

# JustSouth QUARTERLY



SUMMER 2017

# "NO" IS NOT ENOUGH!

## Reflections on a lifestyle of resistance

BY FRED KAMMER, S.J.

Since the 2016 election, we have had demonstrations, confrontations, and calls to be "resisters" or even "disrupters."<sup>1</sup> In this tumultuous time, spiritual writer Henri Nouwen has much to tell us. Discerning our nuclear-armed culture, Father Nouwen wrote of resistance as "the daily life of peacemakers." He called for, not just acts of resistance, but our whole being resisting the powers leading to injustice, war, and destruction. He highlighted three aspects of this lifestyle of resistance.<sup>2</sup>

**Resistance means saying "No" to the forces of death.** As politicians discuss increasing our nuclear arsenal, our most obvious "No" must be to the actual use of nuclear arms, an unconscionable horror.

It is obvious that all people who believe that God is a God of life, and especially we who proclaim that Jesus Christ came to live among us to overcome the powers of death, must say "No" to nuclear arms, a clear and unambiguous "No."<sup>3</sup>

But Christian resistance extends more deeply to saying "No" to amassing nuclear weapons because, as the Vatican clearly stated, they kill the poor by the diversion of human, scientific, and economic resources.<sup>4</sup> It also requires a fervent "No" to the impact upon ourselves. We are a nation which, by amassing such weapons, expresses our willingness to use them. This willingness is a horrible statement about our own fears, angers, and destructiveness.

Our "No" must extend consistently to death in all other forms. This includes abortion, violent sports that maim and cripple, and the seductive violence of films and television. We also must reject the less spectacular death of everyday lives, as when we "write others off" in conversations or when our society does the same with the aged, poor, disabled, or racial minorities. It is a form of death when we even think of ourselves with self-loathing, self-rejection, and deep self-hatred reflected in, for example, our excessive consumption of alcohol, food, or drugs.

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These are all ways of death, Nouwen said, because they render us fixed, static, unchangeable, hopeless—dead. This is how many in our society think about and communicate to people who are poor, and it is absorbed by them. We can have the same attitude towards the rich and powerful. Whenever we judge people as incapable of change we create death. It takes many forms: cutting others out of our lives, giving up on ourselves ("thinking myself to death"), and even death-oriented self-indulgence in choosing the certainty of the moment over future uncertainty. Living a life of resistance, then, means saying "No"—firmly and frequently—to death in all its forms.

**Resistance means saying "Yes" to life.** A subtle danger hides in the anti-nuclear, anti-racism, anti-sexism, anti-abortion, anti-pollution, anti-whatever movements. Perennial opposition, struggling constantly against death, can seduce us into becoming its victims. We have all met such people. Death in some form becomes so all-consuming and demands so much energy that it dominates their lives. Their hearts become violent and warlike, lost to their initial commitment to peacemaking, life, or justice. A friend in *Pax Christi* described to me her experience of the violent language and actions of some in the anti-war movement. A similar turnabout occurred some years ago in Florida when a pro-life demonstrator shot and killed a doctor-abortionist.

Saying "No" then is not enough for a life of resistance. Nouwen says there must be an even more enthusiastic "Yes" to life:

It means that only a loving heart, a heart that continues to affirm life at all times and places, can say "No" to death without being corrupted by it. A heart that loves friends and enemies is a heart that calls forth life and lifts up life to be celebrated. It is a heart that refuses to dwell in death because it is always enchanted with the abundance of life. Indeed only in the context of this strong loving "Yes" to life can the power of death be overcome. I therefore want to say here as clearly as I can that the first and foremost task of the peacemaker is not to fight death but to call forth, affirm, and nurture the signs of life wherever they become manifest.<sup>5</sup>

The forces of death are big and noisy, grinding like heavy construction equipment. Or they can be quick and bold like shots ringing out on a dark night. Life is vulnerable, slowly growing, risking, hidden, soft-spoken, like all

those stories Jesus told of the Reign of God. Life grows imperceptibly and moves graciously, but it requires us to nurture it wherever it is found. An example years ago was when Dan Berrigan, SJ, and other peace activists in New York chose to visit nursing home residents regularly.

This life-affirming approach also underscores the importance of advocates having ongoing personal contact with poor families. Then a "No" to defense spending or health care cuts or hunger connects directly to care for specific persons—a resounding "Yes." Saying "Yes" means finding joy in loving individuals, sharing friendship and simple pleasures, and appreciating the small rehabilitation victories of persons with disabilities. It elicits wonder at children learning in pre-school, or adults treading fearfully through the pages of their G.E.D. workbook. Those who dare to say "Yes" to life are nurturers rejoicing in creation's goodness and the dignity of human striving.

**Resistance also is an act of worship.** When we first look, Nouwen wrote, resistance seems to belong to activists and prayer to contemplatives. Looking more closely, however, we see that real prayer is active engagement with our own doubts, evil and good around us, and with the divine. When we look at resistance anew, we also see it differently—as a form of prayer, a spiritual event. Why? Because genuine resistance is not based on results.

Christian resistance is rooted in the Lord of Life, not in success or failure or even the usefulness prized by our culture. Resistance is an Easter proclamation to a world that cannot see beyond Calvary. We proclaim that God alone is God, an act of transforming faith at the heart of a lifestyle of resistance. We declare to a world where violence and death are king and queen that our God is a God of the living, active amidst a death-fixated world. That assertion is itself an act of faith, prayer, and reverence for the divine—working, transforming, energizing, and converting death to life.

## ENDNOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Bishop Robert McElroy, quoted in *Millennial*, February 19, 2017 at <https://millennialjournal.com/2017/02/19/bishop-robert-mcelroy-now-we-must-all-become-disrupters/>
- <sup>2</sup> This article is adapted from Fred Kammer, SJ, *Salted with Fire: Spirituality for the Faithjustice Journey* (Eugene: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2008), pp. 114-118.
- <sup>3</sup> Henri J. M. Nouwen, in Robert Durbach, ed., *Seeds of Hope* (New York, N.Y.: Bantam Books, 1989), p. 170.
- <sup>4</sup> Vatican, *Statement of the Holy See on Disarmament*, April 30, 1976. "... even when they are not used, by their cost alone armaments kill the poor by causing them to starve."
- <sup>5</sup> Henri J. M. Nouwen, "A Spirituality of Peacemaking-Part III: Saying a Humble, Compassionate, & Joyful 'Yes' to Life," *New Oxford Review*, Vol. 52, No. 9, November 1985, pp. 19-26, at 20.



## Catholic Social Thought and War

*Gaudium et Spes*<sup>1</sup> of Vatican II recognized two moral traditions in looking at war—the so-called “just war” or “justifiable war” and pacifism, both deeply embedded in Catholic thought. In the wake of two world wars the Council more fully embraced Christian nonviolence and conscientious objection. After the utter destruction of cities by conventional and atomic bombs, the Council participants felt compelled “to undertake an evaluation of war with an entirely new attitude” [80]. *Gaudium et Spes* declared:

Any act of war aimed indiscriminately at the destruction of entire cities or of extensive areas along with their population is a crime against God and man himself. It merits unequivocal and unhesitating condemnation [80].

It further denounced the arms race as “an utterly treacherous trap for humanity, and one which injures the poor to an intolerable degree” [81].

**The arms race was “an act of aggression against the poor” [128]; and they urged reduced armaments, bans on chemical and biological weapons, and cuts in conventional forces.**

These teachings grounded the U.S. Bishops’ 1983 pastoral letter on peace,<sup>2</sup> with its special focus on nuclear weapons. Applying just-war criteria, the bishops declared the use of such weapons against civilian populations to be immoral [147], first-strike use to be morally unjustifiable [150], and “limited” use to be morally “highly skeptical” [159]. They taught “strictly conditioned moral acceptance” of nuclear deterrence policy, only justifiable as a step toward disarmament [173]. The arms race was “an act of aggression against the poor” [128]; and they urged reduced armaments, bans on chemical and biological weapons, and cuts in conventional forces.

In the decades following, with the People Power Revolution of 1983-86 in the Philippines and peaceful

revolutions ending communism in Eastern Europe in 1989, the Church seemed to be moving towards a stronger endorsement of pacifism. Contemporary war is so destructive that during the past thirty years it has seemed less and less defensible—as Catholic leaders argued in opposing the U.S./United Kingdom invasion of Iraq in 2003 and as Saint Pope John Paul II contended in opposing both the 1990 Gulf War and the Iraq War.

In addition, while nuclear war fears seem less acute now than during the “nuclear freeze movement” in the 1980s, concerns continue about the proliferation of nuclear weapons. Witness the current debate over Iran’s possible acquisition of such weapons, North Korea’s testing of ballistic missiles, the nuclear weapons of India and Pakistan,<sup>3</sup> and President Trump’s call for a nuclear build-up. For the Church, the arms race is devastating to the world’s poor by diverting human, scientific, and financial resources from development needs to war.

In addition, just war principles challenge contemporary war-making on two fronts: what the tradition called *jus ad bellam* (justice in going to war) and *jus in bellam* (justice in waging war). Concerns have included: “civil wars” as in Syria; the arms trade, both conventional and nuclear; resort to violent revolution by aggrieved minorities; terrorism and the responses to terrorists embedded with civilian populations; and use of “drones” and other more “automated” weapons that can seem to make war “easier.”

Following the Council’s lead, Saint Pope John Paul II and Pope Benedict XVI also called for strengthening the United Nations, improvements in international protection of refugees, and the ability of international entities to intervene in violent disputes even within a single country.

### ENDNOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Second Vatican Council, *The Church in the Modern World (Gaudium et Spes)*, December 7, 1965.
- <sup>2</sup> National Conference of Catholic Bishops. *The Challenge of Peace: God’s Promise and Our Response*, May 3, 1983.
- <sup>3</sup> “The World’s Most Dangerous Border” and “A Rivalry That Threatens the World” in *The Economist*, May 21-27, 2011.



# CONFEDERATE GHOSTS: The Clash of Civilizations

BY NIK MITCHELL, PH.D.



One cannot travel across Louisiana, or any of the South for that matter, and not run into some reminder of the Confederacy. Maybe it is a county name, a road, a university, or a statue in the city park; ghosts of the Confederacy are ubiquitous. My high school football team played more than its fair share of teams called “the Rebels.” I grew up in the shadows of the memorials to the Confederacy all around me.

The memory and the myth of the Confederacy run deep in the South, far deeper than the foundation of any monument in New Orleans. With the decision to remove the monuments to Liberty Place, Jefferson Davis, P.G.T. Beauregard, and Robert E. Lee from public view, the unquiet ghosts of the Confederacy and the racial divergence in the South’s collective memory have risen again. This current conflict is far larger than a simple clash of historical interpretation. The current monument issue is a clash of civilizations between the old White supremacist America and the emergent intersectional America; and it is happening in one of the cradles of the American concept of race: New Orleans.

White supremacy should not be viewed as a phenomenon but rather as a major political movement. White supremacy as a political ideology has been one of the most powerful forces influencing world affairs and domestic politics for the last three centuries. In America, its presentation is simple: White people rule; minorities are ruled. The Americanized version of White supremacy was not born in the South; but it came of age in the South, and from there it spread across the country as the *de facto* state of American culture. Removing the Confederate monuments in a southern metropolis such as New Orleans represents an attack on the foundations of the centuries-old dominant American political and policy concern by an emerging America that is pluralistic in ways that the old establishment finds abhorrent.

While the causes of the Civil War are germane to this current debate concerning the appropriateness of Confederate monuments, this ignores the context of the monuments themselves and the circumstances in which they were raised. The Confederacy became a powerful symbol to southern Whites in the resistance against the

Reconstructed governments that governed in the South for 14 years from 1863 to 1877. The White resistance to the Reconstructed governments was based solely on a fear and resentment of Black people having the right to vote and exercising that vote to elect other Black people to the Louisiana Legislature and to Congress. Louisiana and New Orleans specifically were a nightmare to the White South of what would happen if Black people were allowed to participate in all aspects of life.

In her landmark work *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil*, Hannah Arendt wrote,

“Evil in the Third Reich had lost the quality by which most people recognize it—the quality of temptation. Many Germans and many Nazis, probably an overwhelming majority of them, must have been tempted not to murder, not to rob, not to let their neighbors go off to their doom (for that the Jews were transported to their doom they knew, of course, even though many of them may not have known the gruesome details), and not to become accomplices in all these crimes by benefiting from them. But, God knows, they had learned how to resist temptation.”<sup>1</sup>

Men like Davis, Beauregard, Lee, and all who took up arms for the Confederacy were active participants in the preservation of a crime against humanity...

As it was in 1930's Germany, brutality was normalized and legal in the antebellum and segregation-era South. To embrace social justice was to embrace a deviant temptation. The people we remember as heroes, such as Harriett Tubman, Fredrick Douglass, and members of the Underground Railroad, were criminals in their own time. For something as massive as slavery and later segregation society to exist for as long as they did, the complicity of a critical mass of White southern society was required. Men like Davis, Beauregard, Lee, and all who took up arms for the Confederacy were active participants in the preservation of a crime against humanity by the standards of the day as evidenced by elimination of slavery in the British empire by 1843 and

the sectarian tensions over the issue within the United States itself. But they were all law-abiding men.

The monuments in question are not sanctifiers of the Civil War. They are symbols that commemorate the victory of southern White people over the racially mixed Reconstruction governments and a promise to future generations that the South would fight to keep racially diverse government and society from ever existing again. They did fight against the Civil Rights Movement through the Ku Klux Klan and the state governments. The White South lost the war against the Civil Rights Movement, but not without claiming the lives of thousands of Black people in riots, terrorist attacks, and state sanctioned murders in the name of preserving White supremacy as the *de facto* state of the government and everyday life in the South. According to the Equal Justice Initiative report *Lynching in America: Confronting the Legacy of Racial Terror*, between 1877 and 1950, 4,075 people were lynched, including 559 people in Louisiana alone. This is only a fraction of the racial violence perpetuated against Black people in the interests of preserving White supremacy.<sup>2</sup> These monuments enshrine this historical violence and the ongoing violence done in the name of White supremacy that exists even today.

Will this movement to rid ourselves of the spectacles of Confederate flags and monuments solve our problems of racism? No. That is a debate and project for another day. It is clear that 140 years after the end of Reconstruction, the clash of civilizations initiated during that time still lingers in the humid air of the South and the nation as a whole. What is happening in New Orleans is not solely a flash point in the history of the city but an omen of things to come for the United States. We would be wise to pay attention because when the winds of change blow hard enough, even the tallest monuments can fall.

## ENDNOTES

<sup>1</sup> Arendt, Hannah. *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil*. (London: Penguin, 1963), P. 133

<sup>2</sup> Equal Justice Initiative. *Lynching in America: Confronting the Legacy of Racial Terror*. (2015), P. 5



# A DREAM DENIED?

## A Mississippi Dreamer Reflects on Growing up in Mississippi, DACA, and the 2016 Election

BY SUE WEISHAR, PH.D.

Late in his first term President Barack Obama took action to prevent the deportation of young immigrants who had entered the U.S. as children—persons often referred to as “Dreamers.”<sup>1</sup> On June 15, 2012, the 30th anniversary of the Supreme Court decision that assured undocumented immigrant children the right to attend public schools in the United States (*Plyor v. Doe*), he announced the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrival (DACA) program. DACA allows undocumented immigrants who came to the U.S. under the age of 16 and have continuously resided in the U.S. since June 15, 2007 to receive a renewable two-year period of deferred action (temporary relief) from deportation and eligibility for a work permit if they pass a background check and meet certain educational requirements.<sup>2</sup>

Since the election of Donald Trump the future of the approximately 750,000 Dreamers who received DACA has become highly uncertain.<sup>3</sup> On the campaign trail Trump insisted that anyone in the U.S. without permission should be deported; however, during a post-election interview in November, 2016, he said that his administration would focus on deporting immigrants with criminal records.<sup>4</sup> The executive order President Trump signed in January then proceeded to put all undocumented immigrants at risk of deportation, but on April 21 he told Dreamers to “rest easy” because they were not the

targets of his ramped-up immigration enforcement efforts.<sup>5</sup> On June 16 a Department of Homeland Security official stated that no final determination has been about the DACA program.<sup>6</sup> The chart below, drawn from Migration Policy Institute data, lists the number of DACA applications received by U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS) as of September, 2016, per Gulf South state, as well as the estimated number of undocumented immigrants living in those states.

**DACA Eligible Population, DACA Applicants, and Total Undocumented Population by Gulf South State**

	DACA Eligible* Population, 2016 <sup>7</sup>	DACA Applicants, Sept. 2016 <sup>8</sup>	Total No. Undocumented Immigrants, 2014 <sup>9</sup>
Alabama	15,000	4,724	71,000
Florida	102,000	37,943	610,000
Louisiana	8,000	2,323	66,000
Mississippi	5,000	1,659	25,000
Texas	271,000	138,439	1,470,000
<b>U.S.</b>	<b>1,932,000</b>	<b>861,192</b>	<b>11,009,000</b>

\* The DACA eligible population include youths who have not yet reached the required age for applying for DACA (age 15) and those otherwise eligible individuals who do not yet meet the educational requirements.

The majority of General Election votes in every Gulf South state except Florida were cast for Donald Trump.<sup>10</sup> The anti-immigrant sentiment that the Trump campaign relentlessly stoked is considered by many analysts to have played a major role in his surprise election.<sup>11</sup> Although Mississippi has a comparatively tiny population of undocumented immigrants, the state went heavily for Trump, with 58.7% of the popular vote. I asked a Mississippi Dreamer her thoughts on DACA, the Trump election, and what it was like to grow up in Mississippi as an undocumented immigrant. To protect her identity, I will call her Carla, not her real name.

### STORY OF DREAMER CARLA

Carla's father was only 21 years old when he first left central Mexico to find work in the U.S. to support his wife and three children, including four-year-old Carla. Soon after arriving he began work in construction, initially in Atlanta but eventually settling on the Mississippi Gulf Coast. His wife joined him in Mississippi 18 months after he left Mexico. Carla and her siblings were then cared for by her maternal grandparents in Jalisco, Mexico, until they rejoined their parents in Biloxi, Mississippi, in 2000, when Carla was eight years old.

Carla said her parents had moved to Mississippi because they found it "quieter and more family-oriented" than Atlanta and thought it would be a good place to raise their family. Her father's family was very poor and he received no schooling in Mexico, but after coming to the U.S. he taught himself to read and write. He and Carla's mother and their three youngest children—who were born in the U.S.—now live in a three bedroom home in a "family friendly" neighborhood near the beach. Their three oldest children have all graduated from high school and work full-time jobs. The family has been active in their local Catholic church since arriving in Biloxi: the children have been altar servers and ushers; Carla coordinated a youth group; her parents sing in the choir and help prepare a monthly meal; and her mother is a catechist.

Carla and her brother were the first Spanish-speaking students at their school in Biloxi. She thinks this is why she was able to learn English so quickly—in just three months. Then she had to translate "everything" for her parents. Today she is employed as an interpreter at a non-profit organization on the Gulf Coast and speaks flawless English.

This is how Carla remembers her early school days:

"It was just really nice. I never felt different. We fit in right away... We were never bullied. I never felt like I was treated differently because of my race or ethnicity."

Carla and her husband, who is also a construction worker like his father-in-law, are the parents of two U.S. citizen children, a five-year-old son and a three-year-old daughter. Carla has visited other southern cities, but she very much wants to remain in Mississippi to live and raise her family. She finds Mississippi "really calm and peaceful... You can go outside and take long walks in the neighborhood and no one will bother you." Her neighbors, who are Anglo-Americans, African-Americans, and Hispanics, "watch out for each other."

Another reason that Carla is so fond of Mississippi is that she is close to her childhood friends, most of whom are native Mississippians. Although they all know she is a Dreamer, several voted for Donald Trump. They told her, "We're not racist. We're not anti-immigrant." Carla, however, feels they do not really pay attention to immigration policies. Like a good friend, she remains loyal to her friends. Even though the Trump presidency could lead to the deportation of her parents, two siblings, and herself, she told me, "At the end of day, everyone has the right to vote for who they want." She did not lose any friends over the election. After "feeling different" for a few days, their friendships "went back to normal."

DACA has been very important in Carla's life and for many other Dreamers as well.<sup>12</sup> Not only did DACA allow Carla to get a state I.D. card, buy a car, and start her first job at age 19 after graduating from high school, she was finally free—after living in the U.S. for 11 years—from the fear and anxiety of deportation.

This is what Carla wants all Mississippians to know about her and other Dreamers:

"Dreamers are young, hardworking people trying to better themselves by achieving their goals. We like to exceed expectations to prove that we can make a difference. We are good people that like to help each other and our communities."

Dreamers like Carla embody the promise and potential of the American Dream. To lose them to deportation would be a nightmare, not only for these aspiring young Americans, but for the countless American families and communities.

—Endnotes on page 8



## A DREAM DENIED?

—Continued from page 7

### ENDNOTES

- <sup>1</sup> The word Dreamer is derived from the Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors (DREAM) Act (S. 1291) legislation introduced in 2001 as a bipartisan bill in the Senate that failed to pass.
- <sup>2</sup> Other requirements for DACA applicants include the following: must be under age 31 on June 15, 2012; entered the U.S. without inspection or fell out of lawful status before June 15, 2012; are currently in high school, have graduated from high school, have obtained a GED, or have been honorably discharged from the armed forces; have not been convicted of a felony offense, a significant misdemeanor, or more than three misdemeanors of any kind; and do not pose a threat to public safety. See <https://www.uscis.gov/humanitarian/consideration-deferred-action-childhood-arrivals-daca#guidelines>
- <sup>3</sup> Jens Manuel Krogstad, "Unauthorized immigrants covered by DACA face uncertain future," Pew Research Center, January 5, 2017, at <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2017/01/05/unauthorized-immigrants-covered-by-daca-face-uncertain-future/>
- <sup>4</sup> See script of *60 Minutes* interview of Donald Trump by Leslie Stahl, November 13, 2016, at <http://www.cbsnews.com/news/60-minutes-donald-trump-family-melania-ivanka-lesley-stahl/>
- <sup>5</sup> Noah Weiland, "'Dreamers' are not target of immigrant crackdown, cabinet officials say," *New York Times*, April 23, 2017 at [https://www.nytimes.com/2017/04/23/us/politics/cabinet-officials-seem-to-back-off-trump-vow-to-end-order-on-dreamers.html?\\_r=0](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/04/23/us/politics/cabinet-officials-seem-to-back-off-trump-vow-to-end-order-on-dreamers.html?_r=0)
- <sup>6</sup> Michael Shear and Vivian Yee, "Dreamers to stay in U.S. for now, but long-term fate is unclear," *The New York Times*, June 16, 2017.
- <sup>7</sup> From Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) Data Tools, Migration Policy Institute, at <http://www.migrationpolicy.org/programs/data-hub/deferred-action-childhood-arrivals-daca-profiles>
- <sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>9</sup> Profile of the Unauthorized Population, Migration Policy Institute, at <http://www.migrationpolicy.org/data/unauthorized-immigrant-population/state/US>
- <sup>10</sup> The percentage of total General Election votes that went to Trump in the Gulf South States are as follows: Alabama, 63.1; Mississippi, 58.7; Louisiana, 58.1; Texas, 52.4; and Florida, 49. From Leada Gore, "Alabama didn't lead country in percentage of Trump votes—but it was close," November 15, 2016, at [http://www.al.com/news/index.ssf/2016/11/alabama\\_didnt\\_lead\\_the\\_country.html](http://www.al.com/news/index.ssf/2016/11/alabama_didnt_lead_the_country.html)
- <sup>11</sup> Thomas Wood, "Racism motivated Trump voters more than authoritarianism," *The Washington Post*, April 17, 2017, at [https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2017/04/17/racism-motivated-trump-voters-more-than-authoritarianism-or-income-inequality/?utm\\_term=.f590ac964663](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2017/04/17/racism-motivated-trump-voters-more-than-authoritarianism-or-income-inequality/?utm_term=.f590ac964663)
- <sup>12</sup> According to a study conducted by the Center for American Progress, DACA increased average recipients' hourly wages by 42%, more than 90% received a state I.D. driver's license for the first time, and 54 percent bought their first car. See Walter Ewing, "DACA beneficiaries pay billions in taxes," American Immigration Council, April 28, 2017, at <http://immigrationimpact.com/2017/04/28/daca-beneficiaries-pay-billions-taxes/>

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