions. These reactions may point to the ways in which society has reinforced binary ways of looking at gender and heteronormative assumptions about sexuality. For example, Paquita stated:

*I don't understand why you are asking about multiple genders. Clearly, there are only supposed to be two genders. There are men and women. That should be it.*

-Paquita, Sonoma Valley resident (Female), 61 years old

LGBTQIA+ Latinos/X benefit from community support and spaces that are inclusive of their sexual and gender identity. Sonoma Valley currently offers limited resources for LGBTQIA+ individuals. LGBTQ Connections is currently offering a “Best Practices Training” for supporting the LGBTQIA+ community and support to LGBTQIA+ students at Sonoma Valley High School. Resources are provided in English and Spanish.
Section 3
Adversities and Challenges Impacting Latinos/X

Figure 9. Adversities

- Socioeconomic Hardship
- Medically Underserved
- Living Unincorporated
- Impacted by Fires
- Undocumented and Uninsured
- Anti-Immigrant Sentiments
- Lower Educational Attainment
- Leadership Underrepresentation
Adversities and Challenges Impacting Latinos/X

Despite their contributions to the local economy, cultural richness, and success of the viticulture and service industries of the region, Latinos/X are disadvantaged due to inequities that stratify their social position in Sonoma Valley society. This includes but is not limited to: racism; classism; and anti-immigrant sentiments. A combination of factors that include unaffordable and substandard housing, socioeconomic challenges, low educational attainment, and limited access to health and human services work to undermine their well-being. Latinos/X often live in the unincorporated areas of Sonoma Valley, are undocumented and uninsured, and are underrepresented in leadership roles, which further exacerbates the stressful conditions. Many also continue to experience the detrimental effects of the 2017 Northern California wildfires. Moreover, aggressive immigration enforcement practices have created a climate of fear, pushing some to isolation. We discuss this combination of factors in detail.

Housing Concerns & Socioeconomic Challenges

Participants in our study identified unaffordable, overcrowded, and inaccessible housing as a major source of stress that adversely influences their well-being. “Unaffordable housing” was frequently cited as their most significant life challenge. They explained that it is increasingly difficult for them to become homeowners, which they understood as placing them at risk for potential residential displacement. Participants reported that they are sometimes forced to adapt to substandard housing conditions and live with roommates or other families to overcome elevated housing costs. Participants, like Sandra, reported feeling consumed by a combination of rising housing costs and stagnant wages. She shared:

*I believe that Latinos need accessible housing because it is impossible to afford it. It is ridiculous to aspire to buy a house. I do not understand why the housing crisis is at this level. I don’t know what is special about the houses here that makes them so expensive ... Unaffordable housing affects too much in many ways: our well-being, stress, taking time to go out with the family because you cannot afford it. That is not okay.*
- Sandra, Sonoma Valley resident (Female), 43 years old

Participants worry that gentrification and the increased number of vacation homes in Sonoma Valley will continue to displace working-class Latino/X residents, taking with them their culture as well. Xochitl, a Sonoma Valley resident, stated that residents in “The Springs” feel that the “spirit” of the barrio is changing. She explained that for renters, not having a sense of permanence, being at the mercy of landlords, and seeing friends, family, and artists moving out of their neighborhood interferes with their ability to feel “rooted.” She added that while gentrification is often talked about across Sonoma Valley, Latinos/X do not feel that local officials are “doing enough” to offer housing options for a range of income levels. She shared:

*Right now we are going through major displacement. With all these increases in housing costs and the fires [from 2017], people cannot afford living here. Yes, they want to, and they continue to work here, but they have to move to places like Vallejo. Many people, for example, moved to Rohnert Park in 2013. I am fearful because it is getting very difficult. There is an entire concentration of Latinos between the McDonald’s that is here on 12 and Agua Caliente,*
but nobody owns their house. So it is very easy for that identity of the Latino barrio to disappear because if nobody owns it, if Latinos do not own a house, then how does it maintain its identity?
-Xochitl, Sonoma Valley resident (Female), 55 years old

This ominous threat of displacement pressures participants to take on multiple jobs or work long shifts in order to survive financially. Residents reported these mounting economic challenges as impacting their ability to actively participate in the local community, wellness, and civic engagement opportunities. Participants pointed to economic disparities as determining who has the privilege to participate and use their voice and power in local politics. They perceived White residents to be “the privileged” group whose economic security rewards them with increased time and social capital for civic engagement.

Participants across all age groups reported stress due to socioeconomic challenges. In the case of elders, concerns around staying financially afloat upon retirement were evident. For Eduardo, the realities of his family’s low income, living paycheck to paycheck, and high rental costs pressure him to consider delaying retirement. He is concerned that he may outlive his retirement savings and thus struggle to pay out-of-pocket medical costs once retired. It is difficult for Eduardo to understand why he continues to struggle financially after years of being a loyal and productive employee. He stated:

Sonoma is not good for the elderly who are hoping to retire because the retirement they’re going to give you is too low to afford living in Sonoma. Rent for a one-bedroom or two-bedroom apartment is approximately $1,995. Let’s just estimate that it may be $2,000 with utilities. In fact, we [Eduardo and his wife] went to do an evaluation with a financial advisor because I am currently planning for my retirement, and he’s telling me, “You or your wife are going to need to keep working because the government is going to give you $1,200 or maybe less.” With that money, with $1,200 per month, I cannot afford paying rent. I would need to live under a bridge and use the $1,200 for food and clothing.
-Eduardo, Sonoma Valley resident (Male), 56 years old

Children and youth are also impacted by economic adversities. As a community that strongly values family unity, Latino/X parents fear that long workdays could deteriorate parent-child bonds and have negative developmental outcomes in children. Reflecting on her childhood, Martha explained how experiencing parental absence was painful for her growing up. She shared:

[I was] just honing into my identity, too, of being Latina and having a lot of - like owning all the beauty of who I am but at the same time acknowledging all the pain that comes with the fact that my dad had to work very hard. That’s true, and that’s beautiful, and it’s made me resilient, but he was also not there for us very often because his job was demanding. He drank alcohol every so often to deal with that.
-Martha, Sonoma Valley community leader (Female), 33 years old

Parents said they would like to spend more time with their children, but are often pressured to work long shifts to ensure their family’s economic “sobrevivencia”  [survival]. Sandra indicated that she has seen children in her community engage in “numbing behaviors,” which she referred to as eating sugary snacks to cope with the parental absence experienced. She stated:
There is also a lot of loneliness in our children because mom and dad work all day to send money to Mexico and/or to have a basic standard of living. Our children are alone for many hours and, for example, food is sometimes how they compensate for this absence ... The palate or the sweet taste in our mouth gives us pleasure, so “if mom and dad are not home and there is no one to take care of me, then I might as well fill that emptiness with food and sweeten my life.”

-Sandra, Sonoma Valley resident (Female), 43 years old

Xochitl, Eduardo, Martha, and Sandra’s experiences confirm earlier research that points to the socioeconomic challenges Latinos/X face. Table 12 summarizes findings from previous reports on the socioeconomic challenges that Latinos/X experience. We next focus on the challenges experienced by Latinos/X when accessing health care services.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 12. Previous Research on Socioeconomic Challenges</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- In <strong>Sonoma County</strong>, White residents have the highest average income ($36,647 annually), followed by Asian Americans ($32,495), African Americans ($31,213), and Latinos/X ($21,695) (A Portrait of Sonoma County, 2014).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- In <strong>Sonoma Valley</strong>, the poverty rate for Latinos/X (19%) is 15 percentage points higher than for Whites (4%) (Sonoma County Economic Development Board, 2017b).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- In <strong>Sonoma Valley</strong>, over 83% of homeowners are White (non-Latino), while fewer than 11% of homeowners are Latino/X residents (Sonoma County Economic Development Board, 2017b).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**A Medically Underserved Community**

Sonoma Valley is designated by the “Health Resources and Services Administration” as a Medically Underserved Population (MUP) and a Health Professional Shortage Area (HPSA). The serious shortage of health care providers and resources is evidenced by the fact that for every 10,000 individuals, residents have access to 1 family physician, 0.25 psychiatrists, 0.7 mental health providers, and 2.3 nurses (De Jong, 2019). This shortage of providers and limited Spanish-speaking and culturally informed practitioners force Latino/X families to underuse, delay care, or travel to nearby cities (i.e., Santa Rosa, Petaluma, Napa, or San Francisco) to receive services. The provider shortage creates additional barriers for Latinos/X who may need staff and providers to explain difficult health care eligibility requirements and health service applications.

Latinos/X in Sonoma Valley have the highest uninsured rate among any racial or ethnic group, with only 35% of Latino/X residents covered by health insurance (Sonoma County Economic Development Board, 2017b). Their low or lack of health insurance coverage is associated with multiple factors, including working jobs without employer-sponsored medical insurance or eligibility limitations due to their undocumented immigrant status.
Uninsured participants, including those in need of emergency care, often struggle with high medical costs. Eduardo explained the stress he experienced as he came to terms with the fact that his health insurance plan did not cover the medical services his wife received.

*Here in Sonoma Valley, the concerns of Latinos include not having medical insurance because it is very expensive ... My wife, for example, had a stomachache, and I took her to the hospital. They had me there for two or three hours in the emergency room. When the doctor arrived to take care of my wife, the pain was gone. Yet, the doctor charged me $280, and the hospital charged me $2,500 for the room. They told me that the insurance she had did not cover the services she received.*

- Eduardo, Sonoma Valley resident (Male), 56 years old.

Carolina shared that due to the shortage of pediatric specialists her family has to travel every week to San Francisco to receive services for her son.

*Sonora does not have a lot of specialized pediatric services. My son is seen for [confidential medical concern] at [hospital in San Francisco]. He’s been seen there since he was three. We’re traveling to San Francisco a lot ... Mental health [services] is another thing that is difficult to find in Sonoma. When I was trying to find a therapist for my children, a child therapist for them, play-based, we couldn’t find any. We had to go back to San Francisco to get some.*

- Carolina, Sonoma Valley resident (Female), 34 years old.

Access to care is even more difficult for Latino/X residents who do not own a vehicle due to economic hardship. Some of our undocumented participants reported feeling afraid to drive because of possible interaction with law enforcement, which can heighten detection and thus the likelihood of deportation. To avoid being deported, some residents instead use public transportation; however, tight busing schedules can often make planned health care visits more difficult (Sonoma County Community Health Needs Assessment, 2016). For residents living in unincorporated areas, limited public transportation and other public services may pose increased challenges, as discussed next.

**Residents Living Unincorporated**

Most Latinos/X in Sonoma Valley live in unincorporated areas (see Section 2 of the report). Participants reported that Sonoma Valley’s unincorporated areas are at times neglected, overlooked, left out of local decision-making, and face more limited access to public transportation and services. Enrique, a community leader working in “The Springs,” explained the challenges of this geographic area being unincorporated:

*This area is unincorporated, so our center of power, the (Sonoma County) supervisor who runs this area, is in Santa Rosa. The fact that we even have sidewalks on Highway 12, and lights, that is new. That’s within [the last] five years. If we were a city, we would have a structural mechanism to expedite that effort. Issues that are Springs-specific don’t really get addressed at that level. Decisions that may benefit “The Springs” area have to be approved by the other [four county supervisors]. We got to get them people on board to support our efforts to benefit “The Springs” area.*

- Enrique, Sonoma Valley resident (Male), 57 years old.
Spanish-speaking Latinos/X living in unincorporated areas are less likely to receive adequate health care and social services due to the limited supply of bilingual and bicultural professionals (Sonoma County Community Health Needs Assessment, 2016). Agencies that serve the Latino/X community, such as La Luz Center, Nuestra Voz, the Boys and Girls Clubs of Sonoma Valley, and the Sonoma Valley Community Health Center, are in need of additional funding to recruit and hire more staff who can adequately attend to the needs of monolingual Spanish-speakers. We focus next on the challenges Latinos/X experienced as a result of the devastating 2017 Northern California wildfires.

**A Community Exposed to Wildfires**

In October 2017, the speed, size, and the erratic nature of the Northern California wildfires destroyed property and displaced residents across Sonoma County (Watershed Emergency Response Team, 2017). Previous research reported on stories about how Sonoma County residents fled in the middle of the night, received short notices to evacuate, and were temporarily or permanently displaced from their homes. Many of these residents sought temporary housing in local shelters and with friends or family (Dominguez & Yeh, 2018), while others looked for refuge on the beaches of Sonoma County. Monica explained that although she was not displaced by the fires, she remains hypervigilant and feels the need to closely monitor weather maps to “ensure [her] safety.” She shared:

> Since the fires, I constantly look at different maps of Sonoma to monitor all areas and the weather. I do that all the time.
> -Monica, Sonoma Valley resident (Female), 44 years old

Stress responses like the one experienced by Monica are not uncommon among residents exposed to wildfires. Previous disaster-related literature has found that events involving massive destruction, economic loss, relocation, health concerns, and threats to a person’s sense of safety and normalcy are likely to give rise to a wide range of stress responses (Norris et al., 2002) and mental health problems (Kulig, Townshend, Botey, & Shepard, 2017; McDermott, Lee, Judd, & Gibbon, 2005; Papadatou et al., 2012).

Research suggests that undocumented Latinos/X experienced more limited access to support and recovery resources (Dominguez & Yeh, 2018) during and after the 2017 wildfires. Limited access to support is due, in part, to some undocumented Latinos/X being unable to take advantage of Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) cash assistance programs because of FEMA’s citizenship and immigration requirements. Jacqueline Martinez Garcel, the chief executive officer of the Latino Community Foundation, explained: “Natural disasters do not discriminate but the societies they impact do. We cannot simply restore what has been lost in the North Bay — we must reimagine and rebuild a more equitable and just society for the families that have been the backbone of the economy but who have yet to fully benefit from the fruit of their labor” (Press Release, Latino Community Foundation, 2018).

Aware of the limitations to services that Latinos/X experienced in the aftermath of the fires, community-based organizations offered immediate recovery support to underserved communities, including
to Latino/X and undocumented residents. With funding from the Latino Community Foundation, La Luz Center offered direct services, case management, and financial assistance to provide disaster relief and recovery. Undocumented and uninsured Latinos/X experience additional adverse situations that are unique to their immigration status, which may result in their lower health outcomes, as discussed next.

A Population with Undocumented & Uninsured Communities

Undocumented Latino/X adults encounter unique barriers when accessing services because they are unable to enroll in tax credits, federal subsidies (e.g., Medicaid and CHIP), and Federal Emergency Management Agency cash assistance programs (Tveten, 2017). Thus, it is unsurprising that adult undocumented immigrants are more likely to be uninsured, underutilize services, and have lower health outcomes compared to residents of comparable age (The Sonoma County Remaining Uninsured Study, 2017; California Future Health Workforce Commission, 2019).

Considering that undocumented individuals often experience traumatic experiences before, during, and after migration, it is important for affordable and culturally informed services to be available for those experiencing stress and mental health concerns, including depression, anxiety, and post-traumatic stress disorder. Candido explained that it is stressful to seek health and human services as an uninsured and undocumented individual. He shared:

*The last time I went to the clinic, it hurt and stressed me when the receptionist asked, “How will you pay today?” I didn’t have insurance back then, even though I was already employed. So I would tell them, “No, well, I don’t have insurance.” Seeking services is very difficult when you do not qualify for Medicaid.*

*Candido, Sonoma Valley resident (Male), 66 years old*

While all children in California are eligible for Medi-Cal, undocumented immigrants no longer qualify once they turn 19. For this group, their access to health care services is segmented to low-cost care through community health centers and local organizations. Often, “these services are limited to preventive and primary care, leaving undocumented Latinos/X with challenges in accessing specialty services” (Artiga & Diaz, 2019). The Sonoma Valley Community Health Center (SVCHC) serves uninsured, underinsured, and monolingual Spanish-speakers in the region. Our research suggests that Latinos/X frequently rely on SVCHC for health care services (see Section 4 for a description of the resources that Latinos/X frequently rely on).

In addition to concerns around being uninsured or underinsured, participants endorsed fear of immigration enforcement as a significant source of stress, as discussed next.

A Community Impacted by Anti-Immigrant Sentiments & Immigration Enforcement

Other threats to undocumented residents include anti-immigrant sentiments and the Trump administration’s strict immigration enforcement practices (Artiga & Diaz, 2019). Anti-immigrant sentiments include the notion that migrants take jobs away from American citizens, pose security threats, and place a
tax burden on Sonoma Valley due to the cost of immigrants accessing public services (Domínguez, 2019). These messages have intensified the climate of fear among immigrant families and Latinos/X.

Mayuca spoke about her fear of White supremacy groups, racism, and violence against Latino/X communities, especially after the development of recent hate crimes against Latinos/X in the U.S. She said:

**Right now I am dealing with sadness related to the racism and shootings that recently took place [referring to the 2019 El Paso shootings]. Sometimes, I just can’t feel at peace or can’t leave home because I worry about my safety. Honestly, it is very sad.**

-Mayuca, Sonoma Valley resident (Female), 43 years old

Concerns around exposure to anti-immigrant sentiments, such as the concerns expressed by Mayuca, places Latinos/X at risk for “psychological distress and diminished quality of life as a result of the many complex stressors they face, which are often experienced over an extended period, under harsh living conditions, and without access to adequate mental health services” (Garcini et al., 2017, p. 2).

In addition to anti-immigrant sentiments, participants reported feeling afraid of stricter immigration enforcement practices, including raids, expedited deportation proceedings, and arbitrary removals. Scholars suggest that immigration raids targeting homes often are based on racial profiling, which “can accelerate the stress and fear experienced by immigrant populations, potentially impacting the Latino[X] community’s mental health and overall well-being” (Ayón, Marsiglia, & Bermudez-Parsai, 2010, p. 743). If family members are deported, family separation may disrupt close family ties (Domínguez, 2015), devastate entire family systems, lead to housing instability (Koball et al., 2015), and force family members to navigate confusing, costly, and emotionally draining legal processes (e.g., working with attorneys, immigration officers, and judges).

With the fear of detention and deportation in mind, Cristobal said he feels desperate and intimidated when he watches news related to the use of “aggressive” immigration enforcement practices. He shared:

**I am dealing with the fear of immigration [agents] knocking on my door. I feel desperate when I am watching the news and hear about how much Latinos are suffering right now. Right now we are hanging by a thread, and we feel intimidated.**

-Cristobal, Sonoma Valley resident (Male), 48 years old

To cope with this fear and to better understand immigrants’ rights, some Latinos/X are participating in “know-your-rights” workshops. Carolina, a Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) recipient, described her concerns around facing deportation and being separated from her children. She stated:

**We attended some immigration workshops. We have everything in line because we fear we are going to get deported. We fear that DACA recipients are going to be the first ones to be deported because they have all our information, and then my husband will probably be next. We have the custody forms — We already have assigned people that would take care of our kids because we don’t want them to go into the [foster care] system if parents are deported.**
- Carolina, Sonoma Valley resident (Female), 34 years old

Although aggressive immigration enforcement practices are not routinely utilized in Sonoma Valley, these fears remain and are present among undocumented communities and mixed-immigration status families, which may make them “susceptible to psychological, physiological, and behavioral problems” (Domínguez, 2019, p. 56).

In some cases, children may feel responsible for protecting family members against detention and deportation (Gonzales & Chavez, 2012). Even if children are citizens at birth, their undocumented parent(s) or family members can be deported. Fearing these removals, children may feel dread about the future (Sulkowski, 2017; Yoshikawa, Suárez-Orozco, & Gonzales, 2016) and anxiety (Potochnick & Perreira, 2010). They also may experience academic underperformance (Brabeck, Sibley, Taubin, & Murcia, 2015), depression, and withdrawal (Landale, Hardie, Oropesa, & Hillemeier, 2015). Previous research suggests it is not uncommon for children of undocumented parents to experience frequent crying, anxiety, fear, withdrawal, anger, aggressive behavior, and changes in diet and sleep after a deportation event (Brabeck, Lykes, & Hunter, 2014).

Dr. Christina Sullivan, pediatrician at the Sonoma Valley Community Health Center (SVCHC), shared that this stress is manifesting in the physical and psychological well-being of her 3-to 17-year-old Latino/X patients. According to Dr. Sullivan, undocumented children, children from mixed-status families, and children with friends or attachments to undocumented community members are exhibiting an array of symptoms, including headaches, stomach pain, appetite changes, nightmares, difficulty concentrating, noise sensitivity, and developmental regressions, such as bedwetting. Our findings are consistent with research conducted in San Diego and the San Francisco Bay Area by the Kaiser Family Foundation (Artiga & Diaz, 2019). Researchers at Kaiser found that the immigration-enforcement policies and political environment under President Trump have “substantially increased fear and uncertainty among immigrant families, leading to negative effects on families and growing pressures on local organizations and communities” (Artiga & Diaz, 2019, p. 1). Next, we discuss lower educational attainment among Sonoma Valley’s Latino/X population.

Residents Impacted by Lower Educational Attainment

Participants in our study reported concerns around lower educational attainment among Latinos/X when compared to White residents. Sonoma Valley Latinos/X attributed their lower educational attainment to language barriers, literacy concerns, the high cost of higher education, and limited opportunities for mentorship and vocational guidance from parents or individuals in higher education or professional roles. They claimed that their lower educational attainment contributes to their lower-income and limited professional opportunities. Esperanza shared her concern about the limited Latino/X student representation in high ranking universities. She stated:

*I think we need help with our youth. Parents here, we are able to provide the basics like food and housing, but in reality, we do not have time to offer our children academic support... Also, I feel that Hispanics do not have...*
representation. We get stuck in high school. I was reading the newspaper about how few Hispanic people are going to college. It gives me the chills … Also, why are such few Hispanics going to universities with high rankings?
- Esperanza, Sonoma Valley resident (Female), 34 years old

Participants reported that mentorship, guidance, and academic and emotional support for Latino/X youth is especially important given the hostile learning environments that Latinos/X sometimes encounter. Some participants in our study discussed experiencing microaggressions, self-segregation in their school, and discriminatory and racist remarks from White students. According to participants, biased remarks were perpetrated by some educators as well, which made them feel vulnerable to discrimination. Thus, participants endorsed difficulties adjusting to school and chose to socialize with other Latinos/X to feel safer. Damian, a Sonoma Valley resident who self-identified as “mixed” (Latino/X and White), spoke about the ways in which he served as a bridge between both racial student groups. He said:

I was someone who would float between both [White and Latino/X students] ... There was self-segregation in the school. Latino-identified folks would get together and be together ... that I think is one of the survival mechanisms and the strengths of the Latino community ... that self-segregation and creation of spaces where they feel comfortable, they feel reaffirmed, they feel like a replication, for lack of a better word, of home.
-Damian, Sonoma Valley resident (Male), 25 years old

Participants indicated that discrimination based on race contributed to negative academic experiences that made them feel undervalued by their school community. Melvin, a Sonoma Valley youth mentor, also spoke about the “cultural divide” between White and Latino/X students in high school and the need for Latino/X culture to be represented in school activities. He believed that this would improve student belonging at school and their participation in school programs. He shared:

Looking at the high school, I know that there’s a pretty big divide with the [White and Latino/X] students. When they had their first dance last year, they [Latinos/X] said it was an “all White dance.” They [the DJ] didn’t play any music for both crowds. When they did play one or two songs in Spanish, there was a lot of booing and stuff [from other students] ... They [Latinos/X] also feel like they don’t have support from adults in the school because they are always seen as the ones getting into trouble all the time, and they feel like they’re being targeted just because of predetermined stereotypes.
-Melvin, Sonoma Valley resident and youth mentor (Male), 28 years old

Participants indicated that organizations working with children and youth, like the Boys and Girls Clubs of Sonoma Valley, are a “blessing” to the Latino/X community. Previous reports suggest that while Latino/X educational attainment has traditionally lagged behind that of White residents, Latino/X high school and college enrollment has increased among Sonoma Valley residents (Sonoma County Economic Development Board, 2017a).

Table 13 summarizes findings from previous research regarding the educational disparities that impact Latino/X communities in Sonoma Valley. Our case study confirms that Latinos/X are hoping for community initiatives that can help support their academic goals.
Table 13. Educational Disparities: Previous Research Statistics

- Only 4.2% of White residents in Sonoma Valley have less than a high school diploma while the majority of Latinos/X (53.6%) have less than a high school diploma (Sonoma County Economic Development Board, 2017b).

- In Sonoma Valley, only 11.9% of Latinos/X held a bachelor’s degree in comparison to 43.5% of White residents (Sonoma County Economic Development Board, 2017b).

- In Sonoma County, the Educational Index shows that Asian Americans have the highest score, followed by White, African American, and Latino/X residents. The Educational Index “is measured by combining the highest degree attained by adults 25 and older and school enrollment of all kids and young adults ages 3 to 24” (A Portrait of Sonoma County, 2014, p. 10).

_Pictured are Sonoma Valley community residents participating in a “Raíces Collective” workshop. (Isabel Lopez, 2019)_
Lack of Proportionate Representation in Leadership Roles

Sonoma Valley has benefited from Latino/X leaders who are community-engaged. They include but are not limited to Alejandra Cervantes, Ligia Booker, Juan Hernandez, Veronica Vences, Maricarmen Reyes, Martin Cruz Rivarola, Paco Cano, and the Robledo and Chavez families. Despite the presence of Latino/X talent in Sonoma Valley, Latinos/X continue to face disproportionate representation in leadership roles across a variety of sectors throughout Sonoma Valley, including representation in government offices and in local decision-making. A recent Sonoma County report suggests that Latinos/X represent 11% of elected officials in Sonoma County (i.e., county Board of Supervisors and local city councils), while 89% of the officials are White (2019 Sonoma County Latino Scorecard, 2019).

Remedios explained that Latinos/X may not want to pursue leadership roles because of the possibility of being further marginalized if they gain additional visibility. She stated:

*We need leaders, but sometimes the person who can be a leader is afraid. Someone looking to become a leader may be afraid, perhaps, because he is not legal, because being a leader is not easy. Being a leader is not just doing what you believe; being a leader is putting the needs of the community first and speaking up even if that prioritization works against your own individual interests.*

-Remedios, Sonoma Valley resident (Female), 44 years old

Participants also expressed a desire to see more Latino/X entrepreneurs in the community. Statistics shared in the 2019 report titled “Sonoma County Latino Scorecard” suggest that there are approximately 6,760 Latino-owned businesses in Sonoma County, making up about 13% of all county businesses. Organizations such as Los Cien (the county’s largest Latino leadership group), the Latino Community Foundation and La Luz Center, through its Latino Leadership Program, are working to increase Latino/X civic and political engagement.
Assets

Figure 10. Assets

Community

Cultural

Spiritual

Political

Physical
Latino/X Assets

Latinos/X in Sonoma Valley rely on a variety of informal and formal sources of support.

Through the exploration of “what works,” “what is right,” and “how people manage to improve their lives” (Sheldon & King, 2001, p. 216), we found that Latinos/X adapt to and overcome challenges in ways that reflect their “fortalezas.” Latinos/X have community, political, spiritual, cultural, and physical assets that community-based organizations and services can build on. This section describes the most dominant or commonly endorsed assets across participants (i.e., endorsement by health care and social service providers, residents, and community leaders). However, the information provided below is not a comprehensive report of all the resources and assets available to Sonoma Valley Latinos/X.

This study found Sonoma Valley Latinos/X often rely on a variety of informal and formal sources of support to address a variety of stressors, and their decision to rely on one source of support over another is often based on:

a) the extent to which they can afford the services or support needed;
b) their particular needs, goals, or objectives at the time the help is needed or desired;
c) their preference for support sources that offer intimate relationships based on “personalismo,” “respeto,” and “convivencia”;
d) the accessibility associated with pursuing formal or informal support or services (e.g., geographic limitations and transportation issues);
e) and the extent to which culturally informed and/or Spanish-speaking support can be found or is available.

Figure 11. Reasons for Relying on One Source of Support Over Another
This report defines “informal support” as resources that are part of the participants’ social networks. Informal sources of support may include family, friends, neighbors, members of faith-based communities, work colleagues, and others. “Formal support” is defined as individuals from local organizations or agencies who provide help or services to the participant, and they include, but are not limited to, case managers from La Luz Center, Nuestra Voz volunteers, youth mentors from the Boys and Girls Clubs of Sonoma Valley, and health providers from the Sonoma Valley Community Health Center. Participants reported that their use of informal and formal resources enables their ability to withstand distress and maintain well-being.

**Informal Sources of Support**

**Participants felt more comfortable relying on informal rather than formal sources of support and identified “la familia” as the first point of access to support in times of stress.**

Although participants identified both informal and formal sources of support as important contributors to their well-being, they felt more comfortable when relying on informal networks. This finding is consistent with research that shows Latinos/X are more likely to seek help from family and friends for personal and emotional challenges (Golding & Burnam, 1990; Griffith & Villavicencio, 1985; Zambrana, 1995; Zinn, 1995).

Among informal sources of support, “la familia” [the family] was most commonly endorsed across participants, regardless of age, gender, or occupation (i.e., our definition of family includes nuclear, extended, and families of choice). For Sonoma Valley Latinos/X, family members play an active and adaptive role in supporting each other and are perceived as resources that protect their health and emotional well-being. Given the challenges associated with unaffordable housing in the region, participants often reside in extended kin households where community reciprocity is practiced between household members. In addition to shared shelter, participants frequently rely on family networks for information about employment opportunities and legal immigration resources. These findings are in line with research that proposes that “familismo” promotes safety, growth, and positive mental health for Latinos/X (Ayon, Marsiglia, & Bermudez-Parsai, 2010; Cruzà-Guet et al., 2008).

Participants perceived adversities as collaborative challenges that needed to be dealt with by the family system rather than by outsiders. For some participants, especially those who were uninsured, undocumented, or unable to receive services (e.g., those waitlisted by social service agencies), family support completely substituted for the lack of formal care available. Undocumented participants, including those granted relief through the DACA program, reported finding protection, consolation, and support in family, friends, allies, and other undocumented Latinos/X.
Formal Sources of Support

Participants endorsed benefiting from formal sources of support, with some participants relying more heavily on formal services than others. Those who relied frequently on formal services accessed these services when critical elements of their informal network were insufficient or unsupportive, or when their needs, given their complexity or severity, could not be addressed by family, friends, “comadres,” or “vecinos.” For participants with critical health or social needs, formal sources of support provided the critical assistance that friends and family members could not offer given their lack of specialized skills, health care training, or knowledge regarding the concerns or challenges presented. When using formal networks of support, participants explained that they often did so while combining and relying on assistance from their informal network. They indicated that their use of formal services often depended on whether the agency or organization had a reputation as “supportive” to the Latino/X community and whether Latino/X or Spanish-speaking professionals were available to provide services.

Confirming the importance of established intimate relationships in the help-seeking process, participants stated that learning about formal sources of support from informal networks increased their comfort in pursuing health care or social services. When their informal support network shared knowledge about where and how to seek professional services, participants felt more confident reaching out for help. In addition, when participants pursued services in organized care settings, positive and favorable past experiences with culturally informed providers increased the likelihood that they would seek help from the same organization or agency in the future.

Among all social and community agencies of support, participants identified La Luz Center, Nuestra Voz, St. Leo’s Catholic Church, Friends in Sonoma Helping, and the Boys and Girls Clubs of Sonoma Valley as the most frequently accessed social service and community-based organizations. Participants discussed feeling comfortable engaging with these agencies and their professional staff because of their reputation as “welcoming” to the Latino/X community. Spanish-speaking participants reported feeling relieved to know that they would be able to find Spanish-speaking professionals at those agencies, increasing their level of trust and perception of safety. For instance, participants described La Luz Center’s case management, counseling, and educational support as critical to the community. In fact, they endorsed accessing a wide variety of their services, including cultural activities, education, microloans, legal help, employment assistance, and health and social services. They also reported a desire to see more support and funding for similar services for Latinos/X across the region. Regarding the support received from health centers and clinics, participants said they benefited from the services offered by the Sonoma Valley Community Health Center (SVCHC) and the Sonoma Valley Hospital. As the only federally qualified clinic for Medicaid and uninsured patients in Sonoma Valley, uninsured and undocumented participants frequently relied on SVCHC’s primary care and behavioral health services. Although participants expressed gratitude for the services that already exist for Latinos/X in Sonoma Valley, they reported a desire to see more bilingual/bicultural
specialized medicine and mental health services for Latinos/X in the region. Please see the asset maps in the executive summary section for a description of other agencies serving the Latino/X community.

**Coping Strategies**

Participants shared several strategies for dealing with stress, including spending time with family to receive care and nurture; participating in cultural traditions and celebrations, such as Cinco de Mayo and Dia de los Muertos; engaging in faith-based services and indigenous healing for hope, motivation, and inspiration; engaging in local organizations’ social events to connect with friends, neighbors, and others in the community; and working diligently in their occupation to ensure their family’s economic “sobrevivencia” [survival], which in turn lowers their stress levels.

In the next section, we outline the most commonly endorsed assets. Although Latinos/X find these assets positively impact their well-being, it is important to emphasize that gaps in services and disparities need to be addressed by Sonoma Valley leaders and community members to prevent these resources and coping arsenals from becoming depleted, as this would put Latinos/X at greater risk for health concerns.

If an increasing number of Latino/X families are overwhelmed by day-to-day stressors, demands, and disparities “beyond their range of coping ability, we can anticipate a destructive cycle to begin that could seriously increase the number of health concerns in youth and families” (Zambrana, p. 15., 1995). Our study does not measure whether formal or informal assistance actually reduces the detrimental effects of stress or health problems, but rather provides information on whether participants perceive these assets as supporting their well-being.
Physical Assets

A physical asset in this study is defined as land, buildings, and spaces where Latinos/X in Sonoma Valley congregate and enjoy “comunidad” [community].

Participants identified local businesses, parks, community centers, school facilities, and public libraries as valuable assets where they engage in “convivencia” [engaging in community]. They also endorsed churches, social service agencies, and health care centers as resources where they can receive spiritual, socioemotional, financial, and health support. In other words, these “physical assets” are not simply buildings or landmarks; they function as support systems where Latinos/X share resources, gain knowledge, and take advantage of opportunities for growth and creativity. The process of transforming these physical spaces into community resources reveals community members’ resilience.

Esperanza explained that she accesses these physical spaces to create art, exercise, learn new information, and for emotional support. She stated:

There are many places here that provide emotional help, to do manual activities, everything. I am surprised by everything that is available here in Sonoma … I feel that they [activities] help you to socialize with other people. Maybe one day you are sad and then you craft with others and that changes your perspective throughout the day … You are talking and you are laughing. I imagine they know — the people who plan these classes — know that it helps us with our emotional well-being. It is the greatest help! I paint; I craft; I go to a group with a psychologist, do yoga at the Community Center, go to activities offered by the library, and sometimes I teach baking classes. If you are stressed, these activities help you relax … I always call La Luz and use it as a referral source. They help you in every aspect. Maybe they can’t provide everything, but they connect you with people who can.

-Esperanza, Sonoma Valley resident (Female), 34 years old

Candido described the social and health care centers in Sonoma Valley as critical to the well-being of Latinos/X. For example, he shared that receiving counseling services at La Luz Center and Nuestra Voz was “very helpful.” He stated:
If I need support I go to La Luz or Nuestra Voz. There, they give me access to concrete information and in Spanish. The last time I sought help at La Luz, I received individual and group counseling services. They were very helpful. They helped with my self-esteem. The services were free.

-Candido, Sonoma Valley resident (Male), 66 years old

Next, we include a list of the physical assets that participants endorsed as communal Latino/X spaces and points of interest. These are community spaces where Latinos/X share resources, debate local politics, discuss goals and plans for achieving them, and dream for a better tomorrow. Each of these resources can be found in the asset maps located in the “Executive Summary” section.

**La Comida [Food]**
“Un taco al día es la llave de la alegría.”

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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Picazo Cafe</td>
<td>19100 Arnold Dr, Sonoma, CA 95476</td>
<td>(707) 931-4377</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>El Molino Central</td>
<td>11 Central Ave, Sonoma, CA 95476</td>
<td>(707) 939-1010</td>
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<td>Tortilleria Jalisco</td>
<td>897 W Napa St, Sonoma, CA 95476</td>
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<td>Taqueria La Hacienda</td>
<td>17960 Sonoma Hwy, Sonoma, CA 95476</td>
<td>(707) 939-8226</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>Taqueria El Gran Taco</td>
<td>40 Calle Del Monte, Sonoma, CA 95476</td>
<td>(707) 939-9932</td>
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<td>El Coyote Mexican Taco Truck</td>
<td>1033 Broadway, Sonoma, CA 95476</td>
<td>(707) 508-5516</td>
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<td>La Bamba Taco Truck</td>
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<td>Little Caesars Pizza</td>
<td>19209 Sonoma Hwy, Sonoma, CA 95476</td>
<td>(707) 935-1600</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>Round Table Pizza</td>
<td>201 W Napa St, Sonoma, CA 95476</td>
<td>(707) 938-5564</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>Black Bear Diner</td>
<td>201 W Napa St, Ste 34, Sonoma, CA 95476</td>
<td>(707) 935-6800</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>Rancho Market &amp; Deli</td>
<td>929 Madrone Rd, Glen Ellen, CA 95442</td>
<td>(707) 935-9077</td>
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<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Carneros Deli</td>
<td>23001 Arnold Dr, Sonoma, CA 95476</td>
<td>(707) 939-1646</td>
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**Pan Dulce, Postre & Cafecito [Sweet Bread, Dessert, & Coffee]**
“Azúcar y canela hacen la vida buena.”

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<td>14</td>
<td>Little Maya Bakery</td>
<td>18981 Sonoma Hwy, Sonoma, CA 95476</td>
<td>(707) 996-8600</td>
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<td>15</td>
<td>Tienda Y Panadería Iniguez</td>
<td>18175 Sonoma Hwy, Sonoma, CA 95476</td>
<td>(707) 935-8054</td>
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<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Starbucks</td>
<td>19239 Sonoma Hwy, Sonoma, CA 95476</td>
<td>(707) 935-3187</td>
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</table>
17 Barking Dog Roasters | 18133 Sonoma Hwy, Sonoma, CA 95476 | (707) 939-1905

**Los Supermercados & Puestos de Comida [Grocery Stores & Markets]**

“Barriga llena, corazón contento.”

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<td>Fruit Basket</td>
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<td>The Vineyard Market</td>
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<td>Safeway</td>
<td>477 W Napa St, Sonoma, CA 95476</td>
<td>(707) 996-0633</td>
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<td>24</td>
<td>Valley of the Moon Farmers’ Market</td>
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<td>(707) 694-5611</td>
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<td>El Verano Market</td>
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<td>(707) 938-4175</td>
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<td>26</td>
<td>Carnicería Chapala</td>
<td>18615 Sonoma Hwy # 104, Sonoma, CA 95476</td>
<td>(707) 996-7499</td>
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<td>27</td>
<td>La Favorita Carnicería</td>
<td>17484 Sonoma Hwy, Sonoma, CA 95476</td>
<td>(707) 938-9607</td>
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**El Shopping**

“Fui por una blusa, pero vi unos zapatos tan lindos que me compré una cartera.”

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<td>Republic of Thrift</td>
<td>17496 Sonoma Hwy, Sonoma, CA 95476</td>
<td>(707) 933-9850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Maxwell Village Shopping Center</td>
<td>19217 Sonoma Hwy, Sonoma, CA 95476</td>
<td>(707) 938-5616</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Sonoma Marketplace Shopping Center</td>
<td>201 W Napa St, Sonoma, CA 95476</td>
<td>(707) 938-5616</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Dollar Tree</td>
<td>18615 Sonoma Hwy #103, Sonoma, CA 95476</td>
<td>(707) 931-2543</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Sonoma Materials Incorporated</td>
<td>21040 Broadway, Sonoma, CA 95476</td>
<td>(707) 938-3243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Farmacia Rite Aid</td>
<td>19205 Sonoma Hwy, Sonoma, CA 95476</td>
<td>(707) 938-0281</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Parques & Entretenimiento [Parks & Entertainment]**

“A darle que es mole de olla.”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Parque</th>
<th>Dirección</th>
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<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Larson Park</td>
<td>329 DeChene Ave, Sonoma, CA 95476</td>
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<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Sonoma Raceway</td>
<td>29555 Arnold Dr, Sonoma, CA 95476</td>
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<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Sonoma TrainTown Railroad</td>
<td>20264 Broadway, Sonoma, CA 95476</td>
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<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Depot Park</td>
<td>270 1st St W, Sonoma, CA 95476</td>
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</table>
Los Viñedos [Vineyards]

“Con pan y con vino se anda el camino.”

Puntos & Eventos de Reunión [Community Spaces]

“Dios los hace y ellos se juntan.”

Canchas [Sport Fields & Courts]

Lavandería [Laundromat]

Peluquerías [Hair Salons] & Grooming

Bibliotecas [Libraries]

Arte [Art]

Festivales y Eventos [Festivals & Events]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Location</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>Cinco de Mayo</td>
<td>The Sonoma Plaza, 453 1st St E, Sonoma, CA 95476</td>
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<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>Día de la Independencia (Independence Day)</td>
<td>The Sonoma Plaza, 453 1st St E, Sonoma, CA 95476</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>Día de los Muertos (Day of the Dead)</td>
<td>The Sonoma Plaza, 453 1st St E, Sonoma, CA 95476</td>
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### Deportes [Sports]

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<tr>
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<th>Organization</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>Sonoma Valley Youth Soccer Association</td>
<td>20000 Broadway, Sonoma, CA 95476</td>
<td>(707) 939-5001</td>
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### Escuelas & Educación [Schools & Education] 

**“Vámonos pa’ la escuelita.”**

### Educación Temprana y Preescolar [Preschool & Development Center]

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<thead>
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<th>Organization</th>
<th>Address</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>4Cs Sonoma Child Development Center</td>
<td>620 5th St W, Sonoma, CA 95476</td>
<td>(707) 996-3494</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>Sonoma County Head Start</td>
<td>Preschool in Fetters Hot Springs-Agua Caliente, California</td>
<td>(707) 996-1238</td>
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### Primarias [Elementary Schools]

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<tr>
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<th>School</th>
<th>Address</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>Dunbar Elementary School</td>
<td>11700 Dunbar Rd, Glen Ellen, CA 95442</td>
<td>(707) 935-6070</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>El Verano Elementary School</td>
<td>18606 Riverside Dr, Sonoma, CA 95476</td>
<td>(707) 935-6050</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>Flowery Elementary School</td>
<td>17600 Sonoma Hwy, Sonoma, CA 95476</td>
<td>(707) 935-6060</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>Sassarini Elementary School</td>
<td>652 Fifth St W, Sonoma, CA 95476</td>
<td>(707) 935-6040</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>Prestwood Elementary School</td>
<td>343 East MacArthur St, Sonoma, CA 95476</td>
<td>(707) 935-6030</td>
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### Preparatorias [High Schools]

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<th>High School</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>Sonoma Valley High School</td>
<td>20000 Broadway, Sonoma, CA 95476</td>
<td>(707) 933-4010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>Creekside High School</td>
<td>20000 Broadway, Sonoma, CA 95476</td>
<td>(707) 933-4046</td>
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### Secundarias [Middle Schools]

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<tr>
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<th>Middle School</th>
<th>Address</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>Adele Harrison Middle School</td>
<td>1150 Broadway, Sonoma, CA 95476</td>
<td>(707) 935-6080</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>Altmaria Middle School</td>
<td>17805 Arnold Dr, Sonoma, CA 95476</td>
<td>(707) 935-6020</td>
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### Escuelas Charter [Charter Schools]

<table>
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<th>Charter School</th>
<th>Address</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>Woodland Star Charter School</td>
<td>17811 Arnold Dr, Sonoma, CA 95476</td>
<td>(707) 996-3849</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>Sonoma Charter School</td>
<td>17202 Sonoma Hwy, Sonoma, CA 95476</td>
<td>(707) 935-6030</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Bancos [Banking]
**“Dinero ahorrado dos veces ganado.”**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Banco</th>
<th>Dirección</th>
<th>Código Postal</th>
<th>Teléfono</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>Wells Fargo</td>
<td>480 W Napa St, Sonoma, CA 95476</td>
<td>95476</td>
<td>(707) 996-2360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>Redwood Credit Union</td>
<td>500 W Napa St #500, Sonoma, CA 95476</td>
<td>95476</td>
<td>(707) 545-4000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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### La Iglesia, Fe, & Espiritualidad [Church, Faith, & Spirituality]
**“la fe mueve montañas.”**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Iglesia</th>
<th>Dirección</th>
<th>Código Postal</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>St. Leo’s Catholic Church</td>
<td>601 Agua Caliente Rd W, Sonoma, CA 95476</td>
<td>95476</td>
<td>(707) 996-8422</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>St. Francis Solano Catholic Church</td>
<td>469 3rd St W, Sonoma, CA 95476</td>
<td>95476</td>
<td>(707) 996-6759</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>St. Patrick’s Episcopal Church</td>
<td>9000 Sonoma Hwy, Kenwood, CA 95452</td>
<td>95476</td>
<td>(707) 833-4228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73</td>
<td>First Congregational Church</td>
<td>252 W Spain St, Sonoma, CA 95476</td>
<td>95476</td>
<td>(707) 996-1528</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>Craig Avenue Baptist Church</td>
<td>18621 Railroad Ave, Sonoma, CA 95476</td>
<td>95476</td>
<td>(707) 996-9188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>Sonoma United Methodist Church</td>
<td>109 Patten St, Sonoma, CA 95476</td>
<td>95476</td>
<td>(707) 996-2151</td>
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<tr>
<td>76</td>
<td>The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints</td>
<td>16280 La Granda Dr, Sonoma, CA 95476</td>
<td>95476</td>
<td>(707) 996-2569</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77</td>
<td>Kingdom Hall of Jehovah’s Witnesses</td>
<td>615 5th St W, Sonoma, CA 95476</td>
<td>95476</td>
<td>(707) 996-3021</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td>Iglesia Cristiana Lighthouse</td>
<td>700 Verano Ave, Sonoma, CA 95476</td>
<td>95476</td>
<td>(707) 345-1616</td>
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</tbody>
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### Servicios para la Comunidad [Community Services]
**“la fuerza se suma, no se divide.”**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Servicio</th>
<th>Dirección</th>
<th>Código Postal</th>
<th>Teléfono</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>79</td>
<td>Immigration Institute of the Bay Area</td>
<td>At Boys and Girls Clubs of Sonoma Valley</td>
<td>95476</td>
<td>(707) 932-7000 &amp; (707) 266-5568</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>St. Leo’s Catholic Church Food Pantry</td>
<td>601 Agua Caliente Rd W, Sonoma, CA 95476</td>
<td>95476</td>
<td>(707) 996-8422</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>Sonoma Overnight Support</td>
<td>151 1st St W, Sonoma, CA 95476</td>
<td>95476</td>
<td>(707) 939-6777</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82</td>
<td>Friends in Sonoma Helping (FISH)</td>
<td>18330 Sonoma Hwy, Sonoma, CA 95476</td>
<td>95476</td>
<td>(707) 996-0111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83</td>
<td>La Luz Center</td>
<td>17560 Greger St, Sonoma, CA 95476</td>
<td>95476</td>
<td>(707) 938-5131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
<td>Nuestra Voz</td>
<td>200 Fuente Ln, Sonoma, CA 95476</td>
<td>95476</td>
<td>(707) 933-9369</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85</td>
<td>Springs Community Alliance</td>
<td>P.O. Box 733</td>
<td>N/A</td>
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<tr>
<td>86</td>
<td>YWCA of Sonoma County</td>
<td>811 3rd St, Santa Rosa, CA 95404</td>
<td>95476</td>
<td>(707) 565-8755 &amp; (707) 546-1234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87</td>
<td>Sonoma Community Center</td>
<td>276 E Napa St, Sonoma, CA 95476</td>
<td>95476</td>
<td>(707) 958-4626</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88</td>
<td>Boys and Girls Clubs of Sonoma Valley</td>
<td>100 W Verano Ave, Sonoma, CA 95476)</td>
<td>95476</td>
<td>(707) 958-8544</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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### Servicios de Salud [Health Services]

**“Sana, sana colita de rana.”**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
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<th>Address</th>
<th>Phone Numbers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>101</td>
<td>Social Advocates for Youth</td>
<td>1055 Broadway, Ste E2, Sonoma, CA 95476</td>
<td>(707) 544-3299 &amp; (707) 996-7991</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>102</td>
<td>Sonoma Valley Community Health Center</td>
<td>19270 Sonoma Hwy, Sonoma, CA 95476</td>
<td>(707) 939-6070</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>103</td>
<td>Sonoma Valley Hospital</td>
<td>347 Andriex St, Sonoma, CA 95476</td>
<td>(707) 935-5000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>104</td>
<td>Ruff Chiropractic Office</td>
<td>19016 Bay St, Sonoma, CA 95476</td>
<td>(707) 996-7833</td>
</tr>
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</table>

### Grupos de Apoyo [Support Groups]

**“la unión hace la fuerza.”**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Service Name</th>
<th>Address</th>
<th>Phone Numbers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>105</td>
<td>LGBTQ Connection</td>
<td>At Sonoma Valley High School</td>
<td>(707) 251-9432</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>106</td>
<td>Al-Anon “Valor Para Cambiar”</td>
<td>200 Fuente Ln, Sonoma, CA 95476</td>
<td>(707) 939-9369</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>107</td>
<td>Parenting Support Group</td>
<td>17560 Greger St, Sonoma, CA 95476</td>
<td>(707) 938-5131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>108</td>
<td>Co-Dependents Anonymous</td>
<td>264 1st St E, Sonoma, CA 95476</td>
<td>(707) 721-7372</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>109</td>
<td>R.I.S.K. A Parent Support Network</td>
<td>P.O. Box 1895, Boyes Hot Springs, CA 95416</td>
<td>(707) 501-7691</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110</td>
<td>Young Life</td>
<td>PO Box 125 El Verano, CA 95433</td>
<td>(707) 292-7289</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>111</td>
<td>AA Grupo La Luz</td>
<td>11812 Sonoma Hwy, Glen Ellen, CA 95442</td>
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Servicios de Envío & Correo [USPS]

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<tr>
<th>N°</th>
<th>United States Postal Service</th>
<th>18092 Sonoma Hwy, Boyes Hot Springs, CA 95416</th>
<th>(800) 275-8777</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>112</td>
<td>United States Postal Service</td>
<td>617 Broadway, Sonoma, CA 95476</td>
<td>(800) 275-8777</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

La Estación de Policía [Police Station]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N°</th>
<th>Sonoma Police Department</th>
<th>175 1st St W, Sonoma, CA 95476</th>
<th>(707) 996-5602</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>114</td>
<td>Sonoma County Sheriff's Office</td>
<td>810 Grove St, Sonoma, CA 95476</td>
<td>(707) 996-9495</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Community Assets

A community asset in this study is defined as a resource or collective experience that can be leveraged to enhance people’s well-being and quality of life and that can be used to promote effective solutions.

La Familia [Family]

Across all participants in this study, the Latino/X cultural value of “familismo” [family orientation and connectedness] was present. “Familismo” refers to having strong feelings of loyalty, apoyo [support], and solidarity among family members (Piña-Watson, Ojeda, Castellon, & Dornhecker, 2013; Santiago-Rivera et al., 2002). Participants’ definition of family was not restricted to the nuclear family, and it included relationships based on blood, legal, and other kinship ties. Supporting the findings from earlier studies, our research found features of “familismo” such as belonging, togetherness, pride, and responsibility to family members (Santiago-Rivera, 2003) in participants.

Participants endorsed benefits associated with strong family connection, which included help with child-rearing and elderly care; financial and emotional support; shared housing; and assistance when confronted with deteriorating health.

They discussed feeling grateful for the care, love, and interconnectedness they have with family members, and they reported feeling more prepared to take on day-to-day activities, perceived harms, and life’s inevitable challenges with family members’ support. In line with previous research, our findings show...
that the perception that support would be available helps to prevent “the cascading of negative stress responses” (Bostean, Andrade, & Fuentes, 2019, p. 116). Rigoberto said family unity helps community members remain optimistic in their ability to overcome challenges that may arise. He stated:

> The biggest strengths [in the Latino community] are, I think, being united as a family. I think that’s definitely helped us. Unity always! Doing things together — dinners — like a tight-knit family. That’s probably one of our biggest strengths, getting together with my family and just hammering out the problems that way.
> -Rigoberto, Sonoma Valley resident (Male), 43 years old

The desire to improve their family’s living conditions motivated participants to endure rigorous occupational demands, such as long work hours and jobs that require intense physical labor. In fact, some participants considered working longer hours or more than one job a “necessary sacrifice” that would offer their family upward economic mobility, a better quality of life, and increased educational opportunities. Participants interpreted their “personal sacrifices” as an expression of their love and support for family members.

Immigrants in this study explained that they had migrated to the United States with the hope of improving the living conditions of family members in their country of origin. Others noted family reunification as the primary motivation for migrating to Sonoma Valley. Tatiana said she moved to the U.S. to offer her children a “better life.” She indicated that her children, grandchildren, and daughters-in-law are grateful for the sacrifices she has made and offer emotional support and motivation when she is overwhelmed by economic hardship and difficult work conditions. She added:

> My motivation has always been my children, and it was my children who always motivated me to make a difference, to look for a better job, to give them a better kind of life. I worked day and night to be able to take care of them, to help them dress better, have a better education. I have never been able to give them a fancy lifestyle, but they have always had a roof over their head and a homemade plate of food. In return, my children taught me English. They would say to me, “Mom, you don’t say it like that, you are supposed to say it this way,” and they would teach me [the English language] ... Today, as a grandmother, my daughters-in-law come to my house with my grandchildren, children, and we have family meals. It brings such satisfaction to me.
> -Tatiana, Sonoma Valley resident (Female), 58 years old

Enrique explained that “family is so important” that Latinos/X are willing to endure the area’s elevated housing costs because they want to remain in close proximity to those they love. He stated:
Usually, nobody would just put up with something like that [speaking about the cost of housing]. The only way you put up with that constant grind is if you have other family members in the vicinity.
-Enrique, Sonoma Valley community leader (Male), 57 years old

Similar to prior studies, our findings show that Latino/X culture emphasizes “the centrality of family life and its priority over other realities” (Arditti, 2006, p. 246). It also shows that strong ties to immediate and extended family members can protect the well-being of Latinos/X (Parsai, Voisine, Marsiglia, Kulis, & Nieri, 2009). Similar to “la familia,” intimate friendships are also considered to be critically valuable to Latinos/X, as discussed next.

**Las Comadres [Intimate Friends]**

The term “comadre” was used by female participants to refer to their strong and cohesive bonds with women they consider to be intimate friends. Participants rely heavily on “comadres” for emotional support, advice, information, and advocacy. Conchita stated that her comadres are “sisters” who mitigate the effects of stress by providing love and empathy. She shared:

*Family is not just the biological family. For me, my friends, I consider them sisters. I chose them to be my family. There are times that you make those friendships that fulfill you, that fill that little hole that you have in your life. You say to yourself, “She gives me that friendship, she gives me that love, that understanding, that support.”*

-I see the ladies who go to the food distribution. One may live on this side of Sonoma and the other somewhere else, but there they come together — “Comadrean.” They talk there. They have that union, the support, and communication.
-Conchita, Sonoma Valley community leader (Female), 52 years old

Participants reported that they would likely have limited access to information about the wide variety of resources available in Sonoma Valley without their “comadres” support. They, therefore, view “comadres” as an important buffer to feelings of social isolation. In line with earlier research, this finding suggests that positive health in neighborhoods depends heavily on community bridging that links residents to mainstream opportunities and institutions (Jarrett, 1999).

“Comadres” encourage participants to practice healthy behaviors, including exercising, eating nutritious foods, and mindfulness routines (e.g., doing yoga together at the community center). Dolores, a Sonoma Valley community leader, appreciates her “comadres” because they allow her to feel at peace even when feeling physically sick and fatigued. She explained:

*I have been tired these last years, for three or four years, very tired. I am one of the people who does not go to the doctor because, for me, if I am sick, I think of Leslie (points to Leslie in the room) and it brings me peace. The other day, I had a headache. I saw Leslie and the headache went away.*

-Dolores, Sonoma Valley community leader (Female), 38 years old
These mutually supportive interactions with their “comadres” often occur through face-to-face conversations, “El Face” [Facebook], and mobile messaging through the “WhatsApp” application. Delia is reminded to practice self-care and healthy eating by her “comadres” through group text messaging. She shared:

An “amiga” [female friend] of mine made a group on WhatsApp to remind us every day that we should have breakfast, what healthy foods we should eat, what we should have for dinner … It is a group of 10 to 12 people. Imagine if that group had like 1,000 people. How great for us would it be to learn how to eat healthy? 
-Delia, Sonoma Valley resident and promotora (Female), 61 years old

These findings show that participants perceived “comadres” as having a positive influence on their health and overall well-being. We next discuss “los amigos,” an important community asset that facilitates community connection and a sense of safety and belonging.

Los Amigos [Friends]

Participants described Sonoma Valley as a “welcoming” and “small” community that facilitates strong interpersonal connections among residents. Esperanza expressed valuing the trust and reciprocity that she gains from these friendships. She shared feeling relieved that her family frequently runs into friends around town, which she believes helps reduce high-risk behaviors in her children since they are closely being cared for by trustworthy friends. Explaining that it “takes a village to raise a child,” she said:

I like it [Sonoma Valley] because everyone knows each other. For example, my husband, he was here in high school and all the people of his age are connected, so somehow everyone is protected. On one occasion we were in the plaza, and they saw my boy. And my husband’s friends said, “Are you Joe’s son?” So everyone is connected and I love that. They look over my kids. 
-Esperanza, Sonoma Valley resident (Female), 34 years old

Participants attached great importance to their networks of friends since they provide accountability, help, advice, information, and safe spaces for conversation and laughter. Cristobal explained that friendships
start early in life in Sonoma Valley. He said he feels pride when he thinks about his children’s friends, whom he described as “kind” and “respectful.” He said:

I have seen my children grow alongside their friends. And as a parent, one feels happy to see his children grow up playing soccer and studying with their same friends. Some make it further than others in their education, but at the same time, we have noticed how they have all grown to become good men. Now they have a job, are responsible, and it feels great to see them all. It makes us feel proud.

-Cristobal, Sonoma Valley resident (Male), 48 years old

Participants stated that their friendships with other Latino/X participants offer emotional protection against the harmful effects of bullying and discrimination that they often encounter from some of Sonoma Valley’s White residents. Carolina shared how she and her friends encourage and motivate each other, particularly when anti-immigrant sentiments are expressed by residents who are opposed to immigration reform. She described her “DACA-mented” friends as having a similar understanding of the adversities that impact non-citizens in the region, which helps to reduce feelings of loneliness and isolation. Carolina commented:

There’s a small community of DACA recipients, and we all seem to know each other. We provide support. We had one advocate [a friend] who was really outspoken about receiving DACA, but we were all in fear for him and his safety about being deported at any time. We rallied up and tried to provide emotional support.

-Carolina, Sonoma Valley resident (Female), 34 years old

We next discuss “los voluntarios” and “las promotoras,” two important groups who encourage and motivate community members to access social services and primary health care services in Sonoma Valley.

Los Voluntarios & Las Promotoras [Volunteers & Community Health Workers]

Latino/X participants often rely on social service volunteers, “promotoras” [community health workers], and patient navigators. When needing medical care, participants said they felt comfortable seeking assistance from community health workers because they consider them relatable and trustworthy “everyday people” who speak their language. They suggested that the guidance they receive from these health workers helps to ease anxieties associated with visiting physicians and other health professionals at clinics and hospitals.

Participants who volunteered their time at social service agencies (i.e., los voluntarios) endorsed a strong interest in supporting the physical and psychological health of Latinos/X. They saw themselves as “bridges” between Latinos/X with limited access to social and health services and the community-based organizations offering these services. Candido stated that he feels proud of his “volunteer work” at La Luz Center. He shared:
I still don’t give up at my age. I signed up as a volunteer at La Luz because I want to keep my mind busy and help the Latino community.
-Candido, Sonoma Valley resident and volunteer (Male), 66 years old

Similarly, the “promotoras” in our study explained that they are “effective” and “successful” health workers because their job involves more than simply providing health education and disease-screening programs. They share culturally relevant conversations with community members about the emotional, spiritual, physical, and social aspects of healing. The promotoras believe that these conversations, which increase community trust and connection, can encourage community members to practice healthier behaviors (e.g., better nutrition) and access primary health care services.

For the “promotoras” in our study, their job not only offers an opportunity to support their local community, but also the privilege of building important friendships, as described by Laura:

For me, the most important resource [in Sonoma Valley] are the women I work with because they are my strength. They bring strength to their work. I know that they will use that strength to help others because they know the information. They will be the ones that will be doing the dissemination of information in the community because one goes with the comadre for support or goes with the friend before going anywhere else. For me, this is the most important strength [in Sonoma Valley].
-Laura, Sonoma Valley resident and promotora (Female), 56 years old

Next, we discuss “los vecinos” [neighbors], a community resource that is particularly critical in times of crisis and natural disasters.

Los Vecinos [Neighbors]

A common theme in our study was participants’ description of Sonoma Valley as a “safe town” with trustworthy neighbors. A number of participants used “Nextdoor,” a social network application for neighbors and community members, as a way to stay connected to those living near them.

Participants added that their positive interactions and ability to rely on neighbors were particularly visible during the 2017 wildfires. During this time, Sonoma Valley residents mobilized and helped each other with housing and other needs. Adela explained how her neighbor took the time to alert her when fires ignited in the area, which helped her feel safer in her neighborhood. She stated:

He [neighbor] knocked on my door ... Instead of doing that, he could have just grabbed his things to evacuate ... Neighbors were knocking on each other’s doors so that we could all escape from the fires. I felt that the people who were there during the fires cared about their neighbors’ well-being ...
-Adela, Sonoma Valley resident (Female), 61 years old

Albina described her neighbors as vigilant and caring. She also described her neighborhood as sharing a “common bond” that facilitates social cohesion. She explained:
I was out of town when the fires happened but many of my neighbors helped the firefighters — cooked for them and attended to their needs. My neighbor stayed. He was always vigilant of the neighborhood ... This is what Sonoma has — it is small but in the neighborhoods there is that common bond. Neighbors unite and protect each other ... The other day, there was a missing child in Larson Park. Everyone worried, the word spread, and the child was found in a few hours.

-Albina, Sonoma Valley resident and promotora (Female), 56 years old

Perceptions of neighborhood safety and connectedness help participants feel a sense of security during stressful experiences. We next acknowledge Latino/X “caretakers,” a community asset that is perceived to enhance the well-being of different communities, including individuals of different age groups, race, and ethnicity.

**The Caretakers & Workers**

Participants who worked as nannies, in-home caretakers, or domestic workers described their job as requiring unique skills, including the ability for them to nurture others while creating emotional attachments with the families with whom they work. They reported feeling great pride in being trusted to care for other people’s homes, children, and elderly parents. Some of their employers were White families and others were Latino/X families from diverse economic households. Xochitl, a Sonoma Valley nanny, described herself as a resourceful caretaker with strong skills and abilities, including understanding the unique child care, household, or family needs of her employers. She stated:

**As a nanny, when I take care of babies, I sing songs in Spanish; I speak to them in Spanish. I make them feel truly loved. Nobody has to teach me to love others, I already possess that ability ... Yes, I come and work for a salary, but what I give in return is love. When I am taking care of a child, I’m taking care of the child as if it were my own child. When I go and clean a house, I clean it like the house of my dreams, or as if that were the house of my dreams. I put myself in the place of the person who is tired of working and who is coming back home from work. I want that person to enjoy smelling his house clean.**

-Xochitl, Sonoma Valley resident (Female), 55 years old

Tatiana, an in-home caretaker, spoke about enjoying her work with elders in Sonoma Valley. She described her job as a blessing and added:

**The jobs I have had are honorable jobs. I have picked grapes and chile, worked at restaurants, cleaned floors in a hospital, and more. In the end, I became a nurse assistant. I love that job because working with elderly people, they are people who need a lot of love, a lot of patience and I have it. I have a lot to give. I see that job as a blessing, thank God.**

-Tatiana, Sonoma Valley resident (Female), 58 years old

“Los Trabajadores/as” [workers] in our study worked in the agriculture, construction and service industries. Participants viewed themselves as “hardworking,” and thus the driving labor force behind Sonoma Valley’s economy. Participants saw themselves as possessing the human capital and creativity that added to the company or employer for which they worked, which in turn inspired dreams of success and self-reliance among Latino/X community members. Rigoberto, a vineyard owner, spoke about how his knowledge of
grapes and winemaking has been shared with others inside and outside of Sonoma Valley. He saw his strong work commitment as beneficial to the region. He stated:

I have worked with grapes in four counties. Tons and tons [of grapes] are received annually. Grapes are the economy of these counties, and I feel proud because in these four counties I have participated in these years that I have lived here in the United States. I have taught the Spanish, French, and Moroccans how to make wine. I have also had the opportunity to represent our region in other countries. The problem is that agricultural workers are not protected, even though we all eat from agriculture ... We have been hardworking Mexican people. You hardly see people from other countries, and I say it with pride that you don’t see more than Mexican folks on the fields.
- Rigoberto, Sonoma Valley resident (Male), 67 years old

While the caretakers and workers in our study emphasized their “fortalezas,” they also acknowledged their jobs offer limited opportunities for advancement and low financial compensation. Next, we discuss Sonoma Valley’s teachers and mentors, a community resource that is particularly relevant and critical for Latino/X youth.

Los Mentores [Mentors] y Maestros [Teachers]

Participants indicated that mentors and culturally responsive teachers help improve the academic experiences of Latinos/X. According to participants, mentors and teachers provided helpful information, including how best to manage academic demands and home tasks. Alberto explained that he was able to graduate from high school because of the guidance his mentor provided, which inspired him to overcome his academic struggles. He reported:

I think mentoring is very important at a young age. I don’t know what he saw in me [referring to his own mentor], but he helped me and my family out ... I can say that I think he had something to do with the scholarship that I got. Even though he never told me, but I think he [did] ... Mentors really inspire youth to do things because I know it did for me.
- Alberto, Sonoma Valley resident (Male), 43 years old

The youth mentors and teachers who were interviewed in this study saw themselves as sources of academic and emotional support for Latino/X children, especially those who had endured teasing or bullying within Sonoma Valley’s schools. Latino/X parents identified youth mentors as reliable sources of support that provide positive youth development activities for their children. Some of our participants acknowledged not having the linguistic skills or available time to help their children with school assignments and projects due to working long hours. Participants acknowledged that intimate relationships with youth mentors helped their children feel more connected to school, which appeared to decrease children’s concerns related to language barriers, racial discrimination, and bullying. Feeling grateful for the mentors at the Boys and Girls Clubs of Sonoma Valley, Julieta, a mother with young children, shared:

Here, there are mentorship opportunities for children. Parents just need to be informed that these resources exist. There are great mentors at the Boys and Girls Clubs.
Participants voiced appreciation for the professional leaders and adult mentors who have inspired and guided Latino/X children and youth to do well in school. Next, we discuss the political assets that impact Latinos/X in Sonoma Valley.

**Political and Legal Assets**

A *political asset* in this study is defined as a resource that generates the power or influence needed to mobilize community members and voters, achieve policy reforms, or accomplish political goals.

**La Residencia Permanente Y Ciudadanía [Permanent Residence & Citizenship]**

Immigrant participants discussed the negative impacts of anti-immigrant attitudes on their well-being. Participants who identified as American citizens or lawful permanent residents highlighted the benefits and opportunities that their immigration status gave them, including access to professional certifications and licenses required for practice in certain professions. Martha described her citizenship as a “privilege.” She stated:

> My mom was five months pregnant when we arrived here [to Sonoma County]. To me, I don't take that lightly. I know that if she had waited another five months or beyond [to migrate to the U.S.], my life would be completely different. I wouldn't have this documentation that has allowed me to go to school, to have privileges and resources. The reason why they [parents] came to Sonoma County was to work in the fields. Then, in 1986, 1987, he [father] was able to gain his legal status because of the amnesty, and so that switched our life again. He was able to leave the fields to work in a different environment. He was able to save up and buy a house.

> -Martha, Sonoma Valley community leader (Female), 33 years old

Comparing themselves to their non-citizen family members, lawful permanent residents (LPRs) and citizen participants spoke about how “documentation” allowed them to feel safer integrating and participating in the socioeconomic, cultural, and community domains of Sonoma Valley. Participants understood the impact of their legal status on themselves and their families, and the security that their legal status granted them. Among the privileges their immigration status afforded, citizens and LPRs reported feeling more comfortable speaking out against oppressive structures that deny their non-citizen family members’ full incorporation in U.S. society.

For instance, Carolina, a DACA recipient, spoke about having some “peace of mind” knowing that her parents, who recently received their green card (lawful permanent residence), could take care of her children if she were to be deported. She explained that the hope of one day having her own green card reduces feelings of helplessness. She added:
With my parents, I think getting the legal status was a huge weight lifted off their chest because now they have a little bit more freedom, and then they can protect my kids if I am ever deported. Then they are going to be the legal guardians of my children. My kids know I’m undocumented. We talked about the story about me crossing over and the fence. I told them, “You know what, this has been a weight that I’ve been carrying. It’s like a huge rock or a huge stone that you carry with you.” It’s heavy, and you have to walk with it. But at this point I feel like I can get on top of it and say, “You know what? Here I am. Let’s try to figure out how we’re going to help each other, so we’re not in the same area where we’re dragging so much.”

-Carolina, Sonoma Valley resident (Female), 34 years old

Next, we discuss Sonoma Valley’s Latino/X community leaders and grassroots organizers as political assets that inspire other Latinos/X to become civically engaged.

**Community Leaders & Grassroots Organizing**

Participants who identified as “community leaders” spoke about the importance of grassroots organizing for advancing Latino/X cultural values. They reported gaining empowerment through civic engagement, particularly advocacy that works against the institutions that they believe seek to denigrate and dehumanize Latinos/X. Some participants are involved in key issues such as increasing participation on the 2020 U.S. Census, immigration and naturalization advocacy, and voting rights. They indicated that “using their voice and being unafraid” through their volunteer-work, and promoting civic engagement helps them feel stronger and more hopeful about the possibilities of transformative action in political spaces. These leaders saw themselves as change-agents who demonstrated intentional and proactive behaviors to boost Latinos’/X access to decision-making bodies.

Sebastian shared how community organizing helped him feel more connected to Latinos/X and Latino/X cultural values. He explained:

*I couldn’t really identify with or feel as part of the community until I, myself, directly organized on issues I saw could be a resource for the community. I became a community organizer ... We may have some Spanish family names in there [the political system], but in the end they [politicians] follow the mainstream. There’s no marked action in support of “La Raza” ... I would say that it could be exciting to have the [Latino/X] community make their own decisions on how they’re being represented, where they can get services, and the level of ownership that we can take in the community.*

-Sebastian, Sonoma Valley community leader (Male), 35 years old

Participants reported finding a sense of positive purpose and feeling greater control over their lives due to their civic engagement. Some decided to be more active by serving on community organizations’ leadership boards to influence local decision-making. Damian, a Sonoma Valley community leader, said:

*We must be at the table to make decisions. Serving as a board of director allows us to do that.*

-Damian, Sonoma Valley resident (Male), 25 years old
Some participants became members of grassroots organizations that focused on leadership development among Latinos/X. For Tatiana, “Líderes Campesinas” offered her the support that she needed as a female-identified agricultural worker. She explained that this organization brings to the table conversations about gender and race, including what it means to be a Latina/X working in the fields of Sonoma Valley. She said:

*Líderes Campesinas help women who work in the fields who have always been harassed by men because many men do not accept that women can also do the work they do. I was in that union; and it [the work done by the organization] was very beautiful. So many women work in the fields in Sonoma, and they are very thorough in their work picking grapes.*

*Tatiana, Sonoma Valley resident (Female), 58 years old*

Next, we discuss “allies” as a political resource that can help shed light on the issues that matter to Latinos/X.

**Allies**

Participants described allies as members of dominant and privileged groups (e.g., White and wealthy) who actively listen to Latino/X concerns and use their resources to support issues that matter to Latinos/X. They stated that allies who listen are better positioned to offer assistance by learning about the social conditions that may contribute to the suffering, marginalization, and exclusion of Sonoma Valley Latinos/X. For instance, one participant indicated that the most effective White-identified board members in his organization are those who listen to other Latinos/X before offering ideas about how to improve the conditions that impact the Latino/X community. In other words, allies use their White privilege to create safe and more equitable spaces for Latinos/X without taking over those spaces.

Cristobal explained that although he often experiences prejudice from White individuals, he has also benefited from the inclusion provided by White allies. He stated:

*The truth is that there are White American folks who don’t want us here and who want to exclude us. But the truth is that we have met White Americans who are really good. In fact, even when we work for them, they treat us right and motivate us. They tell us, “We are with you.”*

*Cristobal, Sonoma Valley resident (Male), 48 years old*

Participants expressed appreciation for those individuals who promote equity and recruit others within their privileged circles to take action against individuals perpetuating anti-immigrant sentiments, racism, microaggressions, and other forms of discrimination.

We next discuss the most commonly endorsed spiritual assets in our case study.
Spiritual Assets

A spiritual asset in this study is defined as a resource that enables the Latino/X community to engage in, receive, and benefit from acts of compassion, mercy, justice, and indigenous healing.

La Iglesia [Church]

Latinos/X identified the support offered by faith-based organizations in Sonoma Valley as a spiritual asset. Although Roman Catholicism has the most dominant influence in the local Latino/X community, there is also a growing presence of Pentecostals, Seventh-day Adventists, and Jehovah’s Witnesses. St. Leo’s Catholic Church in Sonoma Valley was identified by participants as the most commonly attended church. For some participants, this meant being involved in St. Leo’s congregational life, which provided a sense of belonging, healing, and spiritual growth. Whenever they were in search of hope or inspiration, participants capitalized on faith-based resources that were beneficial to themselves and their families. Isabel shared how the ecclesiastical staff and fellow parishioners at St. Leo’s have supported her family through faith-based services. She stated:

For my mom, for example, for her it’s like her “me time,” her spiritual meditation time. It really helps her, like her one day a week. Whenever she needs help or anything, she goes to the church, or they’ve been there to support her … Religion is a really big part in our family, so whenever anything has happened within our family, the church has been there to support us. When my uncle passed away, when my grandfather passed away, the church offered a lot of help. My family has always been very involved, too, with church. Every mass every Sunday, my family members are the “monaguillos” [altar servers].
-Isabel, Sonoma Valley resident (Female), 27 years old

Community providers reported that St. Leo’s also functions as a site where agencies can deliver important announcements and provide outreach services. Community providers often partner with its clergy to disseminate information about social and health services during mass and worship services.

Residents reported that they remain connected to St. Leo’s social support services regardless of whether they attend church or not. St. Leo’s serves as a food bank, a referral system that connects community members to other social services, and an organization that provides emergency assistance during moments of crisis (death, financial hardship, natural disaster). Cristobal stated:

The Church [St. Leo’s] helps out a lot with food for those who are low income, and it just feels so good to see that … These are the services that we would not want to see disappear. So many people need that support.
-Cristobal, Sonoma Valley resident (Male), 48 years old

Because of the importance of the Church in the Latino/X community and the reported exclusion and marginalization of Latinos/X in Sonoma Valley, houses of worship like St. Leo’s serve as “bridges” between Latino/X residents and formal systems of care. Next, we discuss folk healers and alternative treatments as
important spiritual resources that help deepen healing practices and participants’ sense of spiritual meaning and purpose.

**Folk Healers, Alternative Treatments, & Spiritual Practices**

Latinos/X in our study said they rely on one or more of the following to prevent or treat illness: herbs, oils, homeopathy, curanderos/as/x [folk healers], hueseros/as/x [bone setters], and sobadores/as/x [healers who use a form of massage]. Participant accounts are consistent with previous research that suggests that Latinos/X frequently rely on indigenous practices and alternative treatments for emotional and physical healing (Comas-Diaz, 2006). Several of our participants spoke about feeling a spiritual connection with “naturaleza” [nature] and “plantas” [plants] around them. Rebecca, a folk healer in Sonoma Valley, spoke about her use of plants and massage to help relieve stress among community members who encounter the message “you are not from here.” She stated:

> [Before moving to Sonoma Valley] I worked in Mexico as a traditional doctor. I love working with plants; I love working with the community. I try to always be learning something new because I know that at a certain moment that information can help me, as well as help the people with whom I relate. My mission in life is to help my brothers and sisters, the community, with my knowledge or with my work. It is difficult when there are many things that tell you, “you are not from here.” It still affects me to hear “you are not from here.” It causes me stress, and I have also seen this stress in the people around me.
>
> -Rebecca, Sonoma Valley resident (Female), 56 years old

Participants noted that prior to accessing conventional “Western” health care systems, they often prefer to seek support from local and well-known folk healers, as they are believed to possess “sabiduría” [wisdom] and creative knowledge. Latinos/X who recently arrived in Sonoma Valley expressed a desire to meet local healers who could treat their ailments with natural remedies. Conchita elaborated on the potential benefits of integrating traditional healing methods with modern medicine. She explained:

> Sometimes, the Latino community will trust a curandero more than a medical doctor. I was watching a program in National Geographic of a curandera that in her town everyone was seeking her services and nobody wanted to go to the [health] clinics. They all went with her. The administrator of the clinic went and talked with the curandera and said, “Why don’t you help us out?” People would visit her at the clinic, and then she would make referrals to the medical doctor for those who needed it. It’s like the clinic was incorporated into the community through the healer. She was a healer and midwife … So she would bring in patients that would normally not access medical services … I believe that it would be something beneficial not only for the Latino community, but for the rest of the community if traditional medicine and modern medicine were more integrated here. For those that do not find relief with modern medicine, maybe the traditional would help.
>
> -Conchita, Sonoma Valley community leader (Female), 52 years old

Participants shared that it is often those who do not understand the cultural importance of traditional healing methods who prevent folk healers from practicing more openly in the Latino/X community. Cecilia explained:
Traditional healers do not publicize because there are people who waive their finger and get them in trouble. In Mexico, people are accustomed to sobadores and other healers. You go and there is no problem, but, here, if you do not have your license established and all that is wrong.

- Cecilia, Sonoma Valley resident (Female), 54 years old

Those who identified themselves as healers shared that while they were not trained in modern or Western medical practices, they had received training in pathophysiology and illness from elders. Some of the healers also had earned medical and nursing licenses in their country of origin. The healers were often concerned about offering services to the general public due to the risks of working without a validated medical or massage license in the US. According to Sandra, a Sonoma Valley resident, if modern medical providers were more open and receptive to the use of alternative treatments or the presence of folk healers within Sonoma Valley’s health centers, they would not be overburdened by their full caseloads. She stated:

So many of us are seeking [medical] services that the few doctors available are tired. If you see 50 or 60 cases a day, then they are going to feel like, “No more”... Maybe if there was another type of service that was offered at the clinics. You know what? If they incorporated homeopathy, I think it would be fantastic. There are many of us who believe more in homeopathy than in allopathy. If maybe the health clinic started working with homeopathy maybe it would work.

-Sandra, Sonoma Valley resident (Female), 43 years old

Next, we discuss the most commonly endorsed cultural assets in our case study.

**Cultural Assets**

A cultural asset in this study is defined as a resource that has value because of its contribution to a culture’s heritage, creativity, knowledge, traditions, meaning, and vitality.

**Las Raíces, La Celebración, Danza, Música, & Comida [Roots, Celebration, Dance, Music & Food]**

Participants believe their connection to ancestors provides opportunities for cultural empowerment, which ameliorates feelings of alienation, loneliness, and loss of cultural identity. They expressed a desire for more community initiatives that would reinforce their positive ethnic and national identity, traditions, and indigenous practices. Previous studies also show that a positive Latino/X ethnic identity is associated with more positive health outcomes (Smith & Silva, 2011).

Participants acknowledged feeling concerned about Latinos/X who deny or ignore Latino/X traditions and heritage. Carolina voiced her worries about how her children are assimilating and giving up on their Latino/X heritage. She stated:

Working here with the White community, I always felt the need to fit in until I reached that point where I’m like, “You know what? No, I’m still brown and my kids are brown. Even though they act very White, they’re still brown.” I started to become a lot more vocal in representing myself as Latina and then also representing my sons because they’re
both Latino males. I'm like, “You guys have to get empowered, and you have to realize that this is where you're coming from. This is where your family comes from, and you have to stand up not only for yourself but for everyone else that looks like you. You have to make a change, you have to stand up for others like you.”
- Carolina, Sonoma Valley resident (Female), 34 years old

Participants described Sonoma Valley’s Latino/X culture as festive, pointing to Sonoma Valley’s cultural events that celebrate Latino/X heritage, like “Cinco de Mayo,” “Dia de los Muertos,” “Noche Latina,” and “Sentimiento Mexicano.” These events, which bring families and community members together, are often influenced by religious, social, and political characteristics that promote the affirmation of Latinos'/X spiritual and cultural roots. Comas-Diaz finds that Latino/X culture “has a celebratory and festive character because it teaches that despite adversity, life is full of blessings” (2006, p. 445).

Participants articulated an appreciation for new and older generations coming together to enjoy the carnival-like activities, food, music, and crafts. Sonoma Valley residents Sebastian and Adela explained that for Latinos/X music, baile, and danza are resources that connect the U.S. with their ancestral land, facilitating the preservation of cultural heritage. They elaborated:

Danza is important. It is all about prayer mixed with spiritual healing. It’s spiritual and physical ... In terms of health, I would say it’s important. I would say for La Raza to express themselves in that cultural way is an important aspect of health itself.
-Sebastian, Sonoma Valley community leader (Male), 35 years old

Latinos/X understand that the body needs to be in movement. We must dance and laugh. Latinos/X enjoy these opportunities. We would much rather be doing this than watching television.
-Adela, Sonoma Valley resident (Female), 61 years old

Some of Sonoma Valley’s community agencies often use these cultural events as outreach opportunities to inform residents about the resources and services that are available to Latinos/X. Participants spoke about looking forward to these events because the community comes together to enjoy food, authentic performances, and Mexican music. Damian explained:

If you have an event and you have good food, people come. If you have a cook, you attract people. In my perception and my experience, the food is the key. You’ll see more people.
-Damian, Sonoma Valley resident (Male), 25 years old

Next, we discuss participants’ goals and dreams as important cultural resources that act as engines of inspiration.
Las Metas & Los Sueños [Goals & Dreams]

Participants discussed their aspirations for social and economic mobility, educational attainment, and professional success. Many referred to these goals and aspirations as the “American Dream.” Although some have experienced socioeconomic challenges, traumatic migration journeys, and other difficulties, participants held onto hopes of achieving their goals and dreams through hard work. These dreams often include notions of economic security, homeownership, and academic success. Participants explained that the idea of one day reaching the “American Dream” keeps them moving forward in spite of their mounting adversities.

Latino/X parents, elders, and adults see their sacrifices and struggles as helping their children achieve a better quality of life than the one they enjoyed growing up. Sandra shared how she has successfully pushed through her fears and barriers (e.g., not having a Social Security number) through constant reminders of her goals and dreams. She explained:

*I arrived to the U.S. without understanding any English, even though I held an administrative job in Mexico. When I arrived, I did not have a Social Security number or a license. I wondered, what do I do now? I decided to enroll in English school. I had a lot of fear; I was afraid of driving, and I was afraid of the police. I had to overcome that fear to pursue my dreams and to be able to transcend. I did all of this while taking care of my home and my children. I told myself, here we go! Now, I’m taking computer classes at La Luz, and I like it because I know it opens new opportunities for me. I am not someone who settles or who waits for others to resolve my life ... I think that is what I am most proud of, that in the midst of the adversity of being a mother, an employee, and a wife, I continue moving forward.*

-Sandra, Sonoma Valley resident (Female), 43 years old

Some participants stated that seeing their parents struggle to reach the “American Dream” strengthened their own capacity to endure and overcome life’s challenges. Admiring their parents’ strength and generosity and reflecting on how their hard work positively impacted their family, participants felt motivated to do the same for their children or younger generations. Participants felt privileged and inspired to witness and learn more about the efforts undertaken by family members to reach their dreams and goals.

In the next section, we provide data-supported recommendations to help elicit and amplify the “fortalezas” [strengths] and spirit of “comunidad” [community] that exist in Sonoma Valley today.
Section 5
Recommendations

We hope to help practitioners, providers, and community leaders understand, elicit, and build on the “fortalezas” that enable “sobrevivencia” and thriving among Sonoma Valley’s Latino/X residents with the following recommendations. These recommendations are grounded on the understanding that Latinos/X (a) value trustworthy environments and social connectedness and (b) often rely on informal networks of support before contacting a local social service or health care agency to obtain professional services. Our recommendations integrate a strengths-based approach along with cultural considerations, and propose that attention to racial and cultural diversity, including immigration status, be a central component of all initiatives and programs implemented in Sonoma Valley. If health care providers, social service practitioners, and community leaders do not consider and incorporate Latino/X cultural values and strengths into the services they offer, the pattern of disparity in utilization and health outcomes will persist.

We acknowledge the significant efforts and serious investments made by local community organizations, as well as the hard work of Sonoma Valley practitioners and providers. We, however, recognize that there are provider shortages and service limitations that make it difficult for Latinos/X to access social and health care programs. Therefore, we recommend building capacity for the services and programs that Latinos/X consider beneficial for their well-being and developing new and non-traditional partnerships and initiatives to eliminate health disparities.

Rely on the Community for Support and Build Capacity for the Use of Informal Networks

1. **Look beyond the individual and into the community.** We recommend that social service agencies and health care clinics look at each Latino/X individual “within the context of his or her family, and at the same time, understand Latino/X families within the context of their culture (Bernal & Sánchez-Santiago, 2006, p. 127).” Traditional individual-based services and support, while helpful in some cases, may fail to consider the person in the context of community systems (Chiang, Hunter, & Yeh, 2004). Thus, Sonoma Valley organizations and agencies should move beyond Western and eurocentric individual approaches and invest in initiatives that consider the systemic interactions of Latino/X families and communities and their social and cultural values and interests. Moving beyond practitioners’ offices or medical rooms and offering services in communal spaces could help increase access to services. Please see asset map to locate the communal spaces that Latinos/X frequently access given their welcoming and affirming atmospheres.

2. **Leverage Latino/X traditions, spirituality, and celebratory nature.** Latinos/X in our study perceived their positive health as being rooted in culture, tradition, faith, hope, celebration, and support from family and community members (e.g., support from comadres, friends, and neighbors). They reported finding great joy in cultural events such as Cinco de Mayo, Día de los Muertos, and Sentimiento Mexicano. We recommend that these events be advertised and promoted through in-person, social media, and group messaging platforms. Participants reported hearing about events most often through Facebook, Nextdoor, and WhatsApp. In short, agencies should prioritize cultural initiatives that focus on leveraging the celebratory nature, spirituality, and traditions of the Latino/X community, and its appreciation for music, “danza” [dance], “comida” [food], and
“pachanga” [party]. These cultural events should continue to receive the community’s support given their power to restore well-being in Latino/X individuals.

3. **Support programming that strengthens Latino/X cultural identity.** Developing initiatives and programs that strengthen Latino/X cultural identity helps promote positive health in Sonoma Valley. Research suggests that while acculturation is associated with a variety of negative externalizing symptoms, such as substance use, delinquent behavior, or negative peer relationships (Gonzales, Knight, Morgan-Lopez, Saenz, & Siroli, 2002), positive ethnic and cultural identity is associated with more positive mental health outcomes (Smith & Silva, 2011). We recommend supporting Sonoma’s ballet folklórico and danza programs (e.g., Quetzalén, Grupo Folklórico El Verano, Grupo Folklórico de Woodland Star, Nuestra Voz’s danza classes) and other initiatives that empower the community through cultural art and environmental education (e.g., Raíces Collective). These efforts may lead to positive health outcomes given their emphasis on developing positive cultural identities.

4. **Collaborate with White allies.** Latinos/X in our case study identified “White allies” as individuals who use their White privilege to create safer and more equitable spaces for Latinos/X without taking over those spaces (e.g., promoting the recruitment and retention of Latino/X board of directors). Sonoma Valley allies encourage members of other privileged and dominant groups to listen, learn, engage in coalition-building, and support initiatives that the Latino/X community believes will improve its well-being. Members from privileged communities may be better positioned to offer assistance by learning about the social conditions that may contribute to the suffering, marginalization, and exclusion of Sonoma Valley Latinos/X, including the impact of microaggressions, racism, and anti-immigrant sentiments on their health.

We recommend that leaders and community members in the region develop *guidelines for being fair and strong White allies* to communities of color. These guidelines should be designed to encourage critical self-reflexivity regarding biases and assumptions about race, class, and immigration status and to dismantle the ways in which Sonoma Valley’s institutions and culture perpetuate oppression through the consolidation of power and privilege by a few dominant groups. Honest and thoughtful community conversations between White allies about how they have benefited from a racially stratified system may help to increase their awareness around racial, economic, and other forms of injustice.

**Build Capacity for Leadership and Mentorship Programs for Latinos/X**

5. **Support Latino/X leadership and civic engagement programs.** Latinos/X in our study expressed a desire to be more engaged in leadership positions and public decision-making. Civic engagement programs could center around supporting organizations, decision-makers, and leaders who are already energizing Latinos/X to participate in political endeavors. For instance, those interested in participating in civic engagement could be encouraged to join La Luz Center’s efforts, which include voter education and registration, census participation, “know your rights” forums, and leadership training programs for Latinos/X. Emerging leaders interested in developing their leadership skills also could be referred to La Luz Center’s Latino Leadership Program. Advertising and promoting successful leadership development and civic engagement programs for Latinos/X are vital.
6. **Grow and fund Latino/X mentorship programs.** Latinos/X in our case study reported finding great support in the mentorship and vocational guidance programs that exist in Sonoma Valley (e.g., Boys and Girls Clubs of Sonoma Valley). The vicarious experiences of observing successful mentors who share similar interests and cultural identities were considered by participants to be transformative. We recommend that Sonoma Valley support mentors and mentorship programs that focus on cultural identity, civic engagement, academic performance, college preparedness, career counseling, socioemotional development (e.g., coping with bullying and discrimination in the school system), and leadership and professional skills. One way of strengthening youth programs may be to provide additional financial support to the Boys and Girls Clubs of Sonoma Valley, an organization that recruits mentors who Latinos/X consider to be trustworthy. In addition, Sonoma Valley could benefit from developing a resource that includes information on professionals who are available to advise and mentor interested youth and adults. Establishing connections between Latino/X mentors and mentees should be a priority, especially because Latino/X youth are the fastest growing population in Sonoma Valley.

7. **Grow and fund programs that create pathways for upward mobility.** Sonoma Valley should consider investing in opportunities that provide business guidance and create pathways to higher incomes through job and skills training. Building capacity for programs like La Luz Center’s microloan program, which provides low-cost loans to foster the growth and success of new and existing enterprises in Sonoma Valley, may improve the well-being of Latino/X families. With more financial assistance, Latinos/X may be in a better position to participate in the social, community, civic, and political opportunities that Sonoma Valley currently offers.

**Design Health Services Grounded in “Cultura” and “Fortalezas”**

8. **Recruit Spanish-speaking health providers and fund provider pipeline development programs.** Spanish-speaking Latinos/X in our study reported that their decision to rely on one source of support over another is based, in part, on the availability of culturally relevant services and Spanish-speaking providers. Therefore, Sonoma Valley could benefit from the ongoing recruitment of Spanish-speaking providers and community health workers (i.e., promotoras/es), as well as the development of provider pipeline programs. Identifying Spanish-speaking Latinos/X who want to pursue careers in the helping professions and giving them access to training opportunities, guidance, and funding could help Sonoma Valley’s provider recruitment efforts. Sonoma Valley could replicate mental health pipeline programs that exist elsewhere in the county to better serve its Latino/X population. In 2018, the Healthcare Foundation of Northern Sonoma County created the Mental Health Talent Pipeline Project to “retain and attract bilingual/bicultural mental health professionals to serve in northern Sonoma County clinics, schools and nonprofit organizations that provide services to north county’s residents.” Participants receive financial support during their graduate program, their post-graduate internship placement, and beyond. Sonoma Valley would greatly benefit from a similar program.

If Sonoma Valley fails to recruit Spanish-speaking providers, existing Spanish-speaking providers will continue to be overburdened by full caseloads, which could result in Latinos/X being waitlisted. Attracting bilingual/bicultural early-career providers into Sonoma Valley’s workforce should be a priority, especially given the region’s designation as a Health Professional Shortage Area.

9. **Offer training to existing health care and social service providers in the areas of Latino/X health, cultural humility, linguistic competency, and indigenous healing.** Researchers have proposed that effective outcomes
with Latino/X individuals are best accomplished when health providers demonstrate awareness and knowledge of the cultural, political, and historical experiences that shape the lives and identities of Latino/X individuals (Arredondo & Perez, 2003; Cardemil & Sarmiento, 2009; Gloria, Ruiz, & Castillo, 2004). Thus, health centers and social service agencies could benefit from training that prepares Sonoma Valley providers to adequately address issues located at the intersection of race, ethnicity, immigration status, and health concerns. Collaborating more closely with indigenous healers, promotoras/X, and other trusted members of the community could increase their understanding of Latino/X cultural values. Health care and social service providers may benefit from receiving training on indigenous healing. Conversely, indigenous healers may benefit from additional preventive care training so that they can better screen and refer Latino/X community members to Western medical providers when needed.

Further Integration Between Informal and Formal Networks of Support

10. Greater use of promotoras/X and folk healers within social service and health agencies. Latinos/X in our case study expressed a desire to see further integration and collaboration between indigenous healers, promotoras/X, and health care and social service providers. This is because indigenous and alternative healing systems are perceived by the Latino/X culture as effective in the diagnosis and treatment of ailments. Integrating modern medical care with indigenous forms of healing and alternative treatments may encourage Latinos/X to access needed services at community clinics, hospital settings, and social service agencies. This can be especially helpful as research has found that Latinos/X underutilize formal services because of difficulties finding trustworthy and culturally responsive service providers (Dominguez & Watkins, 2003). Latinos/X may feel more comfortable pursuing formal services if promotoras/X and indigenous healers are integrated into the infrastructure and current models used by health care or social service agencies. In addition to integrating indigenous and alternative forms of healing, agencies also should accommodate larger community and family systems, for example, by having enough space in therapy or medical rooms for the patient’s family, curanderos/X, and promotoras/X. For those who may have had previous negative experiences with health care centers and social service agencies, this integration could be particularly helpful.

11. Greater use of promotoras/X and folk healers in the community. Relying on promotoras and indigenous healers could help ameliorate the challenges that arise when (a) geographic conditions and transportation barriers make it difficult for Latinos/X to access formal services and (b) when formal services are limited due to a shortage of social service and health providers. Recruiting, training, and offering fair compensation to promotoras/X are strategies that may help increase access to services. Consulting with agencies such as the Center for Well-being and Sonoma Valley Community Health Center, which have successfully used promotoras in the community, could offer insight into effective ways of recruiting and using community health workers with hard-to-reach populations.

12. Strengthen the collaboration between local churches and social and health care agencies. Latinos/X in our study found the social support offered by local churches to be vital to their well-being. Thus, health care organizations and social service agencies may benefit from developing sustainable partnerships with faith-based organizations, particularly those that act as important gateways to formal services (i.e., St. Leo’s Catholic Church). Similarly, faith-based organizations should strive to support the work that health centers and social service agencies (i.e., La Luz Center, Nuestra Voz, FISH, Boys and Girls Clubs of Sonoma Valley, Sonoma
Valley Hospital, and Sonoma Valley Community Health Center) are doing to address the local socioeconomic and health disparities. Offering health and social services at trusted local churches, such as St. Leo’s, could help reduce accessibility concerns around visiting health clinics and community-based agencies.

**Address the Structural Barriers, Disparities, and Inequities Impacting Latinos/X**

13. **Attend to structural barriers, disparities, and discrimination.** As community-based organizations (CBOs) and health agencies strive to design new programs and best-practice initiatives for Latinos/X, these programs will need to attend to the structural barriers, disparities, and discrimination that impact Latinos/X. Community members, government officials, and health care and social service providers can play an essential role in creating structural and systemic changes that benefit Latino/X communities (e.g., addressing housing concerns and the lack of proportionate political representation). They can also offer support by providing detailed information on the culturally informed resources available for Latinos/X in Sonoma Valley. To this end, the asset map included in this report could serve as a referral resource.

14. **Confront the housing crisis and preserve the spirit of the Latino/X barrio.** Latinos/X in our case study identified unaffordable housing as their most serious economic challenge. Thus, decision-makers must urgently address the housing crisis impacting Latinos/X, prevent the negative impact of gentrification, offer affordable and mixed housing options, and support sustainable homeownership. One solution involves supporting projects that create opportunities for high-density residential development for a Latino/X population that is struggling with low incomes and economic disparities.

New housing units, development projects, and renovations within “The Springs” area must preserve and conserve Latino/X and indigenous architectural, cultural, and historical resources, given the important role that neighborhood context plays in the mental health of individuals (Bostean, Andrade, & Viruell-Fuentes, 2019). Housing should also appeal to Latino/X values and needs. This includes supporting the needs of Latino/X-owned businesses. The safe communal spaces that Latinos/X identified as physical assets where they feel comfortable congregating and socializing without fear of marginalization and persecution need to be preserved as well (see asset map for this information). The availability of affordable housing options for Latino/X families will help to ameliorate their economic hardship.

15. **Provide fair working conditions, benefits, and wages.** Latinos/X consider their labor to be a resource that strengthens and enriches the region of Sonoma Valley, both culturally and economically. Whether it involves caring for their employers’ homes, children, elderly parents, vineyards, or land, Latinos/X feel great integrity in their contributions. To support the well-being of Latino/X workers and caretakers, their work must be recognized, celebrated, and adequately compensated. They should have access to good working conditions, higher incomes, and employment benefits, such as high-quality health care coverage. Health care coverage will be especially critical for workers who are exposed to environmental toxins or are more vulnerable to accidents and injuries given the nature of their physically intensive jobs.

16. **Improve the educational attainment and achievement of the Latino/X community.** Latinos/X in our case study expressed concerns around the lower educational attainment that exists among the Latino/X community compared to White residents. Therefore, we recommend that Sonoma Valley decision-makers and funders invest
in programs that promote Latino/X achievement in higher education (e.g., prevent drop-out rates), such as individualized and group mentoring and tutoring, college preparedness and migrant student educational programs, and diversity training for teachers. Without training that enhances teachers’ multicultural and self-awareness, cultural empathy, and critical consciousness, their success in narrowing the educational gap may not be accomplished.

17. **Support and recruit Latino/X leaders.** It is important for Sonoma Valley to build capacity for Latino/X talent and increase diversity on health care and social service organizations’ boards and in government positions. Leadership programs must reflect the diversity of Sonoma Valley’s population and invest in the preparation of culturally competent future political, corporate, and community leaders. Latinos/X ready to take on appointments to boards and commissions should be identified and supported with the goal of increasing Latino/X representation.

18. **Protect undocumented communities from discrimination, racism, and nativism.** Sonoma Valley should have no tolerance for discrimination, including discrimination based on race and immigration status. Its society could benefit from decision-makers and government officials who make frequent public statements that honor the humanity of undocumented communities and promote their safety. We recommend that Sonoma Valley residents be trained in effective ways to respond to Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) raids and police harassment, that Sonoma Valley churches act as congregational sanctuaries, and that allies receive training on bystander intervention.

19. **Vote and Naturalize.** Encouraging Latinos/X to register to vote, as well as to take steps toward naturalization for voting eligibility and other benefits, is critical. The lack of legal status prevents some Latinos/X from participating in electoral processes and civic engagement. Sonoma Valley Latinos/X who are eligible to vote may benefit from campaigning for candidates who support the issues that they care about. These issues may include addressing the wealth, education, and income gap; housing and immigration concerns; and confronting racism and anti-immigrant sentiments against Latino/X families.

20. **Design equitable wildfire and disaster-response strategies that protect Latino/X communities, especially undocumented groups.** The process of recovery from a natural disaster often takes years. To help survivors grow, thrive, and better prepare for future disaster adversities, creative and thoughtful preventive education (Tominaga, 2008) and rehabilitative clinical services must be available in the spaces where Latinos/X live, work, and play. To obtain broader outreach and to help improve social ties and the establishment of social networks, we recommend that these services be offered within the communal spaces that Latinos/X in our study have identified as welcoming and safe (e.g., St. Leo’s church, Nuestra Voz, La Luz Center, and Sonoma Valley Community Health Center).


Kretzmann, J. P., & McKnight, J. L. (1995). Building communities from the inside out A path toward finding and mobilizing a community’s assets. *Institute for Policy Research, Northwestern University.*


Appendices

Appendix A. Method

Participants

Focus groups and in-depth interviews were selected as data collection tools because Latino/X research proposes that Latino/X interactional styles of “platicando” [small talk] are well suited to interviews, focus groups, and other forms of qualitative data collection (Delgado-Romero, Singh, De Los Santos, 2018). Our study had a total of 54 participants. A total of five focus groups were conducted; three of them were in Spanish and two of them were in English. Our final sample of 54 participants consisted primarily of heterosexual individuals (n = 48), women (n = 39), and individuals between 25 and 34 years old (n = 16). The average age was 41 years old for participants. Based on the participants who answered questions regarding annual household income, the majority had a household annual income of $25,000 to $49,000. All participants were given pseudonyms, and all identifying markers were removed from the study. At the time of their recruitment, all participants resided or worked full time in Sonoma Valley.

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<tr>
<th>Data Collection Method</th>
<th>Total Number of Interviews</th>
<th>Total N</th>
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<td>29</td>
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Notes. N is based on a sample of 54 participants.
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<tr>
<td>Community resident (not provider)</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>55-64 years old</td>
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<tr>
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<td>English speaker only</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>$50,000-$59,000</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>$60,000-$79,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Single parent household</td>
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Procedure

CBPAR Timeline

Organizing the Research Team & IRB Approval
January 2019

Recruitment and Data Collection
March 2019 - December 2019

Dissemination During Community Meetings & Action Planning
March 2020 - June 2020

Entering the Field and Developing Survey Instruments
January 2019 - March 2019

Detailed Data Analysis and Report Writing
December 2019 - March 2020

Action

Organizing the Research Team

Team members were selected based on their previous community work experiences with underserved Latino/X communities and their Spanish fluency. Once the team members were selected, a request to the Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects (IRBPHS) at the University of San Francisco (IRB Protocol ID# 1158) was submitted and approved.

Entering the Field

We visited key community leaders (Latino/X and non-Latino/X) and diverse stakeholders, including community-based organizations, schools, and a health center to learn more about Sonoma Valley’s culture, general population, and Latino/X community. In addition, we conducted walking and windshield tours and attended local events (e.g., Cinco de Mayo celebration, Latino leadership forums, health fairs, immigration forums, etc.) to better understand the region. The community leaders and diverse stakeholders with whom we connected supported our recruitment efforts.
Photographs were captured by the Community-Engaged Research Team during walking and windshield tours.

Developing Survey Instruments

A general focus group and in-depth interview facilitation outline was developed iteratively over three months during lab meetings with three research assistants (RAs). During lab meetings, possible questions were suggested and discussed to determine their suitability with our (a) ABCD conceptual framework, (b) our CBPR methodology, and (c) Latino/X cultural values. Focus groups and in-depth interviews were used to collect data from (a) social service and health care providers and (b) community residents.

Dr. Joop de Jong from Erasmus University Rotterdam in the Netherlands served as an external evaluator of our CBPR research design and reviewed our focus group and individual interview questions. Based on his feedback, we made a few modifications to our semi-structured interview protocol. The final focus group and individual interview questions, which include the changes we incorporated after Dr. de Jong’s feedback, can be found in the appendix section of this report.

Recruitment

Our focus group and in-depth interview participants were recruited through diverse strategies, including using existing contacts in the community, a referral system (see referral form in appendix section), and word of mouth, as well as through our everyday interactions in Sonoma Valley and the dissemination of information during community meetings, forums, and events (e.g., information tables during health fairs). Snowball sampling, our recruitment method, is often used to study hard-to-reach or marginal populations
through the use of referrals “from insiders within the population to be studied” (de Jong & Ommeren, 2002, p. 427).

The requirements to participate were the following: (a) Latino/a/X identified community practitioners or community residents of Sonoma Valley (b) living or working full time in Sonoma Valley, and (c) ages 18 to 80. We defined “community practitioner” as an individual who is trained by an academic program or health/social service agency to offer community resources and/or health information to residents (e.g., promotores/as/X, case managers, etc.) in Sonoma Valley. We defined “community resident” as any individual who resides in Sonoma Valley. Participants who needed reimbursement for gasoline costs were provided a $20 gift card.

Interviews took place at the Sonoma Valley Community Health Center, the Center for Wellbeing, Nuestra Voz, La Luz Center, the Hanna Institute, the Boys and Girls Clubs of Sonoma Valley, the Family Resource Center in El Verano, a coffee shop, and residents’ homes.

Data Collection Strategies

Once participants signed our IRB-approved consent form (see informed consent in appendix section) and were informed about the purpose and objectives of our study, we encouraged participants to share their thoughts openly and explained the limits of confidentiality. We explained to participants that we would not tie their comments to their identifying information and that audio recordings would be securely maintained on a password-protected external drive and destroyed following the completion of our study. Non-verbal communication and overarching themes were observed and noted. Interview protocols were followed step-by-step. The researchers, fluent in both Spanish and English, conducted focus groups and in-depth interviews in Spanish and English.

Data Collection for Focus Groups

For approximately one hour and thirty minutes, the focus group participants discussed seven questions presented by the co-facilitators. Subsequently, they were asked by the researchers to spend 30 minutes mapping “community assets” on a map of Sonoma Valley. The map was placed in the middle of the roundtable and participants were asked to identify local assets collaboratively. The focus groups were participatory in nature, with members negotiating not only the direction but also the ways in which they wanted to map the assets. At the conclusion of the focus group, the researchers debriefed and memoed reflective thoughts, observations, or interpretations of the group discussions.

Data Collection for In-Depth Interviews

For approximately one hour and thirty minutes, in-depth interview participants responded to 22 questions on: their perception of life experiences and quality of life for Latinos/X in Sonoma Valley; their strengths, values, beliefs, and networks of support; their access to health and social services; their access to and participation in community engagement opportunities; and their professional and academic
development opportunities (see list of interview questions in appendix). At the conclusion of the in-depth interviews, the researchers debriefed and memoed reflective thoughts, observations, or interpretations of responses.

The photographs were captured by members of the research team prior to the focus-group sessions. (CERT, 2020)

Analysis

The data analyzed included interview observations, qualitative data from participants’ answers, and asset mapping images from focus groups. At the conclusion of each focus group and in-depth interview, the data was transcribed by a transcription company (i.e., Go Transcript). The researchers listened carefully to each audio recording and reread participant transcripts.

With the goal of revealing themes embedded in our data, N Vivo software was used. Our team tagged, labeled, assembled, categorized, and thematically sorted out all of the collected data (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). We used a triadic coding scheme to classify data, make connections between and among categories of data, and convey the interpretation of our analysis. First, we reviewed participants’ transcripts
and coded the "meaning units" (i.e., the words that convey similar meanings) to develop an initial codebook (Graneheim & Lundman, 2004). We then organized similar themes and concepts into categories and used axial coding to gain a deeper understanding of the context, circumstances, and outcomes of these categories (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Using selective coding, these categories were then grouped and integrated into "meaning-filled expressions." Moving from open coding to selective coding, we were able to apply data reduction and consolidation techniques.

Our team members coded independently and then met multiple times to group the themes until a consensus on a final list of themes was reached. The list of themes is a product of the codes that appeared repeatedly across conversations with Latino/X-identified community providers and Latino/X-identified residents.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Table 8. Analysis</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Open Coding</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Axial Coding</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Selective Coding</strong></td>
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**Methodological Integrity**

This CBPR research study was grounded in the professional standards and ethical principles of the American Psychological Association’s Journal Article Reporting Standards for Qualitative Research (JARS-Qual Working Group) (Levitt et al., 2018). We believe that ensuring scientific rigor in CBPR is an ethical responsibility due to the need for accurate data that can inform intervention efforts that impact the lives of community members. To meet trustworthiness standards (Levitt et al., 2018), the techniques for establishing credibility and dependability in this study were: prolonged engagement, analyst triangulation, peer debriefing, member-checking, inquiry audit, and reflexivity (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

Prolonged engagement with the phenomenon under study was achieved through our deep immersion in Sonoma Valley. We engaged with the Sonoma Valley community to understand its culture, its population, and its community values, as well as the disparities encountered by communities on the margins. The researchers of this study spent over a year in the community developing rapport and trust with key community leaders, residents, and agencies. We relied on analyst triangulation to understand multiple ways of interpreting the data and to explore divergent understandings, biases, possible distortions, selective perception, and blind spots during the data analysis phase (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Peer debriefing between three coders was used to test emergent hypotheses and aspects of the data that may be influenced by the researchers’ perspectives. Member-checking was applied when we disseminated our findings during community meetings and forums to offer Sonoma Valley residents the opportunity to provide feedback, to
debate preliminary results, and to assess whether their voices were captured in accurate ways. During these meetings, we reviewed ideas and interpretations of the data for critical and constructive feedback.

To establish dependability, we conducted an inquiry audit by having an external researcher (i.e., an assistant professor from the University of San Francisco) evaluate the accuracy of the research process and whether the interpretations and conclusions were supported by the data (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Reflexivity was managed by intentionally acknowledging and discussing the researchers’ assumptions and biases that may be present in our study.

**Limitations**

Several limitations to this CBPR study warrant a mention. First, our study is qualitative in nature, so our findings are not generalizable and only reflect the perceptions and experiences of our specific participants. Recruiting participants using the snowball sampling or word-of-mouth method may have limited the variability of participants because not every Latino/X resident in Sonoma Valley necessarily has an equal chance of being selected through snowball sampling. Joop de Jong explains, “gregarious individuals with relatively large social networks are more likely to be selected than individuals who prefer to live more isolated lives. Thus, snowball sampling is best applied to study small populations of people who are likely to know each other” (de Jong & Ommeren, 2002, p. 427).

Additional limitations may include low rates of participation by individuals with low literacy, little access to the Internet, non-English and Spanish-speaking Latinos/X (i.e., indigenous communities), and possibly those who were intentionally trying to avoid sharing their experiences (e.g., undocumented individuals). While an increasing number of studies are performed using snowball sampling, this method may be vulnerable to coverage and selection bias, which in some cases may undermine the external validity of studies and the interpretation of findings (Bethlehem, 2010).
Appendix B. Questions for Focus Group

1) What does life look like for Latinos/X in Sonoma Valley?

2) What are the greatest strengths and resources of the Latino/X community in Sonoma Valley? Where do the Latino/X community display these strengths?

3) What networks of support/support systems do Latinos/X turn to and rely on in times of adversity and challenges? Where do these networks congregate or meet?

4) How do Latinos/X come together to improve their communities and neighborhoods? (e.g., how do they participate in community affairs?)

5) What do you believe are the 2-3 most important issues that must be addressed to improve the health and quality of life of Latinos/X in Sonoma Valley?

6) If you had additional resources to deliver new services to the Latino/X community, what new services would you offer?

7) How are community leaders and city officials building capacity for the systems of support that are helping Latino/X communities?
   a) How are they creating opportunities for Latinos/X to use their voice (i.e., civic engagement)?

8) Can you please locate the resources where you feel safer, welcomed, and supported on this map (map of Sonoma Valley provided by researchers)?

Probing Questions:

1) Would you explain further?

2) Would you give me an example of what you mean?

3) Would you say more? Tell us more ...

4) Is there anything else?

5) Please describe what you mean.

6) Has anyone had a different experience? Does anyone see it differently?
Appendix C. Survey Questions for In-Depth Interviews

Perception of Life Experiences and Quality of Life for Latinos/X in Sonoma Valley
1. What is life like for you in Sonoma Valley?
2. What is it like for you to raise children in Sonoma Valley? (if applicable) Please explain.
3. How do you see yourself growing old in Sonoma Valley? Please explain.
4. In terms of safety, how do you experience Sonoma Valley?

Strengths, Values, Beliefs, and Networks of Support
5. What do you consider to be the greatest strengths and/or areas of growth for yourself and your family?
6. What makes you most proud in your own life?
7. What do you consider to be a “good life”? What are your ideas about how you can achieve the “good life?”
8. What was the last major stressor in your life? What did you do to overcome this stressor? Did you succeed or did you fail?
9. What skills, gifts, or abilities do you have to help others?
10. What resources, capacities, and networks of support do you use to overcome adversity and stress?

Health and Social Services
11. What do you do to stay healthy? Do you have any unhealthy habits? If so, which?
12. What do you do to improve the quality of your life?
13. What can you do to improve the health and quality of life of the Latino/X community in Sonoma Valley?
14. What actions, policy, or funding priorities would you support to build a healthier Latino/X community in Sonoma Valley?
15. If Latinos/X had the power to increase control over how they received health and social services, what would service delivery look like?
16. As a Latino/X resident in Sonoma Valley, do you feel welcomed when you access services? How so?

Community Engagement Opportunities
17. What would excite you to become involved (or more involved) in improving your neighborhood? What are the main factors that hinder the improvement of the neighborhood? What can you do to make your neighborhood more attractive?
18. Can you tell us about a story when you and your neighbors came together to solve a problem?
19. How do you contribute to and participate in Sonoma Valley community affairs?
20. How often do you attend community events?

Professional and Economic Development
21. What are some career goals that you would like to achieve? What obstacles get in the way?
22. What help or support are you receiving to pursue your occupational or professional goals?
Appendix D. Informed Consent

Please read and sign this informed consent.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY:
The purpose of this research is to use an Asset Based Community Development (ABCD) strategy to help promote neighbor-to-neighbor trust, community participation, citizen empowerment, and pride among Latino/X dominant communities in Sonoma Valley.

OUR OBJECTIVES ARE TO:
a) develop an asset map of Sonoma Valley;
b) increase engagement between our research team (a partnership between Hanna Institute and USF) and Sonoma Valley Latino/X-identified community practitioners and Latino/X residents in Sonoma Valley;
c) gather information from Sonoma Valley community practitioners and Latino/X residents about the needs and strengths of the Latino/X community in Sonoma Valley;
d) develop a shared understanding of the concerns of Latino/X individuals and families in Sonoma Valley;
e) provide recommendations that may provide ideas about how to create greater social capital among Latino/X communities in Sonoma Valley.

WE WANT TO UNDERSTAND:
Where do Latino/X community members in Sonoma Valley turn to for support and assistance?
What resources, protective factors, and support systems do they utilize to overcome adversity?

WHAT WE WILL ASK YOU TO DO:
We will ask you to participate in an in-depth interview or a focus group. Each will last approximately 1.5-2 hours.

ELIGIBILITY CRITERIA:
Only Sonoma Valley residents or individuals who work in Sonoma Valley are eligible to participate. Participants should be ages 18 to 80 to be eligible for participation in the study.

DURATION AND LOCATION OF THE STUDY:
The study will take place in Sonoma County, CA. Specific locations include the Hanna Institute, Nuestra Voz, La Luz Center, Center for Well-Being, Boys and Girls Clubs, the Sonoma Valley Community Health Center, and the broader Sonoma Valley community. You will be asked to participate in a 1.5-2 hour interview or focus group.

POTENTIAL RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS:
Possible risks include feeling strong emotions when sharing your lived experiences with others. These emotions might be similar to those felt when talking to a close friend, family member, or counselor. You can discontinue your participation and withdraw at any time.
 BENEFITS:
Since the study is focused on the strengths, resources, protective factors, and capacities of the Latino/X community in Sonoma Valley, participants will be asked to focus on “what is working” in their community rather than “what is lacking.” By focusing on “what is strong” instead of “what is wrong,” we hope that participants will be able to see their community as resourceful. An additional benefit of developing an asset map is the participants’ contribution to a body of research designed to help community-engaged practitioners understand how to create “self-healing communities.”

PRIVACY/CONFIDENTIALITY:
Any data you provide in our focus groups or in-depth interviews will be kept confidential unless disclosure is required by law. In any report we publish, we will not include information that will make it possible to identify you or any individual participant.

COMPENSATION/PAYMENT FOR PARTICIPATION:
There is no payment or other forms of compensation for your participation in this study. Some participants may receive reimbursement for travel to the location of the interview.

VOLUNTARY NATURE OF THE STUDY:
Your participation is voluntary and you may refuse to participate without penalty or loss of benefits.

OFFER TO ANSWER QUESTIONS:
Please ask any questions you have now. If you have questions later, you should contact the principal investigator: Daniela Dominguez at (210-304-9830) or (dgdominguez@usfca.edu). If you have questions or concerns about your rights as a participant in this study, you may contact the University of San Francisco Institutional Review Board at IRBPHS@usfca.edu.

If you experience adverse reactions as a result of answering these questions, please call:

Mental Health Emergency Hotline 24-hour: (800) 746-8181
North Bay Suicide Prevention Hotline: (855) 587-6373
National Suicide Prevention Lifeline: (800) 273-TALK (8255)
Spanish language counselors: (888) 628-9454

PARTICIPANT'S FIRST AND LAST NAME

________________________________________________________

PARTICIPANT'S SIGNATURE

DATE

________________________________________________________
Appendix E. Demographic Form

Your name: __________________________ Current Age: __________________

Zip Code: __________ Phone Number: __________________________ E-mail: __________________

How long have you lived or worked in Sonoma Valley? __________________________

Profession: ☐ Promotor/a/x ☐ Community Member/Resident ☐ Community Practitioner → What kind of community practitioner? (E.g., Counselor, Social Worker, Physician):

____________________________________________________________________________________

☐ Other: ______________________________________________________________________________

Primary Language (check all that apply): ☐ English ☐ Spanish ☐ Bilingual ☐ Spanglish

☐ Other: ______________________________________________________________________________

Race or ethnicity

How would you self-identify in terms of race and/or ethnicity? __________________________

(if you have any questions about this item, please ask)

Options (check all that apply):

☐ Mexican
☐ Chicano/a/X/Mexican-American
☐ Latino/a/X
☐ Hispanic
☐ Mestizo/a/X
☐ Afro-Latina/Latinegra
☐ Indigenous/Indigena
☐ Multiracial/Multiethnic
☐ Other: ______________________________________________________________________________

Family information:

Please describe the composition of your FAMILY OF ORIGIN (i.e., the type of family you GREW UP IN):

☐ Intact nuclear family (parents not divorced)
☐ Blended family (e.g., step-parents or step-siblings)
Intergenerational family (e.g., Grandparents reside in home)
Single parent household
Parents divorced/separated; joint custody
Foster family
Other:_____________________________________________________

Who are the people who raised you? (check all that apply):
Both parents
Mother
Father
Extended family (e.g., aunt, uncle)
Grandparent(s)
Foster Parents
Step Parents
Siblings
Other:_____________________________________________________

Please describe the composition of your household: (i.e., the kind of household you live in TODAY)
Intact nuclear family (parents not divorced)
Blended family (e.g., step-parents or step-siblings)
Intergenerational family (e.g., Grandparents reside in home)
Single parent household
Living with roommates. How many roommates? __________________________(Number)
Multiple families living in one house/apartment unit.
Other:_____________________________________________________

Country of origin/generational status:
I was born in another country (please indicate which country)____________________
How long have you lived in the US?_________________________________________
One of my parents was born in another country, but I was born in the US.
Both parents were born in another country, but I was born in the US.
Both my parents and I were born in the US.
Other:_____________________________________________________

Current relationship status:
Please describe your current relationships status:
Single
Married/Civil Union
Committed relationship, living together
Committed relationship, living apart
Separated
Divorced
Widowed
Other:_____________________________________________________

Current gender identity:  Woman  Man  Transgender Woman
Transgender Man  Non-binary
**Gender pronouns:**
- She/Her/Hers
- He/Him/His
- They/Them/Their
- Other:______________

**Sexual orientation:**
- Heterosexual
- Gay/Lesbian
- Bisexual
- Queer
- Pansexual
- Decline to state
- Another Sexual Orientation (please specify):______________

**Primary language spoken in your home:**
Which is the language you most often speak at home? (check all that apply)
- English
- Spanish
- Spanglish

- Other languages spoken in the home:__________________________________________________

**Education completed**
What is your highest level of education?
- Elementary (1st-5th grade)
- Middle (6th-8th grade)
- High School (9th-12th grade)
- GED
- Associate’s degree
- Bachelor’s degree
- Graduate level degree
- No formal schooling

**Household Income**
What is your estimated household income?
$________________________

**Health insurance**
Do you have health insurance/health coverage?
- Yes  What is your insurance company?__________________________________________________
- No
Gifts to the Community
What are some activities you are good at and that you enjoy talking or doing with other community members? (e.g., art, history, birds)

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What are some things you care deeply about? (e.g., protection of the environment, civic life, children)

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Is there something that you would like to change about your life in Sonoma Valley or about yourself?

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Anything else we should know?

Please circle the community resources you use when needing support or facing adversity and indicate how often you seek support there. IF YOU DO NOT USE THIS RESOURCE, PLEASE LEAVE IT BLANK.

Almost every day (1), once a week(2), twice a month (3), once a month (4), a few times during the year (5)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Resource</th>
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<tr>
<td>Boys and Girls Clubs of Sonoma Valley</td>
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<td>Community Child Care Council 4Cs</td>
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<td>Sonoma Valley Teen Center</td>
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<td>Young Life Sonoma</td>
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<td>Head Start</td>
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<td>Vintage House</td>
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<tr>
<td>Parent University</td>
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<td>Meals on Wheels</td>
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<td>El Verano Family Resource Center</td>
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Nuestra Voz                                   |   |   |   |   |   |
Sonoma Valley Community Health Center         |   |   |   |   |   |
La Luz Center                                 |   |   |   |   |   |
Sonoma Valley Police Department               |   |   |   |   |   |
Sonoma Valley Hospital                        |   |   |   |   |   |
Hanna Institute and Hanna Boys Center         |   |   |   |   |   |
Sonoma Valley Museum of Art                   |   |   |   |   |   |
Sonoma Community Center                       |   |   |   |   |   |
St. Leo’s Catholic Church                     |   |   |   |   |   |

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<tr>
<th>Organization</th>
<th>1</th>
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<th>3</th>
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<th>Organization</th>
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<tr>
<td>Al-Anon/Alateen</td>
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<td>Craig Avenue Baptist Church</td>
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<tr>
<td>Friends In Sonoma Helping (FISH)</td>
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<td>United Methodist Church</td>
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<td>Redwood Food Bank</td>
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<td>First Congregational Church</td>
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<td>Redwood Credit Union</td>
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<td>Jack London Village</td>
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<td>St. Vincent De Paul</td>
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<td>Sonoma Community Garden</td>
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<td>Sonoma Overnight Support (SOS) Shelter</td>
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<td>Other: (Write Down Please)</td>
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Please list the community spaces or events where you spend time with friends and Sonoma Valley community residents. These may include parks, markets, libraries, recreation centers/sports clubs, barbershops, religious/worship spaces, music groups, or other.

*Almost every day (1), once a week (2), twice a month (3), once a month (4), a few times during the year (5)*

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<tr>
<th>Event 1</th>
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Appendix F. Referral List for Community Practitioners

Our research team would like to recruit Sonoma Valley community members who identify as Latino/X or Hispanic (ages 18 to 80). Please consider supporting our recruitment efforts.

Please nominate friends, family members, co-workers, or neighbors to participate in our study. All of this information will be strictly confidential.

Your first and last name: ___________________ Agency you work for: ___________________

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First name and last name of person you would like to nominate. **Person must live or work in Sonoma Valley</th>
<th>E-mail</th>
<th>Phone Number</th>
<th>Do they know that we will be contacting them? Yes/No</th>
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